This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

S 104.

TAYLOR INSTITUTION.

BEQUEATHED

TO THE UNIVERSITY

BY

ROBERT FINCH, M.A.,

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE.

2231 e. 235

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. XIX.

LONDON,

Printed for C. BATHURST, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, A. HAMILTON, T. PAYNE, T. LONGMAN, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, J. ROBSON, F. NEWBERY, G. ROBINSON, T. CADELL, J. and T. BOWLES, S. BLADON, J. MURRAY, J. NICHOLS, J. BOWEN, and W. FOX.

MDCCLXXXII.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF THE

NINETEENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LXVI. *Continued.*

The Hiſtory of Portugal, from its becoming a diſtinct Sovereignty; from their own Authors, compared with thoſe of other Nations.

SECT. IX. The Regency and Reign of Don Pedro II. and of Don John V. to the Treaty of Utrecht. page 1

CHAP. LXVII.

The Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Navarre.

SECT. I. Riſe of this Sovereignty, and the Hiſtory of its Princes, to the Acceſſion of Sancho the Great, 44

II. From the Reign of Don Sancho the Great, to that of Don Sancho V. who united this Kingdom to Arragon, 63

III. From the Reign of Sancho V. to that of Queen Joanna, who, by Marriage, united this Crown to that of France, 74

IV. From the Union of Navarre with the Crown of France, in the Perſon of Philip, to its Conjunction with thoſe of Arragon and Sicily, 104

SECT.

Digitized by Google

SECT. V. From the Acceſſion of Don Juan and Donna Blanch of Navarre and Arragon, to the Union of the Crowns of France and Navarre, in the Perſon of Henry of Bourbon, 149

CHAP. LXVIII.

The Hiſtory of France, from the Reign of Clovis to that of Lewis XV.

SECT. I. The firſt or Merovingian Race of Kings to their Extinction, 178

II. The Reign of Pepin le Bref, or the Short, in whom began the ſecond Race, 274

III. The Reign of Charles the Great, King of France, and Emperor of the Weſt, 287

IV. The Reigns of Lewis the Gentle, Charles the Bald, Lewis the Stammerer, Emperors and Kings of France; Lewis and Carloman, Kings; and Charles the Groſs, Emperor, and King or Regent of France, 327

V. The Reign of Eudes, Charles the Simple, Raoul, Lewis IV. ſurnamed the Stranger, Lothaire, and Lewis V. in whom ended the Race of Charlemagne, 384

VI. The Reigns of Hugh Capet, Robert, Henry I. Philip I. Lewis VI. ſurnamed the Fat, and Lewis VII. the Young, 420

Digitized by Google

THE

MODERN PART

OF

Universal History.

CHAP. LXVI. *Continued.*

The History of Portugal, from its becoming a distinct Sovereignty; from their own Authors, compared with those of other Nations.

SECT. IX.

The Regency and Reign of Don Pedro II. and of Don John V. to the Treaty of Utrecht.

Upon the king's confinement Don Pedro assumes the administration.

IT is certainly most proper to commence the regency of the infant Don Pedro from the time of his proclamation, since otherwise there would be no government at all in Portugal till the meeting of the states, which, however, was far from being the case, the regent acting all that time, at least as far as he thought proper to act, with the same authority as he afterwards held. At this time Don Pedro was in the twentieth year of his age, a young prince, very agreeable in his person, a strong well-made man, rendered very robust by constant exercise, of a capacity and character, which, if assisted by a proper education, would have rendered him, even young as he was,

Digitized by Google

one of the most accomplished princes of the age; but this he wanted, though time, experience, and application, gradually supplied all defects[a]. In the conduct of this business he was assisted, or to speak with the freedom of an historian, he was directed by other heads. At the time his brother Don Alonso was seized, that unhappy king scarce perceived it; but as the evening drew on, and every body left him, he found he was a prisoner: upon which he sent to desire his brother to let him have John, who managed his dog-kennel, to keep him company. When the message was delivered, the infant Don Pedro lost his usual calmness, and burst into a violent passion of tears, and immediately gave orders that some who were agreeable to him should remain in his apartment. In this situation things continued till the meeting of the states. One would have imagined that the new government must have been extremely insecure, and subject to many disturbances both at home and abroad, whereas it happened quite otherwise. The conde de Castelmelhor no sooner heard the infant proclaimed regent, than he judged it most expedient for him to quit the kingdom in disguise, retiring first to Turin, from thence into France, and lastly into Great Britain, where he was kindly received, and had a good pension[b]. Henry Enriquez, who was generally hated, was sent to prison and detained there; but as for Antonio Sousa de Macedo, he retired to his own house in the country, and betaking himself to his studies, not only remained undisturbed, but received marks of favour and countenance[c]. The count de Schomberg, who had now the command of the troops without control, kept in awe the Spaniards, who were themselves so weakened by intestine disputes and the war with France, which was then breaking out, that they were in no condition to stir; on the contrary, they regretted the troubles in Portugal, as it seemed highly probable they might retard the peace.

A.D.1668.

The states establish the regency.

The states of the kingdom met in the month of January, and without any difficulty took an oath to the infant Don Pedro, in quality of prince of Portugal; a title which implies as much as heir apparent, and which, therefore, the king would never give to his brother, or suffer him

[a] Relation de la Cour de Portugal, M. Fremont d'Ablancourt, Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal, Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs of Portugal, chap. i. [b] D'Ablancourt Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal. [c] Catastrophe de Portugal, por Leandro Dorea Caceres e Faria, Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

to

to assume it. Upon mature consideration of the state of public affairs, of the king's resignation however obtained, and of the state of his understanding and health, they voted that the administration should remain to the prince Don Pedro. The deputies of the commons were very earnest to give him the title of king, which the clergy would have approved; but the nobility, in support as they alleged of his royal highness's modest behaviour, declared in favour of the title of regent; but invested him with the royal authority, with which there is reason to believe he was fully satisfied. The states also rectified many abuses that were crept into the government, took proper measures for augmenting the public revenue, and in all other respects complied with the prince's desires, who had by this time the principal nobility, ministers of state, and general officers about him. He replaced old Pedro Viera in the post of secretary, who had held it in his father's reign, and in his mother's regency. He recalled many whom the late ministry banished; and adopted in most respects such measures as he thought would render him popular. In this view, his endeavours met with all the success he could desire. In one thing only he was thought blameable, that he supported and relied upon the power of the commons, which was but too great before his accession to the government[d].

The prince regent falls in love with his brother's queen.

The business of the marriage was next to be concluded. The princess of Aumaule as she is called by some, the princess of Savoy as she is generally styled by others, and the consort of the deposed monarch, was the real author of this singular transaction[e]. She was the youngest daughter of the duke of Nemours, by the daughter of the duke of Vendosme, and was herself consequently great granddaughter to Henry the Fourth of France. She was originally designed for the infant Don Pedro, and her elder sister for the king; but that match not taking effect, the count de Castelmelhor determined the king should marry her[f]. She had not been long queen before she found cause to repent of becoming so. She saw the infant as ill used as herself, and she affected to express a great concern for his sufferings. Don Pedro was young and very gallant; he was struck with the beauty, and caught by the arts of a princess somewhat older, and infinitely more ca-

[d] Sir Robert Southwell's Letters, Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal. [e] Relation de la Cour de Portugal. [f] D'Ablancourt Memoires.

Digitized by Google

pable of political intrigues than himself. Their two confessors acted as their prime ministers in this business; and it was chiefly by their contrivances that all things were conducted to a point, and the king and his favourites were driven from the government step by step, with much clamour, some violence, but no effusion of blood[g]. At this time she pushed her divorce warmly before the chapter of Lisbon, and spoke of nothing but procuring the restitution of her fortune, and her returning to France, as if that had been her real intention: yet, while the cause was depending, a dispensation was procured from the cardinal of Vendosme, the uncle of this princess, whom the pope had appointed his legate at the French court, upon an extraordinary occasion, from whence he was supposed to derive the power of granting this instrument, by which his niece was permitted to marry the prince regent. The scheme was well laid, and managed with great address; but the date was a little unlucky, since that was the 13th of March, and the sentence of nullity, by the chapter, did not bear date till the 24th of the same month; but though slow in coming, it was remarkably clear and full, which will appear the less wonderful when the reader is told that Don Alonso acknowleged the truth of what the princess suggested under his hand, gave no opposition to their proceedings, or ever attempted an appeal[h].

Don Pedro, with the consent of the states, publicly marries that princess.

The sentence of nullity having passed, and the states being acquainted with the intention of the princess to return into France, sent a solemn deputation to intreat her not to abandon them; but to stay and marry the prince, since they were not either able or willing to restore her fortune. The queen did not return them a direct answer. However, they next applied themselves to the prince, intreating him to espouse the late queen, as the most effectual means to preserve the nation; adding that they would never approve his choice of any other woman. The prince regent told them they had his consent, if they could procure the queen's; upon which they returned in a body to the convent, and prevailed upon her at length to be as complaisant as the prince[i]. Accordingly, on the Wednesday in Passion Week they were married by proxy, and

[g] Sir Robert Southwell's Letters. [h] Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Dr. Colbatch's Memoirs, [i] Catastrophe de Portugal, por Leandro Dorea Caceres e Faria, Vertot Histoire de la Revolution de Portugal, d'Ablancourt Memoires.

on

on Easter Monday the prince went in state to the convent to fetch his bride, whom he conducted to Alcantara, where the marriage was consummated. Upon this occasion there were, as might be expected, very great rejoicings throughout Lisbon. The royal prisoner could not help enquiring what fortunate event excited these marks of public satisfaction. Being told what it was, he appeared, as he very well might, not a little concerned; but those who were about him could not help being surprised when he expressed the occasion of it; when, instead of lamenting the indignity offered to himself, he testified great concern for his poor brother, who he said would soon have enough of the French woman, and repent, as heartily as he had done, that he had ever any thing to do with her. Upon reflection, however, he thought fit to send them his compliments upon their nuptials, to Alcantara.

Peace with Spain brought about by the judicious conduct of the English ministers.

The next point of importance brought upon the carpet was that of a peace with Spain, never more needed, never more wished for than at present; yet there was a party who strongly opposed it. This was composed of general officers, who were gainers by the war; of some who were secretly piqued against the marquis de Marialva and his brother, who had been for many years the prince's confident; and of the French faction in general[k]; for when Lewis the Fourteenth invaded the Spanish Low Countries, under colour of his wife's title, he had entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with Portugal, and had sent over the abbé de St. Romaine, to reside at Lisbon as his ambassador. On the other side were all the true patriots, and that styled the English party, who, upon this occasion, outwitted and got the better of the French[l]. Sir Richard Fanshaw, his Britannic majesty's minister at Madrid, had some years before entered into a negociation with that nation, for terminating their differences with Portugal. With much trouble and difficulty he settled with them the draught of a treaty, favourable enough for Portugal; notwithstanding which, it was rejected by the count de Castelmelhor upon a punctilio, and the French party took all imaginable pains to prevent its being revived[m]. But Sir Robert Southwell, the English minister then at Lisbon, contrived to bring it about in a manner which they never so much as suspected. He insinuated to Don Gaspar de

[k] Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs, d'Ablancourt Memoires. [l] Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies. [m] Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Sir Robert Southwell's Letters.

Digitized by Google

Haro Guzman y Arragon, marquis del Carpio, ſon to the famous miniſter Don Lewis, and heir both to him and the conde duke de Olivarez, who had been taken priſoner at the battle of Evora, that the only way to obtain his liberty, was to procure full powers from Madrid for negociating a peace; and the marquis readily cloſing with this propoſal, he found means to convey his letters ſafely to Madrid, and to procure anſwers, which in a little time brought him as full powers as he could deſire. The French party, who by this time had intelligence of what they were doing, exerted their utmoſt force to raiſe an oppoſition, but without effect, for Sir Robert applied himſelf to the judge of the people, who at the firſt word declared that peace was a good thing; and this being ecchoed by the magiſtrates and commons of Liſbon, the ſame ſentiments ſpread itſelf through the ſtates, ſo that the court was in a little time forced to acquieſce.

Earl of Sandwich concludes the peace, in quality of mediator, and Great Britain guaranties it.

The arrival of the earl of Sandwich, with the title of his Britannic majeſty's ambaſſador, and all the neceſſary authority and inſtructions from Madrid, gave the laſt ſtroke to this great affair, and produced the ſigning a treaty under the mediation of his Britannic majeſty; which was as fortunate and as honourable for the Portugueſe nation as they could deſire. It was generally believed, that the prince regent himſelf was as well pleaſed with the peace as any of his ſubjects; and ſome have ſuſpected, that though his conſort oppoſed it with an appearance of vigour, yet this was no more than an appearance, that ſhe might not loſe her credit in, or the ſupport that ſhe derived from France [m]. Soon after a French fleet arrived in the river of Liſbon, on board of which count Schomberg, and the auxiliary tooops embarked, loaded with honours; but in other reſpects neither very well ſatisfied or well treated.

The pope confirms the declaration of nullity, the diſpenſation, and the ſecond marriage.

One of the firſt good effects the peace produced was giving ſuch a turn to the affairs at Rome, as perhaps they would never otherwiſe have taken. Cardinal Roſpigliоſi, very lately advanced to the papal throne by the name of Clement the Ninth, had received an account of the queen's marriage by a diſpenſation from the cardinal of Vendoſme, and of all the unuſual circumſtances that had attended it; and, as the world reported, was by no means ſatisfied with the conduct of his legate in France [n]. The cardinal de

[m] D'Ablancourt Memoir. Portugal Reſtaurada, Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs of Portugal. [n] Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

Vendoſme

Vendosme excused himself with great humility; and amongst other things said, that he wrote a fair state of the case to his holiness when the dispensation was first applied for: which was strictly true; but the French secretary of state, who was intrusted to send it by his courier, kept it very safe in his office, upon a supposition that the dispensation might go on as well without it. These dark clouds at Rome began to disperse upon the news of the peace with Spain; and upon the arrival of the marquis de las Minas, to render obedience, in his master's name, to the holy see, the sky grew perfectly clear, insomuch, that the queen's confessor, who came to submit her cause to the pope, was very kindly received. However, according to the custom of the see of Rome, the whole cause was to be begun afresh; in consequence of which a bull was directed to the dean of the inquisitors at Lisbon, to hear and determine the case of the first marriage; and this being done, though not with so much care and caution as before, a sentence of nullity was again pronounced, which, together with the dispensation, and second marriage, the pope confirmed by his bull, assuring the prince, that he had done for him all that was in his power [o]. The great affair of bishops was next to be adjusted; and in that there was no longer any difficulty, as Spain gave no opposition, and as his holiness was to be a great gainer by the vast sums of money extorted under different pretences from every prelate. The regent, to express his sense of these favours, appointed the count de Prado his ambassador; but he did not arrive till cardinal Altieri was elected on the death of Clement the Ninth, and assumed the name of Clement the Tenth, who was still more indulgent to Portugal than his predecessor [p].

The king is sent prisoner into the island of Tercera, after the rising of the states.

At the rising of the states it was determined, that in the present situation of things it was not consistent either with the safety of the prince regent, or the tranquility of the nation, to set the king at liberty; and as to the manner of his confinement they thought it indecent to offer any thing to the prince regent, considering that they were brothers [q]. The confining him at Lisbon was attended with difficulties, and with circumstances disagreeable enough in their nature to both of them. The prince re-

[o] Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens Supplement, tom. ii. par. i. p. 388. [p] Histoire des Papes, Colebatch's Memoirs. [q] D'Ablancourt Memoires, Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

Digitized by Google

gent at last resolved to put an end to these, by sending his brother to a place with which he might be better pleased, and yet remain in equal safety [r]. A vessel was accordingly provided for him, and a squadron under the command of the count de Prado, ordered to escort him. Some persons of distinction were likewise appointed to accompany him; but the place where he was to spend his days was kept a secret. This secrecy gave a check to the people's curiosity, upon which they affected to be alarmed. They went so far as to give out, that the loss of his crown and his wife were afflictions sufficient; and that it was going beyond all bounds to carry a king of Portugal to Guinea, and consigning him there perhaps to the custody of Negroes. The prince regent, who never intended any such thing, was very much piqued at these rumours; but having written a circular letter to foreign courts upon this subject, he suffered copies to be taken; and when the people once knew that he was to be sent no farther than Tercera, and was to be allowed the whole island for his prison, they were very quiet, and in general seemed to approve the regent's choice.

Zeal and public spirit expressed by Don Pedro, in the management of public affairs.

These necessary steps being taken, the prince applied with all possible vigour and vigilance to the dispatch of business, and to qualify himself for administering the government with abilities and reputation. The duke de Cadaval, who had a great share in establishing his regency, and was also a prince of his blood, had his ear from the beginning, and enjoyed his confidence as long as he lived [s]. He shewed the like steadiness with regard to the rest of his counsellors, and paid great deference to their opinions. As he studied assiduously, and with a good will, his subjects would have been very well pleased, as they knew that none understood the state of the kingdom better, had he relied more upon his own lights, and trusted in most cases to his own opinion. He found that midnight diversions were far from ceasing with his brother's deposition and confinement; but he thought it very unjust that persons of any rank should commit with impunity offences that had cost his brother his liberty and his crown [t]. He did not take his measures hastily; but suffered for a time these adventures to continue the talk of the court, by which he came to discern the shortest and best methods of

[r] Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies. [s] Colebatch's Memoirs. [t] Memorie Historiche del Portogallo, Portugal Restaurado, D'Ablancourt.

correcting

correcting them, which he profecuted with fuch fpirit, that they were effectually cured, and in this he made no diftinctions; fo that the friars, who were as much addicted to thefe amufements as the young nobility, were conftrained to abandom them, and to pafs their evenings in a manner more fuitable to their character. He leffened the expences of government, difbanded a great part of the troops, put his finances into the beft order poffible, and gave in his own perfon, and in the management of his court, an example of that frugality which he thought requifite for his fubjects to imitate, that they might in fome meafure repair the mifchiefs and miferies brought upon them by living fo long under a foreign yoke, and by that tedious, though neceffary war, which had been carried on in order to complete their deliverance. He renewed the treaties fubfifting with moft of the powers of Europe, particularly with Great Britain and Holland; but was fo circumfpect in all he did, as to avoid contracting any engagements that might oblige him to take part in any of the broils which difturbed the tranquility of Chriftendom; for as he had no ambitious views of his own, he would not be made the dupe of his neighbours projects [u].

A long peace, and a good adminiftration.

In the courfe of a long peace one would have imagined, that thefe wife and moderate meafures might have reftored the public affairs of Portugal, at leaft in a conſiderable degree, and yet this did not happen. The fault certainly was not in the king, but in the genius of the nation. There was nothing fo neceffary as to bring in a freſh recruit of people, fome conſiderable tracts of land, even in fo fmall a country, being become utterly defert: this ſtep however, was impoſſible without tempering in fome degree that religious zeal, or rather fury, which generally prevailed; and as no ſtep of this kind was, or could be taken, no foreigners came, or at leaft remained in Portugal, except it may be a very few French, and even theſe were ſcarce conſidered as catholics [w]. It was as neceſſary to give the people ſome eaſe in their impoſitions and taxes; but that meaſure was equally impracticable. The Spaniſh kings had granted moſt of theſe to noble families, from whom it was not expedient, or even ſafe, for the houſe of Bragança to take them; ſo that trade was oppreſſed, and induſtry diſcouraged, while the crown was in real neceſſity. But what bore hardeſt on the whole

[u] Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

[w] Geddes's Miſcellaneous Tracts.

nation,

Digitized by Google

nation, were the prodigious sums annually raised and carried out of the kingdom, to Rome by the agents and emissaries of the pope, under pretences which in other Roman catholic countries would have been treated with ridicule and contempt [x]. Here, however, they were supported not only by ecclesiastical censures, but by the civil authority, and that for political reasons; which it is to be feared will always have too great weight, and which, by keeping this drain open, rendered all endeavours in any other way to bring wealth and prosperity into this country altogether ineffectual. The interest of the Portuguese in India was continually sinking: and the navigation of the kingdom so much reduced, that the registered seamen did not exceed three hundred.

Differences with the court of Spain, and bringing back Don Alonso.

The French court, at the time of making war upon the states, which it was foreseen would bring Spain and Germany into the quarrel, were very desirous of prevailing on the prince regent to facilitate their designs by breaking with Spain, and making a formidable diversion; for which many plausible pretences were suggested, and prodigious promises were made. Don Pedro was almost left to himself in the debates on this subject; for his queen, and the greater part of his ministry, were in the interest of his most Christian majesty: and which is more extraordinary, national antipathy began to revive; so that however unreasonable or impolitic it might have been, this
A.D.1672. would have been a popular measure. But Don Pedro remained firm, though he gave soft answers, and laboured all that he could to keep measures with so great a king; yet he could not be brought to risk a new war, while his people so sensibly felt that weakness into which they were brought by the last [y]. This temper was fortunate for the Spaniards, who made notwithstanding a very ill return; for in the month of September following, while the court was at the baths of Obidos, a very base and black conspiracy was discovered: the design, or at least the pretence to which was to restore Don Alonso; and in order to this event, the regent, his consort, and the infanta were to be
A.D.1674. murdered. Don Francisca de Mendoça, and Don Antonia de Cavida, with some of their accomplices, were executed, and very strong suspicions fell upon the Spanish ambassador, which occasioned a great coldness between the two

[x] Dr. Colebatch's Memoires of Portugal. [y] Histoire de la Vie & du Regne de Louis XIV. par Martiniere.

courts.

Digitized by Google

courts[z]. It was not long after that the marquis de Govea, the Portugueſe miniſter at Madrid, was groſsly inſulted in his own houſe; of which ill uſage having complained to little purpoſe, he judged it moſt expedient to retire, and return home. The regent bore this treatment without ſuffering any ſtrong marks of reſentment to eſcape; but he began to alter his conduct, to repair the ſtrong places on his frontiers, and to reinforce their garriſons. He took likewiſe another neceſſary precaution, and, under pretence of ſome idle ſtories diffuſed amongſt the people as to the ill uſuage of his brother in the iſland of Tercera, he ſent a ſquadron to bring him back to Portugal; and upon his arrival, directed he ſhould be carried to the caſtle of Cintra, not far from Liſbon, were he ſpent the remained of his days in cloſe confinement. A.D.1675.

The diſpute about the new colony in the Rio del Plata compromiſed.

After all the indignities that had been offered to the court of Liſbon, notwithſtanding Don Pedro de Meneſes had the title given him of duke of Caminha at Madrid; and notwithſtanding that it had been aſſerted there publicly, and even in print, that the treaty made by the queen regent with the crown of Portugal was void; and that it was not in her power, as guardian to her ſon, to give away a great kingdom to the prejudice not only of that prince, but of his poſterity, the prince regent offered his mediation to facilitate the concluſion of a peace at Nimeguen: a meaſure in itſelf well intended, and flowing from a generoſity of mind truly worthy of a great prince. It was accepted in appearance; but in effect declined, or rather refuſed by France, with ſome appearance of contempt[a]. This affront ſunk ſo deep into the regent's breaſt that he never forgot it; and ſome ſay the remembrance of it coſt the crown of France as dear as any error in the cabinet during that whole reign. In Spain his offer was alſo indifferently received; on which Don Pedro expreſſed himſelf in ſo quick terms, that the Spaniſh miniſtry being afraid that a rupture on this ſide might change the general face of affairs, and being ſufficiently ſenſible of their own weakneſs, dropped their haughtineſs at once, diſavowed having any hand whatever in the conſpiracy, gave full ſatisfaction for the abuſe of the Portugueſe miniſter, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the regent that his catholic majeſty had nothing more at heart than to cultivate a ſincere friendſhip,

[z] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Le Clede Hiſtoire Generale de Portugal. [a] Hiſtoire de la Vie & du Regne de Louis XIV. Memoires de Portugal.

Digitized by Google

and to maintain a conſtant good correſpondence with the crown of Portugal [b]. The regent received theſe marks of kindneſs very obligingly, and afforded them juſt the degree of credit they deſerved. He acted with the like ſpirit in regard to the diſpute which happened between the ſubjects of the two crowns in the Rio de la Plata (A).

A.D. 1677.

Project of marrying the infanta and heireſs of the crown to the duke of Savoy.

The next point of importance brought upon the carpet of Liſbon was the marriage of the infanta; which, if we take in the whole compaſs of the negociation, as well as the iſſue of it, it will appear as ſingular as any that happened in the laſt age in Europe. The ducheſs dowager of Savoy was the elder ſiſter of her who had been once queen, and was now conſort to the prince regent of Portugal, and ſhe judged it would be a very advantageous match for her ſon Victor Amadeus, if ſhe could procure him the infanta, who was the ſworn heireſs of the crown [c]. On the other hand the conſort of the regent, who had always a great influence over her huſband, flattered herſelf with

[b] Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs of Portugal, Le Clede, Memorie Hiſtoriche del Portogallo. [c] Le Clede Hiſtoire Generale de Portugal, Memorie Hiſtoriche del Portogallo.

(A) The crown of Portugal holds the great country of Brazil, on the north; and the crown of Spain is in poſſeſſion of Paraguay, or at leaſt ſo much of that vaſt country as ſtretches along the ſouth ſide of the Rio de la Plata, on the ſouth. The Spaniards ſay, that their right to both ſides of the river is out of queſtion, and in the ſpace of two centuries was never conteſted. Don Emanuel de Lobo, governor of Rio de Janeiro, ſent a ſmall body of Portugueſe to take poſſeſſion of a convenient ſpot of ground behind the iſland of St. Gabriel, almoſt oppoſite to the great Spaniſh ſettlement of Buenos Ayres, in the month of January, 1680; and to the litte hamlet that was built there, he gave the name of St. Sacrament. The Spaniſh governor of Buenos Ayres, without waiting for any inſtructions, diſpoſſeſſed the Portugueſe of their new ſettlement, deſtroyed the place, and made the garriſon priſoners of war. On the arrival of theſe news in Europe, Don Pedro acted with great ſpirit. He recalled his ambaſſador from Madrid, with a proteſt, that if within the ſpace of twenty days, the Spaniards did not make full reparation for this inſult, it ſhould be underſtood that a war was declared without any other formality. The court of Spain, alarmed at this declaration, were forced to ſend an ambaſſador immediately to Liſbon, to give ſuch ſatisfaction as ſhould be inſiſted upon (1).

(1) Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs of Portugal, Hiſtoire de Portugal, par M. de le Clede, Memoires de Portugal.

vaſt

Digitized by Google

vaſt advantages from the marriage of her daughter with her nephew. The French court went likewiſe very heartily into this ſcheme, which was warmly promoted by her creatures at the court of Liſbon. An affair of this importance, however, could not be carried on precipitately; more eſpecially as there was one great obſtacle in the way, which was its being directly in the teeth of the conſtitution: yet the prince was ſo much beloved by his ſubjects in general, and his influence over the ſtates was ſo ſtrong, that upon an application to them, even this ſeemingly invincible obſtacle was got over; inſomuch that they gave their conſent, that for this time, and without creating any precedent for the future, the infanta might marry a foreign prince without prejudicing her right to the crown [d]. This point being once carried, the marriage treaty was quickly adjuſted, and there remained nothing more than to make the preparations neceſſary for the celebration of this wedding, with a magnificence ſuitable to the diſtinguiſhed rank of the parties, and the genius of a people who delight in nothing more than in ſuch ſolemnities [e]. A.D. 1678.

That ſcheme unaccountably defeated when on the point of being accompliſhed.

A ſquadron of twelve men of war was equipped at an inconceivable expence. The ſhips in general, of which it was compoſed, were gilt and painted; but above all, the admiral was gilt from ſtem to ſtern; the poop and prow down to the ſurface of the water, and the ſides down to the gun-wale. The great cabin was painted by the beſt maſters in Liſbon, and the floor laid in ſquares of ebony and ivory. The bed was moſt ſuperb, and the royal ſtandard all of cloth of tiſſue, with the arms of Portugal in the higheſt raiſed embroidery: in ſhort, the ſplendour of this ſhip was ſuch as ſeemed to juſtify the name beſtowed upon her Monte de Ouro. The duke of Cadaval was declared admiral, with whom went the flower of the young nobility; and Portugal being in no condition to furniſh them, foreign ſeamen were hired to man this ſquadron, at a vaſt charge. The deſign was to fetch the duke of Savoy, who, as he was to obtain a crown by the marriage, could not think ſo ſhort a voyage any hardſhip to procure him ſuch a wife; and part of his equipage was actually arrived at Liſbon before the ſquadron was in readineſs. At length it ſailed, and arrived very ſafely at Villa Franca: but by this time things were much altered in the court of Savoy,

[d] Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs of Portugal, Memorie Hiſtoriche del Portogallo. [e] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Memorie Hiſtoriche del Portogallo.

where

Digitized by Google

where ſome of the wiſeſt of the nobility undertook to demonſtrate, that their young prince was cheated, and was on the point of throwing away a certainty for an uncertainty. They inſinuated, that France would infallibly ſeize Savoy and Piedmont in his abſence; and that it was not impoſſible the poſſeſſor of the crown of Portugal might have iſſue either by this, or ſome other princeſs. Full of theſe notions, it is ſaid, they put a force upon the duke and upon his mother; while others are perſuaded that they made the ducheſs-dowager ſee ſhe had been in this affair duped throughout by France; and that if the marriage proceeded, inſtead of remaining regent of a ſovereignty, ſhe would ſpeedily become the governeſs of a French province; that being perſuaded of this truth, ſhe was herſelf a party to that contrivance which, in ſpite of the treaty ſhe had concluded, kept her ſon at home [f]. However this might be, it is very certain, that under pretence of ſickneſs, the duke did not appear in public; and the fleet returned to Portugal, with great diſpleaſure to the court at ſo outrageous an affront, and to the univerſal diſtaſte of the people at the uſeleſs waſte of ſo great a treaſure: but by degrees the ſtorm, which at firſt ſwelled very high, ſubſided of itſelf.

The death of the depoſed king Don Alonſo, which is ſoon after followed by that of the queen.

It is on all hands agreed, that the queen ſupported, without any viſible appearance of regret, this terrible diſappointment; but it is thought it would have been better if her great ſpirit had permitted her to have given vent to that concern which proved fatal to her in the end, and which might, perhaps, have been diſſipated if it had been more freely expreſſed. As for the prince regent, the equality of his temper defended him from ſuch dangers; and perhaps it added not a little to his conſort's chagrin, that at this very juncture he gave as many inſtances of his infidelity as ever, though it was ſome conſolation, that, except a ſingle Frenchwoman of the queen's own family, his miſtreſſes were of the meaneſt of the people. While things were in this ſituation at court, where parties were very nicely ballanced, the unfortunate Don Alonſo died ſuddenly in the caſtle of Cintra, on the 12th of September, when he had borne the title of king almoſt twenty-ſeven, had lived above forty, and had been a priſoner almoſt fifteen years. It is reported, that he ſhould ſay in his laſt agonies, "I am now going, but it will not be long before the queen ſhall follow me, to give an account at

A.D. 1683.

[f] Memoires de Portugal, Le Clede, Colebatch's Memoirs.

the

the most awful tribunal, of the wrongs she has done me[s]" It is not impossible that this story was framed after the queen's death, since declarations of this kind are seldom made by persons who die of an apoplexy: be that as it will, after a long and excruciating illness of more than six months, which she bore with heroic firmness, his and his brother's queen departed this life on the 17th of December. The king appeared inconsolable upon her death, and the clergy took a great deal of pains to persuade the people that she was a saint; but the king Don Pedro, who had reason to know her full as well as they, was content to call her the wisest and most prudent of her sex; and some believe he did not give her this character so much on account of the advice she gave him in public, as often as he consulted her, which was commonly in all points of great importance, but for those private hints by which he really governed himself, and which were not always agreeable to her public opinions.

Several marriages proposed for the infanta, which prove abortive.

It was not long after the death of the queen that the French ministers began to lose their credit at court, a circumstance which was commonly attributed to that event; but was at least as much owing to the king's dislike of a faint attempt made by Lewis XIV. to enter into a treaty of marriage with the infanta; which, according to the usual warmth of the nation, the mob of Lisbon improved into so furious a passion as exposed him to the danger of seeing that princess ravished from him by force of arms. The king knew it to be quite otherwise: believing it intended to amuse and flatter him, he declined giving any direct answer; and placed this article to the account that had been opened on the rejecting of his mediation. He was still labouring to restore the prosperity of his subjects by every method that he could devise; and though it might not answer his purpose, yet it was certainly with this view that he raised his money twenty per cent. which, if it had no other good effect, saved the nation something in her annual tribute to Rome; of which that court became quickly sensible, and the nuncio received orders to expostulate with the court of Lisbon, but to no purpose. The king would willingly have done more, but there was nothing more to be done; for if he moved this way, he had the church directly against him; if he turned the other way, the inquisition opposed his measures; some useful steps to reformation clashed with the interests of the nobi-

[s] Le Clede, Memoires de Portugal, Colebatch's Memoirs.

lity;

Digitized by Google

lity; others were repugnant to the humour of the people; so that he still found his cares limited to his told object, of keeping things from growing worse. A treaty of marriage proposed between the infanta and the hereditary grand-prince of Tuscany, was for some time upon the carpet; and it is thought would actually have taken place, if the grand-duke had not positively insisted, that his own Italian dominions should belong to his second son, prince John Gaston, in case the hereditary prince became king of Portugal, of which disposition Don Pedro would by no means hear: and some very able politicians have thought, that in this particular he was wanting to his own and his subjects interests, since, if the succession took place, he gained a king to Portugal; and if it did not, his daughter and her posterity were to enjoy the noblest duchy in Italy without control [h].

The king is prevailed on to marry.

The people of Portugal saw with regret their king a widower in the very flower of his age, and when themselves were exposed to dismal apprehensions in case of his decease without male issue. It is believed that some of the Portuguese clergy insinuated their fears to pope Innocent XI. who wrote to the king in such strong terms, that at length he consented to a second marriage; and sent his great minister the count de Villar Major to demand the princess Mary Sophia of Newburgh, in which he acquitted himself so well, and carried the honour of the crown of Portugal so high, that at his return he was created marquis of Alegrette [i]. On the 2d of July he espoused that princess by proxy at Heidelberg, and in the succeeding month she arrived safely in Portugal on board an English squadron, commanded by the duke of Grafton, to the great joy of the king, and of all his subjects. She was a princess beautiful in her person, affable in her behaviour, pious in the way of the Portuguese, extremely affectionate to the king, and without the least tincture of that governing spirit which had been so conspicuous in the deceased queen.

A.D. 1687.

His issue, and death of the infanta.

It was generally expected, and the event answered the expectation, that this marriage would change the whole face of affairs in Portugal, where the queen quickly became pregnant, and the Jesuits thereupon boldly undertook that she should bring forth a son: in which they guessed right; but when they ventured to go farther, and to prophecy what mighty things would be done in the fu-

[h] Le Clede, Memoires de Portugal. [i] Colebatch's Memoirs, Mercure Historique & Politique l'ann. 1687.

turo

ture reign of this young prince, they rendered themselves altogether ridiculous, since he did not live to be three weeks old. Upon this event a stranger notion came into the head of the populace of that country, and was from thence propagated all over Europe; which was, that all the king's issue should be short-lived, and the succession remain to the infanta. This conceit procured that princess a very strong party in the council at Madrid upon the demise of the queen of Spain; but the queen-dowager and her party carried it at length for the reigning queen of Portugal's sister, and thereupon count Mansfeldt was sent into Germany to negociate that marriage, and was ordered to take shipping at Lisbon [k]. He was extremely well received by Don Pedro, who ordered a frigate to be prepared for him: of which circumstance Lewis XIV. being informed, he ordered his minister to expostulate with Don Pedro, and to let him know, that as count Mansfeldt was a general in the service of his imperial majesty, it was not impossible his passage might be cut short by the French men of war. The depth of this reasoning was quickly understood by the king, who desisted from his design; but at the same time placed this menace to the account before mentioned. About this time a negociation was commenced for marrying the infanta to the electoral prince, brother to the reigning queen; which treaty, when it was pretty far advanced, was discontinued by the Portuguese ministers, for reasons that were never made public, and with which the grand-master of the Teutonic order, who was the queen's second brother, was so much offended, that he would not prosecute his journey into Portugal from Madrid, as he at first intended, or so much as receive the presents that the king of Portugal sent him [l]. Some attributed these events, and the king's discovering a new propensity to France, notwithstanding he had acknowleged the prince and princess of Orange for king and queen of England, to the dauphin's becoming a widower, and some propositions being made on his behalf in respect to the infanta, to whom he had been the earliest pretender, or rather the king his father in his behalf, even before that princess was marriageable. It is said, she shewed but very little regard to this proposition when made to her in her last illness, which, instead of a bridal bed, conducted her to her grave on the 22d of October, in the twenty-first year of her age.

[k] Memoires de Portugal, Mercure Historique & Politique.
[l] Colebatch's Memoirs.

Digitized by Google

A.D. 1690. The French gave new, and greater offence than ever to the king her father, by publishing a groundless and malicious story, that she was removed by poison, to make way for heirs attached to the house of Austria [m].

Endeavours used to engage the king to alter his conduct, which are all ineffectual.

As the conde de Castelmelhor had passed many years abroad, though from time to time he made excursions into Portugal, which were connived at, yet hitherto he had never appeared in public, or been received at court. He was entirely in the interest of the allies, had acquired a general insight into affairs, and was rather more capable of filling the post of prime minister than any other nobleman in Portugal. At the request of the emperor, it is said, the queen was prevailed upon, contrary to the whole tenor of her conduct, to interpose in his favour: but it was to no purpose; for either the king had so fixed an aversion to this great man as hindered his desiring ever to see him seated in his cabinet, or was diffident of a subject who was under so many obligations to foreign princes, or which, after all, perhaps, may be nearest the truth, those great men who had procured his fall had such an interest in their master, or were so useful to him, that he was unwilling to mortify them by a step of this nature [n]. It is perhaps no inconsiderable argument of the truth of this conjecture, that a great lady very unexpectedly made her appearance in the palace, and from her very entrance had a high influence there, and was applauded for the charms both of her person and mind even by the greatest. This was Donna Louisa, the king's natural daughter, who, at the very time she was owned, was also legitimated, and
A.D. 1691. had the title given her of royal highness. The French ambassador alone declined taking any step of this nature till he had orders from his court; but when they arrived, he laboured to excel in complaisance all who had gone before him [o]. This lady the duke de Cadaval demanded for his eldest son; to whom she was married about four years after: the nobility so much envying this honour, that few of them would be present at the diversions that attended
A.D. 1692. it. Another circumstance might probably prevent the count's coming again into credit, and that was the earnestness with which the allies pressed the king to come into the war against France; to which he had no inclination, because his subjects reaped great benefit from an open trade, and because no immediate advantages were proposed

[m] Colebatch's Memoirs, Mercure Historique & Politique.
[n] Memoires de Portugal. [o] Memoires de Portugal.

to

to balance the expence and the hazards with which it might be attended [o]. At length he gave out commissions, and directed levies to be made through his dominions; a measure which at another time would have alarmed, but was now very welcome at Madrid; where, to the amazement of all the old politicians, some of the young ones talked very confidently of demanding a body of auxiliaries against the rebel Catalans [p]. To confirm Don Pedro in these sentiments, Catharine queen-dowager of England, his sister, returned into Portugal, taking her journey through Spain, where all possible honours were paid her. At Lisbon she had a palace of her own; where, except upon particular occasions, there was nothing of splendor seen, but rather the silence and frugality of a private life. At length, when the land forces of Portugal were in some measure complete, the king sent the marquis de Aronches his ambassador to Vienna, and the marquis de Cascaes with the like character to Paris, to make a tender of his good offices, which were now received with much more respect than at the close of the last war. To gratify the bigotry of his subjects, he permitted the inquisition at Coimbra to make an auto de fe, which was performed with great ceremony; and, to shew his own piety, he received kindly, and granted pensions to several Moors and Negroes of distinction, who retired into Portugal, besought his protection, and became converts to the Christian faith [q].

A.D.1693.

A.D.1694.

As the French privateers frequently took ships upon the coasts of Portugal, and carried them into the river of Lisbon, the marquis de Cascaes had orders to complain of this insult, and to threaten, in case no redress could be obtained, the making reprisals; which was a language little expected at Paris from Don Pedro's minister, and yet in compliance with his interests at that juncture, Lewis the Fourteenth bore these complaints with temper, and promised satisfaction [r]. On the other hand, the Spanish minister was in singular credit at Lisbon, paid his court assiduously to the king, and gave an opera in his own palace, on every anniversary of the prince's birth-day: the like complaisance was shewn to the court of Madrid, and it was no secret that Don Pedro thought he had as good or better claim to the crown of Castile than any other pretender, since he was descended in a direct line from the infanta Donna

[o] Le Clede, & Politique. [p] Colebatch's Memoirs. [q] Mercure Historique [r] Memoires de Portugal.

Digitized by Google

Maria, daughter to their catholic majeſties Ferdinand and Iſabella; and if the poſition could have been made out that was laid down by the Portugueſe lawyers, that no ſtranger was capable of the ſucceſſion in that kingdom unleſs by the conſent of the ſtates previouſly obtained, Don Pedro's right was better than either the French or the Auſtrian candidates[s]. It is not improbable that he was encouraged in theſe ſentiments by ſome of the allies, who ſaw with great ſatisfaction the levies he was making in order to give weight to his pretenſions. To defray the expences of this armament, and to keep on foot the forces he had raiſed, the king was obliged to have recourſe to the cortes, or aſſembly of the ſtates, who voted him an additional revenue of ſix hundred thouſand crowns; but after ſitting ſix months to conſider of ways and means, they at length broke up, and referred the manner of raiſing it to his majeſty's pleaſure, and he laid it upon tobacco. The French king was ſo little ſatisfied with the ſtate of this court, that he ſent the preſident Rouille, with the character of his ambaſſador, to penetrate the deſigns of Don Pedro; and, to accommodate himſelf to the humour of the nation, he made a moſt ſplendid entry. The queen of Portugal being attacked by a fever, accompanied with an eryſipilas, died, after a ſhort illneſs, on the 4th of Auguſt. The king expreſſed his affection for her by remaining all the time of her ſickneſs in her chamber, taking his repoſe on a piece of cork laid by her bedſide: ſhe had been his wife twelve years and ſeven months, and left him ſix children[t]. There arrived in the autumn a fleet from Brazil, with about a ton and a half of gold on board, which was the firſt conſiderable quantity of that precious metal the Portugueſe had received from a colony ſo long in their poſſeſſion, and which it is ſaid they owed to a conſiderable body of outlaws, who had fixed themſelves in a diſtant and deſart part of the country, and who, after finding theſe rich mines, voluntarily ſubmitted to the crown of Portugal, and agreed to pay the king a fifth part of their produce. The French miniſter preſently delivered a memorial to aſſert his maſter's claim to the river of Amazons, and to ſome of the iſlands in it, which, however, did not meet with much regard.

At Madrid a point of ceremony occaſioned the Portugueſe envoy to decline going to court; and though the

[s] Le Clede, Colebatch's Memoirs. [t] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique.

order

Digitized by Google

order which had occasioned this difference was revoked, that minister refused to appear there till he had received satisfaction. In the mean time, his catholic majesty died on the 1st of November, the news of which event, occasioned great concern at the court of Lisbon. The king had indeed an army on foot, and some of his frontier places were garrisoned; but he found no respect paid to his claim, and he was in no condition to enforce it. He knew that whether a prince of the house of Austria, or of Bourbon, succeeded Charles the Second, he would become at the same time heir to Philip the Second, who had possessed Portugal, and he could not help foreseeing the consequences [t]. The prospect did not at all clear on the accession of the duke of Anjou; but, on the contrary, Philip the Fifth, either to please the Spaniards, or from some other motive, was said to have assumed the arms of Portugal, which at Lisbon was immediately understood to be a direct violation of the treaty subsisting between the two crowns; so that with all his prudence, and all his precautions, the king found himself every day more and more embarrassed, more especially when he saw Philip take possession of the whole Spanish monarchy, without opposition [u].

In great embarrassment on the death of his catholic majesty Charles II.

A.D. 1700.

These perplexities were not a little increased by the information the king received from Pacheco, his envoy to the States General, who informed him of a treaty between France and Spain, by which the former engaged to enable the latter to conquer Portugal, which was to be an equivalent for the Low Countries, that were in that case to be at the disposition of France. Upon this discovery overtures were made to the allies, and with them a declaration, that in case they were not accepted, his Portuguese majesty would find himself under a necessity of closing with the two crowns, and accordingly such a treaty was soon afterwards set on foot [w]. In the month of June an alliance was concluded between Spain and Portugal, by which king Philip renewed the treaties between the two crowns, particularly those made by Don Sebastian and with the late Don Alonso the Sixth; and promised full satisfaction to the Portuguese company, which had been established for supplying the Spanish settlements with Ne-

Concludes a treaty with France and Spain.

[t] Memoires de la Torre, tom. ii. p. 133. Memoires, Historiques, & Chronologiques, Colebatch's Memoirs, par. ii. p. 52. [u] Mercure Historique & Politique, [w] Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du xviii. Siecle, par Monsieur de Lamberty, tom. i. p. 426.

Digitized by Google

groes, which was accordingly given by a ſeparate treaty, concluded about the ſame time. Philip likewiſe renounced all his pretenſions to the iſland of St. Gabriel, and promiſed that upon any ſcarcity of proviſion in Portugal, he would permit the ſending corn thither from any part of his dominions. On the other ſide, Don Pedro guarantied the teſtament of Charles the Second, declared himſelf an enemy to ſuch as ſhould make war on Philip on the ſcore of that ſucceſſion, and both kings reciprocally undertook not to give ſhelter to rebels or criminals that fled from the juſtice of either ſtate. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty became the guaranty of this treaty [x]. The true deſign of Don Pedro in making it, was to eſtabliſh a neutrality for the preſent, and to be entitled to as good or better terms in caſe he ſhould be inclined or obliged to change ſides. Upon the firſt news of the death of James the Second of Great Britain, the court of Portugal went into mourning, in order to avoid a notification in form; and, therefore, when the French ambaſſador preſſed him to follow his maſter's example, in reſpect to the ſucceſſion in that king-
A.D. 1701. dom, he refuſed to hear of it upon any terms. In purſuance of the treaty before mentioned, and upon the approach of the Engliſh fleet, the king ordered the duke de Cadaval to aſſemble forces for the ſecurity of the coaſts, while the king himſelf went to Salvaterra, in order to avoid the perſecution to which he was expoſed from the memorials of the Imperial and French miniſters, count Waldſtein and the preſident Rouille [y].

But finds himſelf obliged to take new meaſures.

In America his majeſty of Portugal took care to avail himſelf of the conceſſions made him by the French, who, upon his demoliſhing two or three little ports of no conſequence, admitted his right to both ſides of the river of Amazons, and quitted their own pretenſions to the iſland of Maranon; for by this time the importance of his friendſhip was ſo well underſtood at Verſailles and Madrid, that whatever he inſiſted upon was immediately complied with. This reſpect in ſome meaſure conſoled him for the very different uſage he had met with in the former part of his reign. Sir Stafford Fairbone, with an Engliſh fleet, being upon his coaſt, the king demanded a maritime force from France, capable of affording him ſecurity; and the ambaſſador of that crown having fairly told him that the thing

x Corps Univerſelle Diplomatique, tom. viii. par. i. p. 31.
y Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Quincy Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Lettres Hiſtoriques.

wa

was impossible, Don Pedro replied, he must then have recourse to a neutrality, and ordered his minister at Madrid to make the like declaration. To which cardinal Portocarrero answered, "That nothing better was to be expected from the rebel duke of Bragança." This angry speech, and the Spanish minister's giving the king a hint at Lisbon that he must chuse his side, for that a neutrality would never be admitted, left him much more at liberty, insomuch that he received the prince of Hesse Darmstadt with much civility, and the admirante of Castile with all possible respect, which events were in the nature of signals that he would take the Spanish minister's advice, and make choice of his party sooner than those who gave him that hint expected. In the mean time malecontents of all ranks fled from Spain into Portugal, and carried with them large sums of money, together with jewels and plate to an immense value[z]: the first of many advantages accruing to the court of Lisbon by these disturbances in Spain. A.D.1703.

As affairs advanced with his new friends, the king found it requisite to send an ambassador to the court of Vienna, and accordingly fixed upon the marquis of Govea, who lost no time in setting out for that court. New levies being made, some magazines raised on the frontiers, and the artillery ordered thither that had been removed to the coast, the Spanish minister began to take umbrage; and having demanded an audience, talked to the king in a very high style. Don Pedro answered calmly, "That his own behaviour was the cause of these measures, since it plainly betrayed an alteration in his master's sentiments, against which it was but natural for him to secure himself in the best way he could." By degrees the treaty, that had been long upon the carpet, was at length brought to bear, and was actually concluded and signed on the 16th of May, by the duke de Cadaval, the marquis de Alegrette, the count de Alvor, Don Roquo Montero Paim, and Don Josepho de Faria; on the part of his Imperial majesty by the count de Waldstein; on the behalf of the queen of Great Britain, by Mr. Methuen; and on the part of the States General of the United Provinces, by the sieur Schonenburgh[a]. By this treaty the emperor declared the archduke Charles king of Spain, and his majesty of Portugal agreed to acknowlege him as such, and to bring into the field of his *Concludes a treaty with the allies.*

[z] Burnet's History of his own Times, Mercure Historique & Politique. [a] Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. p. 127.

own troops, twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse: his Imperial majesty was to take thirteen thousand Portuguese troops into his pay, at the rate of a million pieces of eight a year. Other subsidies were likewise stipulated; and the sending a maritime force sufficient to protect the coasts of Portugal, by a separate article, which was to be kept secret. The archduke engaged, in quality of king of Spain, to yield to his majesty of Portugal, in perpetuity, the towns of Badajoz, Alcantara, Albuquerque, and Valenza, in Estramadura; as also Bayonne, Vigo, Tuy, and Gardia, in Galicia. By another separate article, he stipulated to renounce all pretensions to the countries in dispute on the Rio de la Plata. As Don Pedro was not obliged to declare till the new king of Spain was actually arrived in Portugal, the treaty was not made public; however, the report of it was so strong, that Lewis the Fourteenth sent a new minister to Lisbon; who, in an audience he had of Don Pedro, told him, that his master advised him, not only out of friendship but out of compassion, not to engage in leagues with distant and weak allies, who in his distress might be unwilling, or if not, would be certainly unable to assist him. In answer to this intimation, his majesty assured him, that he had a true sense of his master's friendship, and hoped he should never stand in need of his compassion. At the same time, to shew how much he was in earnest, he ordered every peasant in his dominions, who had two sons, to register one of them for his service, and forbad the holy office to disturb, on the score of his religion, any officer or soldier in the service of his allies [a].

The war declared, and is prosecuted with very little success.

One great motive to the king's concluding this alliance ceased almost as soon as it was made. It had been agreed, that king Charles III. should espouse the infanta Donna Theresa; but she died at Lisbon on the 14th of February, just turned of eight years of age. Soon after arrived king Charles, on board a noble fleet of the allies, attended by a great number of transports with near ten thousand men, and was received with all possible demonstrations of affection and esteem by his Portuguese majesty. The French minister affected to declare in public, that he would leave the kingdom as soon as the archduke arrived; which it is probable he would have done; but Don Pedro, to wipe

[a] Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du xviii. Siecle, par Monsieur Lamberty, Mercure Historique & Politique, Burnet's History of his own Times.

out

out one article in the long account before mentioned, ſent him orders to quit Portugal in twenty-four hours. His majeſty quickly publiſhed his motives for declaring war; in which are deduced a long train of inſults, ſome of which have been before mentioned. King Philip publiſhed his manifeſto alſo; and which was more to the purpoſe, was firſt in the field with a good army. Having the duke of Berwick under him, he took eight or ten places, and amongſt them Caſtel-Branco, where the ſoldiers found a great quantity of ſtores, and the tents of the two kings; at the ſame time the duke of Berwick ſurpriſed, and defeated the corps of troops commanded by baron Fagel [b]. To balance theſe loſſes the marquis das Minas, at the head of a Portugueſe army, entered Caſtile, defeated Don Pedro Ronquillo, and took ſome ſmall places. The autumn campaign was not more favourable than that of the ſummer; the two kings took the field, having received a reinforcement from England; but meeting with ſome diſappointments, returned very ſoon to Liſbon. Don Pedro was no ſooner there than he wrote to queen Anne to recall the duke of Schomberg, who by preſſing him continually for his father's arrears, was become very diſagreeable. The duke was equally weary of his command, having predicted all the misfortunes of the campaign, though he had not authority enough to hinder them. The queen complied with both their deſires, and ſent him a ſucceſſor. As for baron Fagel, he maintained himſelf in the king's good graces, notwithſtanding his misfortunes; but then he differed with his prime miniſter the duke of Cadaval, whom he held to be no great friend to the war. He alſo fell out with the marquis de Ruvigny, or as we ſtyle him, lord Galway, whom the queen had ſent to ſucceed the duke of Scomberg, and not being ſucceſsful in this diſpute, diſcovered ſtrong marks of diſcontent. Theſe unlucky jealouſies and miſunderſtandings were fatal to the ſervice; and the Portugueſe miniſters were ſo intent on making the moſt of the ſubſidies and ſuccours that were ſent from England, that if the troops had not been relieved by the fleet under the command of Sir George Rooke, they might have ſuffered more through want of proviſions, than from the ſuperiority of the enemy; which in the firſt campaign was ſufficiently felt, and would have been more ſo if the Spaniſh generals had not done all in their power, A.D. 1704.

[b] Quincy Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires, Hiſtoriques, & Chronologiques, Memoires par Lamberty.

to

Digitized by Google

to cross the duke of Berwick [c]. The admirante of Castile had also his share of vexation; so that the year ended with complaints on all sides, and the dismantling of Portalegro, and several other places in Portugal, which the Spaniards demolished before their retreat.

The king declares the queen-dowager of England regent.

At the very opening of the year the king was attacked with a very dangerous swelling in the throat, attended with such violent symptoms, that he immediately made his will, and appointed the queen-dowager of England regent. The general of the Jesuits taking this opportunity to command the king's confessor, who was of his order, to quit his employment, the king sent him word that if he insisted upon it, himself and the rest of his order should quit the kingdom. He had, not long after, a return of his distemper, which obliged him to leave the reins of government in the hands of his sister; but as soon as he found himself in any condition to use exercise, he applied himself to military affairs, and quickening the motions of his troops, so that he might have them early in the field, and in this endeavour he met with all the success he could desire. Baron Fagel, who commanded the Dutch troops in chief, had acquired the confidence of this monarch, and of king Charles. It was proposed to open the campaign with the siege of Badajoz, which he disliked, because it was a large well fortified place, and he apprehended the army too small to invest it; he added, that the siege would be of a considerable length, which might give the Spaniards time to attempt its relief, and he was unwilling to risk a disappointment. Besides, he thought the end of the war ought to regulate the progress of it, and as that was the setting king Charles upon the throne, he was for penetrating directly into Castile. His sentiments were followed, and the campaign opened by the siege of Valenza de Alcantara, which was taken [d]. Albuquerque was next reduced; but when, in pursuance of this project, Alcantara should have been attacked, the proposal was rejected; and it was carried in the council of war to retire into quarters of refreshment. Before the army separated there was another great council held, at which the admirante of Castile assisted, in order to determine the operations of the fleet and army of the allies, with whom king Charles was to go in person; he was for alarming the coasts of Spain during the summer, and return at the season for action to

[c] Mercure Historique & Politique. [d] Quincy Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de la Torre.

reduce

reduce St. Lucar, in order to fix the seat of war in Andaluſia, rather than in Catalonia. In this plan he was ſupported by the Engliſh and Dutch generals; but in his return from the camp to Liſbon, he died of an apoplexy [c]. Baron Fagel came to court in the beginning of July, where he found the operations of the confederate fleet, and of the Portugueſe army in the autumn regulated without his concurrence. The ſiege of Bajadoz was reſolved on, and he was prevailed upon by the king of Portugal to aſſiſt at it, though againſt his opinion. When he approached it, he adviſed deſtroying the Spaniſh magazines as far as Merida, previous to the ſiege; but that meaſure was poſtponed; when the army of the two crowns took poſt near the place, he was for fighting; but that advice was rejected. In the courſe of the ſiege a bomb from the caſtle blew up one of the principal magazines in the camp. Lord Galway and baron Fagel repairing to the place to remedy the diſorder this accident had occaſioned, the former loſt his right arm by a cannon ſhot; through the negligence of the Portugueſe, ſome poſts were ſurpriſed, and the baron was forced to raiſe the ſiege [f]. Upon this miſcarriage, and in conſequence of leave obtained from the ſtates, he returned to Holland, having much the ſame opinion of the court he left as the earl of Peterborough, who is ſaid to have written to the queen, that they had but one friend in the council (meaning the king), and he had not the greateſt weight [g]. About this time the queen-dowager of England reſigned the regency in great diſcontent, on account of the king's cancelling an order of her's to the pope's nuncio to leave the court; and it is thought this affront went ſo near her heart as to be in ſome meaſure the occaſion of her death, which happened on the laſt day of the year, in the ſixty-eighth of her age. She left all the immenſe wealth ſhe had ſaved to the king her brother, to the no ſmall diſappointment of the prieſts [h]. A.D. 1705.

By the great attention of the king Don Pedro, the troops were in a condition to be in action very early; the army was commanded by the marquis das Minas and lord Galway. The former was for beſieging Badajoz, becauſe it was a place of great conſequence to Portugal, and which they were to keep by treaty; the latter was for beſieging

Madrid taken by the Portugueſe, who are notwithſtanding no gainers by this campaign.

[c] Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques, Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique. [f] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Memoires par Lamberty, Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. [g] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique. [h] Hiſtory of Europe for the Year 1705.

Alcantara,

Digitized by Google

Alcantara, for the reaſons which had been before given by baron Fagel. The matter being left to the king, he ſent poſitive orders to attack Alcantara, preferring the intereſt of the common cauſe to his own. The place was ſtrong, and had a good garriſon; yet it was quickly taken. Some other places of leſs conſequence ſubmitted upon the approach of the allies, who advanced as far as Almaras, and lord Galway was for proceeding directly to Madrid, as the forces under the duke of Berwick were by no means able to oppoſe them. The Portugueſe generals were of another opinion, and they prevailed. Barcelona was at this time beſieged by king Philip, while his competitor was in the city. The Portugueſe believed it would be taken, and if it was, their communication with Portugal, upon their advancing into Caſtile, might be eaſily intercepted; therefore they propoſed beſieging Ciudad Rodrigo, a place of ſome importance in itſelf, and of great conſequence to them. Lord Galway procured the king's orders in favour of his project; but they came too late to prevent a ſiege; the place ſurrendered on the 26th of May; and by this time, they had an account that the ſiege of Barcelona was raiſed, and the concerns of king Philip in the utmoſt confuſion [i]. Lord Galway preſſed them to reſume his ſcheme, but in vain: they ſaid there were great hazards to be run, and the heat was inſupportable; but upon the arrival of the king's poſitive orders, it was agreed to. As ſoon as they began to move, courier after courier was ſent to haſten the march of king Charles from Barcelona, and to give him the more time they moved but ſlowly; ſo that it was the 26th of the month before they arrived there; but then indeed they made themſelves maſters of Salamanca and Toledo in the way [k]. However, king Charles was ſo little in haſte, on account, as ſome ſay, of the want of a magnificent equipage, or as others with more probability aſſert, from the deſire of being invited thither by ſome grandees of Caſtile, for fear he ſhould ſeem to be too much obliged to the Engliſh and Portugueſe, that at length it became impracticable. King Philip having joined the duke of Berwick, diſlodged the Portugueſe, who in their retreat experienced ſome of the hardſhips they had foreſeen. Here the ſingle opportunity was loſt of placing king Charles upon the throne, ſince if he had arrived in time at Madrid the

[i] Quincy Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. [k] Memoires par Lamberty, Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique.

ſeat

Digitized by Google

seat of war must have been transferred into Navarre. As it was managed, the Portuguese sustained some loss in their retreat; while in their absence the marquis de Bay had made an irruption upon their frontiers, and had recovered Alcantara by scalade. Lord Galway was extremely blamed here, and he in his apology laid a great load upon the marquis das Minas; notwithstanding that, all things considered, neither of them was much to blame. At their return into Portugal the army went into winter quarters, and the king gave out commissions for levying an additional corps of eleven thousand men, as being fully determined to carry on the war with greater vigour than ever [l]. While he was occupied with these thoughts he retired to Alcantara, which is the Versailles of Portugal, and at a very small distance from Lisbon, he caught cold by sleeping in the open air after having warmed himself with exercise. This accident happened on the 4th of December, and he thought himself much better the next day; on the 6th, however, he was attacked by a lethargy, and on the 9th, about eleven in the morning, he breathed his last, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, when he had held the administration thirty-seven, and the kingdom twenty-three years [m]. He died at a very critical point of time both for his subjects and for his allies, and was very justly regretted. He understood the true interest of Portugal thoroughly, and pursued it steadily (B). A.D. 1706.

Don

[l] Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Mercure Historique & Politique. [m] History of Europe for the Year 1706, Burnet's History of his own Times.

(B) Don Pedro the Second was born on the 26th of April, 1648, at Lisbon. In his person he was above the ordinary size in point of stature and bulk, of a very serene, and, towards the close of his life, grave aspect, but not accompanied with any thing of severity or haughtiness, for his character was in nothing more conspicuous than in his modesty. He was active, vigorous, loved manly diversions, and excelled in them most of his subjects. In respect to parts, his apprehension was quick, and his judgment solid; very sensible and sedate, which disposition, however, towards the end of his life degenerated into melancholy. So temperate in his diet, that he eat commonly alone, sitting upon a piece of cork on the floor, attended by one servant, never drinking wine himself, or suffering any to approach him that did. In his religion, zealous, and very sincere, as is evident from his distributing large sums in charity, with all the secrecy he was able. He

spoke

Digitized by Google

John the Fifth's accession to the throne of Portugal.

Don Juan the Fifth was turned of seventeen when he succeeded his father, and as he delayed his proclamation till the first day of the new year, this delay gave some countenance to a rumour, that the French party were inclined to set up Don Francisco, his second brother, and to appoint a certain grandee regent during his minority. After this ceremony, the new king gave the strongest assurances to the ministers of the maritime powers, that he would steadily adhere to his father's engagements; and would neglect nothing that appeared to him necessary to carry on the war with vigour [n]. These promises were so well executed, that lord Galway and the marquis das Minas actually penetrated into Castile, and even arrived without much opposition on the frontiers of the kingdom of Valencia, as early as the beginning of April. King Charles joined the army, and great hopes were entertained of effecting this campaign what had been proposed in the last. Lord Galway was for acting offensively, and his sentiment prevailing against that of the king, and those in whom he most confided, that monarch thought fit to retire from the army [o]. It consisted of about sixteen thousand men, with whom the marquis das Minas and lord Galway de-

[n] Burnet's History of his own Times, Mercure Historique & Politique. [o] Limiers, Histoire du Regne de Louis XIV.

spoke Spanish very well, and his own language incomparably. His coming young into business, and his constant attention to it, supplied the defect in his education, and qualified him so well for the transactions of the cabinet, that foreign ministers found it easier to deal with his ministers than with himself; for though he treated them with great sweetness, as well as perfect civility, yet when he felt he had the better of an argument, he would push it to the utmost, and render this victory complete. In reference to his children, he had by his first wife, the infanta Isabella Maria Louisa Josepha, born January the 6th, 1669, who died unmarried, October the 21st, 1690. By his second queen he had Don Juan, prince of Brazil, who died in the seventh year of his age; Don Juan, who succeeded him; the infant Don Antonio Francisco, born May the 15th, 1695; Don Manuel, born August the 3d, 1697; the infanta Donna Theresa Josepha, born February th 8th, 1696, who died when just turned of eight years old, after being promised in marriage to Charles the Third of Spain; Donna Frances Xavier, born January 30th, 1699, and who died at Lisbon July the 15th, 1736, unmarried. He had besides many natural children; but of these only one daughter and two sons were acknowleged.

stroyed

ſtroyed ſeveral of the enemy's magazines, and at laſt laid ſiege to Valena. The duke of Berwick marched with the army of the two crowns to its relief, and being much ſuperior to the allies in cavalry, advanced through the plain of Almanza to give them battle. Upon this motion, lord Galway prevailed upon the generals of the allies to quit the ſiege of Valena, and march on the 24th of April, early in the morning, to attack the enemy, though it is on all hands agreed, that they had no diſtinct intelligence of their force. The misfortune of that day is too well known. The blame was thrown by the Engliſh general upon the Portugueſe, and upon the count of Barcelona. The marquis das Minas, who fought very gallantly himſelf, aſcribed the loſs of the battle to fighting in a plain, where they were borne down by the Spaniſh horſe, at a time when the troops had loſt their ſpirit and ſtrength by the fatigue of a long march. It muſt be allowed, that the Portugueſe eſcaped better than their allies, and that the marquis das Minas ſhewed great conduct in his retreat. This misfortune, however, expoſed the frontiers not a little; ſo that the marquis de Bay, who commanded king Philip's forces, pretended to have levied contributions almoſt to the gates of Liſbon. The Caſtilians alſo, before the end of the year, recovered Ciudad Rodrigo, after a ſhort ſiege. Notwithſtanding all which diſadvantages, the Portugueſe miniſter at London preſented a memorial, in which he declared, that his maſter did not look upon theſe miſchiefs as without remedy; that he remained ſtill firmly attached to the common cauſe, and would contribute to the utmoſt in its ſupport, as being firmly perſuaded, that the independency of his own crown, and the commerce of Great Britain, could never be ſafe while the duke of Anjou remained in Spain [p]. This memorial anſwered the end propoſed, and procured that crown all the aſſiſtance that could be given.

The young king marries an archduchess, who is carried to Portugal by an Engliſh fleet.

There had been in the life-time of his father an intention of marrying the prince of Brazil to an arch-ducheſs, and his majeſty had declared more than once his reſolution to execute that engagement; which was highly acceptable to the allies. The count de Villa Major was named in the ſpring to go to the court of Vienna to demand this princeſs. He took the Hague in his way, in order to ſolicit

[p] Quincy, Limiers, Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times. Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire du xviii. Siecle, par Monſieur de Lamberty, tom. iv. p. 585, 586, 587.

the

the payment of the ſubſidies due to his maſter; of which he obtained a very round ſum, but this hardly defrayed the expence he was at in equipping a train of one hundred and fifty perſons that were to attend him to Vienna. His appearance at that court ſtruck every body with amazement: he was treated with all poſſible reſpect; the archduchess Mary Anne, ſecond daughter of the emperor Leopold, was granted to his maſter, and the marriage ſoon after celebrated, in which the emperor himſelf was proxy [q]. Lord Galway returning from Catalonia into Portugal found there two commiſſions from the queen his miſtreſs; one appointing him general and commander in chief of all her forces; and the other, ambaſſador extraordinary to his majeſty of Portugal [r]: but the ſituation of affairs in Flanders prevented the ſending the ſuccours intended to Portugal ſo early as had been deſigned; and therefore the ſummer and the autumn campaigns afforded nothing remarkable, except a ſingular regulation, that the peaſants on both ſides ſhould be exempted from the miſeries of war. The queen of Portugal, whoſe marriage had been celebrated the 9th of July, ſet out on the 11th; and having been ſplendidly entertained in her paſſage by the king of Pruſſia, arrived on the 7th of Auguſt at Wezel, where ſhe embarked on board the yatchs of the States Ge-
A.D.1708. neral, and arrived ſafe at the Hague on the 19th. She went from thence to Rotterdam, where ſhe embarked on the 11th of Septemper on board an Engliſh ſquadron commanded by admiral Baker; but meeting with bad weather, and contrary winds, ſhe did not arrive at Portſmouth till the 5th of October. She was complimented on the part of the queen by the duke of Grafton; and received and beſtowed very rich preſents. She embarked on board admiral Byng's ſquadron on the 18th, arrived ſafely in the river of Liſbon on the 26th [s]; and on the 28th the marriage was conſummated. Soon after arrived the richeſt and the greateſt fleet that ever came from the Brazils, conſiſting of one hundred ſail, having on board in diamonds, gold, ſugar, and other rich commodities, a cargo valued at ſix millions ſterlings. Some attempts were made by the French party to detach the king from his engagements; but without ſucceſs. On the contrary, he made all the

[q] Hiſtory of Europe for 1708. [r] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Boyer's Life of Queen Anne. [s] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Lettres Hiſtoriques, Memoires par Lamberty.

requiſite

Digitized by Google

requisite dispositions for having a flourishing army in the field, and for supplying his magazines, so as that the troops might be able to take the field early the next year, to repair the unavoidable inactivity in which they had spent this; and the new levies were made with all the success that could be desired.

The earl of Galway, in quality of ambassador extraordinary, made a public entry into Lisbon with great magnificence; which highly pleased the court and the people [a]. The king, however, was not very complaisant in providing, or suffering the earl to provide for all the French refugees he brought over. His majesty thought it very unequal that the private men of a battalion should be his subjects, and the officers strangers. However, so much care was taken, that the army was early in the field, and on the 4th of May the Portuguese, under the command of the marquis de Fronteira, encamped on one side of the Caya, the marquis de Bay, with the Spanish forces lying on the other; the latter were superior in horse, and the former in foot. The Portuguese writers say, that the earl of Galway was desirous to fight, in order to wipe out the memory of his misfortune at Almanza; but he asserted, that he opposed fighting. However, being insulted by the enemy, the allies passed the river on the 7th. The Spanish relations say, that the marquis de Bay permitted them to pass, and to form without any interruption: the reason is clear, there was a plain on the other side, which gave an opportunity for his cavalry to act. Both the right and the left wing of the allies were quickly defeated, the Spanish horse pursuing them a full league. On the other hand, the Spanish infantry behaved ill; that of the allies formed into a square battalion; but the marquis de Fronteira made a regular and noble retreat to Campo Major. The English, who brought up the rear, suffered much. The enemy took twenty-two field-pieces, and fourscore waggons; but there were no great consequences followed this action, only the earl of Galway, at his return to Lisbon, induced the king to change his sentiments, and to consent, that there should be a large proportion of foreign officers in the new regiments of horse and dragoons he was about to raise. In the autumn campaign the Spaniards A.D. 1709. besieged Olivenza; but were obliged to raise it with some loss. In the winter the king obtained a free gift from the clergy, enquired into the conduct of the campaign, and

[a] History of Europe for 1709, Mercure Historique & Politique.

Digitized by Google

broke such of the officers of his cavalry as had misbehaved. But the discontent this severity occasioned was felt afterwards in many instances.

An unfortunate squabble amongst ministers, attended with fatal consequences.

There happened in the winter of the preceding year a dispute on a point of ceremony, which was now revived. The king Don Pedro, while he was regent, had found it necessary to suppress what was called the franchises of foreign ministers; and he conducted his design with so much prudence and temper, that it occasioned no sort of complaint, neither had there been any dispute within this period of time: but now the bishop and prince of Labach being at Lisbon with the character of ambassador from his Imperial majesty, but incog. as not having yet made his entry, conceived it an affront for officers of justice to pass by his house with their white rods in their hands, which are the ensigns of their office, and therefore sent a Swiss, who was his porter, to turn them out of the street; and upon their refusing to go back, the Swiss beat one of them severely. The king was no sooner informed of this insult, than the secretary of state wrote to the ambassador to let him know, that he must discharge his porter, or forbear coming to court. This affair was, however, at length terminated: but after it had slept some months, count Stampa, ambassador from king Charles III. by the advice and instigation of the bishop, revived it, and more than once sent his servants to compel the officers of justice, and even judges who were passing by his door in their calashes, to go back, and return out of the street. The secretary of state wrote to him, that the king would not endure this insolence; and that if he persisted in such notions, he must forbear coming to court. Upon this intimation, count Stampa demanded a conference; at which assisted the prelate who began this bustle, the prince de Cienfugos, envoy from king Charles, the earl of Galway, her Britannic Majesty's minister, and monsieur de Schonenberg, minister from the States General, who made what they called a common cause of this affair, and declared their unanimous resolution, that no officer of justice should pass before their houses without dropping his white staff. The secretary of state represented to them, that while these franchises continued, there was no such thing as peace or justice in Lisbon; that the Portuguese ministers neither claimed nor enjoyed any such franchises at their respective courts; that this was no common cause, as they pretended, since the pope's nuncio, who had the first rank amongst foreign ministers, and the Prussian minister, who was the eldest

oldeſt then in Portugal, had publicly diſclaimed any concern in this affair; that what they did was of their own heads, and without any inſtructions from their reſpective courts; and that this kind of proceeding was of ſuch a nature as might have very dangerous effects with regard to the common cauſe; for which reaſon he exhorted them not to carry things to extremities, or deceive themſelves with notions of expedients, ſince the king was reſolved to be the ſole maſter in his capital, and would be obeyed. The miniſters ſtuck by each other; the king ordered them to quit Liſbon in twenty-four hours, and at the ſame time ordered four regiments of horſe into the city; thereupon the miniſters ſubmitted till they received the orders of their reſpective courts in regard to this diſpute: and their courts were too wiſe to revive it[u]. This unlucky affair quite diſconcerted things in Portugal: the king conſidered it in a ſtrange light, and began to grow jealous of foreign officers and foreign troops. The ſtates had alſo a private and particular grievance in reſpect to an impoſition that had been laid upon ſalt at St. Ubes: on the other hand, the king of Portugal ordered the count de Tarouca, his ambaſſador at the Hague, to inſiſt upon the payment of two years ſubſidies which were due to him: their high mightineſſes found it expedient to pay him one half. We ſhall preſently ſee what the conſequences were of theſe miſunderſtandings. The count de Villa Verda commanded the army of Portugal, in the place of the marquis de Fronteira: the battalions were far from being complete; and the ſix new regiments, that were to be in the queen of Great Britain's pay, were not above half-raiſed; ſo that during the ſummer campaign they acted on the defenſive, the marquis de Bay had an army equal to their's in Eſtramadura, and there was beſides a corps of ten thouſand men in Andaluſia[x]. In the middle of Auguſt general Stanhope defeated the troops of the two crowns at Almenara; on the 20th they gained the great victory of Saragoſſa[y]; upon which expreſſes were diſpatched from the army of king Charles, to preſs a junction with the army of the Portugueſe at Almaras. The anſwer was, that having no magazines, ſuch a march as

[u] Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire du xviii. Siecle, par Monſieur de Lamberty, tom. v. p. 179. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique.
[x] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Memoires par Lamberty.
[y] Quincy Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Monſieur de Voltaire.

Digitized by Google

this was impossible. It was then desired that a detachment of four or five thousand men might be sent, but this was refused for the same reason[x]. All this time king Charles was marching to Madrid, against his own will, and against the sentiments of count Starembergh. General Stanhope, whose measure this was, pressed the court of Portugal for the troops in the queen's pay. At last he demanded the English regiments; and the secretary of the embassy offered to furnish the expence, the earl of Galway being by this time recalled; but this was likewise refused. All that the Portuguese would do, was besieging and taking a place or two of no great consequence, to alarm and distract the enemy; after which exploits the army separated, and went into winter quarters. To this conduct of the court of Portugal the ruin of king Charles's affairs is commonly ascribed. The Portuguese allege, that they had once before made themselves masters of Madrid, and suffered severely in their retreat; that they marched a second time into Castile, and smarted for it at Almanza; that to have marched the whole army now, was to have left Portugal at mercy, since king Philip's troops in Andalusia might have wasted it at pleasure; that to have sent a great detachment, instead of lessening, would have increased the difficulties of king Charles, who did not leave Madrid through want of force, but through want of food, which it was not in their power to supply. As to the joint application of all the ministers of the courts, allies to the court of Portugal, upon this occasion, we have shewn how that came to have but little weight. The facts are fairly stated, and the reader will judge for himself. In the winter arrived the earl of Portmore, in quality of her Britannic majesty's minister and commander in chief.

A.D. 1710.

In the winter the king endeavoured to restore his forces, and declared his intention to act with fifteen thousand foot and five thousand horse in the spring: but at the same time complained of the difficulties he was under to fill his magazines with corn, and to provide horses, of which there was a great scarcity. The count de Villa Verda acted offensively in the summer campaign; took Miranda and some other places, and levied great contributions in the enemy's country. He afterwards passed the Guadiana, and took Zafra; but while he was thus employed, the marquis de Bay entered Portugal, and actually bombarded

[x] Mercure Historique & Politique.

Elvas

Digitized by Google

Elvas, a circumſtance which obliged the Portugueſe army to return; and then the Spaniards retired. In the mean time the Portugueſe miniſter, count Tarouca, preſſed the Dutch for the payment of ſeveral years ſubſidies, and made other complaints, which were but indifferently anſwered; but to balance theſe, it was ſuggeſted to that miniſter, that they had ſome fears as to the ſincerity of his maſter in regard to the common cauſe. Theſe informations came from the duke of Savoy. The count acknowleged, that propoſitions had been made by an emiſſary of the marquis de Bay; that an anſwer had been returned, importing, that Portugal would treat only in conjunction with her allies: that under pretence of not having received this anſwer, the marquis wrote a ſecond letter; upon which a copy of the former anſwer was ſent him, and his emiſſary was obliged to leave the country. It appeared afterwards, there was no foundation for theſe ſuſpicions; for, on the one hand, the French gave out that they had made a ſecret treaty with Portugal, to alarm the allies; and on the other, had actually made propoſitions at Liſbon, in order to amuſe the Portugueſe, while they were attacking them in America. The autumn campaign produced little or nothing. In the courſe of the preceding year, the French had made a raſh attempt upon Rio Janeiro, and had been repulſed with great loſs. This year they ſent a ſtrong ſquadron to revenge it, which they did to ſome purpoſe, and which had a terrible effect upon the affairs of Portugal. A.D. 1711.

Military affairs go as untowardly this campaign as they went the laſt.

At the opening of the enſuing year, the affairs of Portugal were in a very perplexed ſituation; their loſs in America appeared to be greater than had been at firſt imagined; and by the compariſon of their own with the French accounts, could not fall much ſhort of a million ſterling, excluſive of four men of war that had been burnt in the bay. To leſſen the king's chagrin, and to put it in his power to take the neceſſary meaſures for protecting their commerce, the nobility and clergy made him conſiderable preſents, in ready money and in plate. His majeſty appeared to be extremely ſatisfied with theſe teſtimonies of duty and public ſpirit, but remained ſtill under great uneaſineſs from the conduct of his allies. He knew that ſome overtures had been made on the part of France, and he diſapproved them. In the month of March, the count de Tarouca preſented a memorial of his maſter's demands, in which he inſiſted upon the reſtitution of the whole Spaniſh monarchy to the emperor Charles, as a meaſure

Digitized by Google

ſure requiſite for the ſecurity of Portugal [y]. Some apprehenſions there were, that the French would pay a third viſit to Rio de Janeiro, which occaſioned a warm application for a Dutch ſquadron, with little effect. He was likewiſe directed to inſiſt upon the ſubſidies, and with great difficulty obtained bonds for the amount of one year, which he diſcounted, as he had done thoſe the year before, at ten per cent. loſs. This ſupply was very acceptable at Liſbon; where, as the ſeaſon of action approached, they found themſelves under freſh difficulties; for the French had a ſquadron upon their coaſts, under the command of the ſieur Coſſart, who gave out that he would force a paſſage up the river of Liſbon, while the marquis de Bay had a ſuperior army upon their frontiers, and threatened to ſend a great body of horſe to the very gates of that city [z]. The count de Villa Verda, and the earl of Portmore, were in the field with an army ſo ſmall, that they could not hinder the Spaniards from making incurſions, and raiſing contributions; and beſides, the earl made no ſcruple of owning, that he expected orders every day for embarking the Britiſh troops. It happened fortunately for this crown, that the heats were ſo violent, that the armies were forced to go into quarters of refreſhment ſooner than uſual; and the marquis de Bay receiving ſoon after orders to detach three thouſand horſe for Catalonia, the armies were brought more upon a level. In the autumn campaign, however, the marquis beſieged Campo Mayor, which was ſo well defended, and the count de Villa Verda took his meaſures ſo well, that towards the end of October the Spaniards were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. To balance this ſmall ſucceſs, major-general Pearce, who commanded the Engliſh troops, ſeparated from the Portugueſe, and declared his intentions to embark. At the ſame time the Engliſh court refuſed to pay any longer the Portugueſe troops in Catalonia. The king of Portugal, finding himſelf preſſed by his enemies, and deſerted by his allies, was conſtrained to negociate a ſuſpenſion of arms at the Hague, which was concluded and ſigned at Utrecht, on the 7th of November, by the count de Tarouca and Don Lewis d'Acunha on one ſide, and by the marſhal d'Huxelles, the abbé de Polignac, and Mr. Meſnager on the other. The Portugueſe troops in Catalonia

[y] Memoires par Lamberty, Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique.
[z] Quincy Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Burnet.

had

Digitized by Google

had orders to separate from those of the other, and to march home by land. Towards the close of the year the Brazil fleet arrived safe in the river of Lisbon, to the great joy of the whole nation, who had been very apprehensive that it would be attacked by the French in its passage. The birth of Don Pedro, prince of Brazil, served to console both the court and the people in the present perplexed state of their affairs; and the solemnity of his baptism was according to the custom of the country, celebrated with the utmost magnificence, his Imperial majesty Charles VI. his Portuguese majesty's brother-in-law, and his own sister the infanta, being sponsors. This young prince died about two years after[a]. A.D. 1712.

It was generally understood at Utrecht, and at the Hague, that in the course of negociations Portugal would take the same steps with England. This judgment was sensibly formed, and was verified in the event; and yet the king of Portugal was in sentiments directly opposite to those of the queen of Great Britain, and had expressed this difference in a letter to that queen. His plenipotentiaries also were men of abilities and spirit, incapable of becoming the creatures, or being made the dupes of France; and yet from their conduct at that time many were of another opinion: whereas, in reality, they had no other method to take; for Portugal, unsupported, was by no means able to dispute with Spain, more especially when governed by a prince of the house of Bourbon, who had reduced all its kingdoms into so many provinces, and, under colour of necessity, had established a kind of military government. Don Juan himself was by no means inclined to the French interest; but many of his nobility, and some of his ministers, who had married French women of quality, were entirely governed by their wives. The armies were still on the frontiers, and the Spaniards finding a favourable opportunity, surprised Valenza de Alcantara, an action which might have renewed the war if the court of Lisbon had been in better circumstances; but as things then stood, the king thought it advisable to leave the dispute this had occasioned to be decided by the queen of Great Britain. The peace between Portugal and France was signed on the 11th of April[b]. By this treaty the prisoners on both sides were to be set at liberty without *Treaty of peace with France.*

[a] History of Europe for 1711, Mercure Historique & Politique.
[b] Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. par. i. p. 353. Actes & Memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht.

Digitized by Google

ransom: whatever privileges or exemptions his Portuguese majesty granted to the French in his dominions, the French king was to grant the like to the Portuguese; the commerce between the two nations was to be put on the same foot as before the war; the French quitted all right, and all pretensions to the countries lying about the North Cape, between the river of Amazons and that of Vincent Pynson, acknowleging the crown of Portugal to have the sole property and sovereignty of the south, as well as the north shores of the river of Amazons, annulling the treaty concluded with Don Pedro the Second, and permitting his Portuguese majesty to restore those forts which that monarch had been obliged to demolish. It is very certain that the Portuguese were very well treated in this negociation. It was asserted by the English ministers, that they had insisted upon these terms; on the other hand, the plenipotentiaries of the crown of France openly declared, that they were the pure effects of his most Christian majesty's generosity. Things, however, remained still open with respect to Spain, and great pretensions were formed by that court with regard to Portugal, which it was intimated, ought to be settled before any progress could be made in an affair of so great consequence as a definitive peace. France, however, promised her good offices, and the court of Lisbon, from a principal of œconomy, reduced their forces to the establishment upon which they stood before the war, and quartered them on their frontiers. At the latter end of the year arrived the fleet from Brazil, with a cargo valued at more than a million and a half sterling, and this, notwithstanding the king's duty at the mines had been stopped to indemnify the people for the loss sustained by the French depredations at Rio Janeiro [c].

A.D. 1713.

King of Portugal still perplexed.

The perplexity of the cabinet at Lisbon increased daily from the refractory dispositions of some in the Brazils, from a discontented humour that spread itself amongst the populace, and from some intrigues amongst the nobility. The king, who was a prince of much temper and moderation, dissembled his dislike to things that could not be amended, temporized with the house of Bourbon, and represented to his old allies how much it was their interest to draw him out of so unpleasant a situation; since, if they aban-

[c] Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. par Monsieur Lamberty, tom. viii. Mercure Historique & Politique, History of Europe for 1713.

doned

doned Portugal, they had no means of giving check to that vaſt power which they had thrown into the hands of Spain. On the 6th of June the queen was happily delivered of the infant Don Joſeph. The king immediately took this occaſion to deſire Lewis the Fourteenth to be his ſponſor, and named an ambaſſador to his court, and another who in due time was to repair to Madrid. All this time the peace ſeemed farther off than ever, the court of Spain inſiſting upon ſatisfaction for two ſhips taken, as they affirmed, before war was declared, which they eſtimated at ſeveral millions; they declined any poſitive anſwer as to the demand of the reſtitution of the new colony which they had taken from the Portugueſe, near Buenos Ayres; and they inſiſted, that the whole eſtate of the family of Aveiro ſhould be reſtored to the duke d'Arco, who had married the eldeſt of that duke's daughters. To give weight to theſe claims the court of Madrid augmented their forces on the frontiers, raiſing magazines, and gave out, that, after the reduction of Barcelona, the troops in Catalonia ſhould march into Eſtremadura. Don Juan perſiſted in the ſame ſteady behaviour; but at the ſame time, as his laſt reſource, repreſented to Lewis the Fourteenth, that this was not the way to maintain the quiet of Europe: that it was againſt his intereſt to delay the general peace; and that events were not in the power of the greateſt captains or the wiſeſt politicians. The French court gave fair words; but it is uncertain what would have followed from them. However, two things fell out before the end A D. 1714. of the year which altered the face of affairs exceedingly; one was the death of queen Anne, within a week after which the lords juſtices ſignified to his majeſty of Portugal, that they would oblige the crown of Spain to give a categorical anſwer, and if this was inconſiſtent with the original plan of peace, he might depend on ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance [d]. The other was the arrival of a very rich fleet from Brazil, with the news that all the ill humour in that country was diſſipated by the diſcovery of a new mine, for working of which thoſe who had been moſt diſſatisfied now bid the higheſt. King John immediately gave orders for viſiting his fortreſſes, erecting magazines, and levying men, as if he was ſatisfied the war would break out again, and theſe ſteps had the deſired effect. The court of Ver-

[d] Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, Hiſtoire de la Vie & du Regne de Louis XIV. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Memoires par Lamberty.

ſailles

failles interpoſed its influence, and that of Madrid became more tractable every hour; ſo that there ſcarce remained a doubt the peace would be ſigned before the ſuſpenſion of arms expired.

Peace at length concluded with his catholic majeſty at Utrecht.

In this conduct, however, there was ſomewhat of artifice, as it was founded on an expectation that Portugal would recede in ſome of her pretenſions, or at leaſt would admit ſome of the claims inſiſted on by the court of Madrid. King John proving inflexible, Lewis the Fourteenth declared to his miniſter, that he had employed his good offices with his grandſon without being able to prevail. A declaration of the ſame kind was made to the court of Great Britain. King John perſiſted in his ſteadineſs: the Spaniſh plenipotentiary at the beginning of this year propoſed to the Portugueſe miniſters at Utrecht, to adjuſt the treaty amongſt themſelves. When this was done the court of Verſailles was conſulted; and upon an anſwer coming from thence, a reſolution was taken to ſign it when the world leaſt expected any ſuch thing; but for ſome reaſons it was thought proper this ſhould be done very ſecretly, and without any of the ceremonies that uſually attend the concluſion of acts of ſuch high importance. The method taken was this; the plenipotentiaries brought each a copy of the treaty with him, and, under pretence of taking a walk in the Mall, they met, and ſigned it upon one of the benches, on the 6th day of February[e]. There were preſent only five perſons, the duke of Oſſuna, the Spaniſh plenipotentiary, the count de Tarouca and Don Lewis de Acunha, the miniſters of Portugal, Mr. Zancorra, ſecretary to the duke, and M. de Lima, who ſtood in the ſame capacity to the count and Don Lewis. This gentleman had the addreſs in framing the treaty to name his own maſter firſt, and to ſatisfy the Spaniſh plenipotentiary that it was agreeable to the form; in which it has been thought that he was a little too cunning for him. However, it eſtabliſhed a precedent that Portugal will hardly depart from, and gave the hint to that expedient which was univerſally admitted at the concluſion of the laſt general peace. The reaſon of the ſecrecy obſerved in the ſigning was the duke of Oſſuna's having ſent a courier to Verſailles, to deſire the ſolution of ſome difficulties, who

[e] Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du Droit, des Gens tom. viii. par. i. p. 444. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Memoires par Lamberty, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Monſieur Voltaire, Hiſtory of Europe for 1714.

returned

Digitized by Google

returned a little after midnight with a full approbation of the duke's conduct; so that the transaction was made public the very next day.

Substance of this peace.

By this treaty Portugal was in all respects a gainer. It was agreed, that the limits of the two monarchies should be the same they were before the war. His catholic majesty consented to restore the castle of Noudar, and its territory the island of Verdoejo, and the territory and colony of St. Sacrament, renouncing for himself and his heirs all claim and pretensions to them, and annulling the provisional treaty of 1681; but with a reservation of a power of offering an equivalent for these places within eighteen months, which, if not accepted, the right was to be absolute in the king of Portugal. His catholic majesty also agreed to pay six hundred thousand crowns, by three equal payments, to extinguish all demands in relation to the Assiento company. He also admitted the three ships belonging to Buenos Ayres, seized at the beginning of the war, to be good prizes. On the other hand, his Portuguese majesty undertook to restore Albuquerque and Puebla in the condition they then were, without demanding any thing for the additional fortifications, artillery, or military stores; he relinquished all the claims and pretensions arising from the Assiento company; renewed the concordate of Don Sebastian for the mutual delivering up of criminals, and the treaties between the two crowns of 1678 and 1701. This treaty was declared to be under the guaranty of Great Britain, and also of all such kings, princes, and republics as within the space of six months should become and be accepted as guarantees by their majesties.

CHAP.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. LXVII.

The History of the Kingdom of Navarre.

SECT. I.

Rise of this Sovereignty, and the History of its Princes to the Accession of Sancho the Great.

Several etymologies of the word Navarre, which are altogether vague and uncertain.

AS to the name of Navarre, it is of equal or rather earlier antiquity than the sovereignty; but what it means, or whence derived, is very far from being clear. Some say that one of the most conspicuous mountains on the frontiers of this kingdom bears the name of Navaca, from whence Navarre might be formed by corruption [a]. The more general notion is, that *Nava* signifies *a plain spot of ground cleared from wood*, and that *erria*, in the ancient Cantabrian language, signified *land*; and taking these together the country was first called Nava erria, which was gradually changed into Navarre [b]. It is somewhat more certain that Nava signifies in Spanish, *a valley with rocks on both sides*; and the reader may remember the decisive victory gained by the Christians over the Moors at the Nava de Tolosa, which is as much as to say the *Pass of Tolosa* [c]. As this country contains many such vallies, or navas, it is possible the appellation might come from thence. On the other hand, it is just to observe, that the first time the appellation occurs, it is in Latin, and is Navarri [d], and is applied not to the country but to the people, which makes against all these etymologies, which justifies what we said of them, that they are dubious and little to the purpose.

Mariana's account of the origin of the principality of Sobrarva or Navarre.

Mariana tells us, that the inhabitants of the Pyrenees, taking the advantage of their situation, defended themselves against the Moors, but without being subject to any regular form of government, till they were induced to erect a principality by the following extraordinary accident. There was a pious hermit, whose name was John,

[a] Garibay Compendio Historial de las Cronicas de todos los Reynos de Espana, lib. xxi. [b] L'Histoire de Royaume de Navarre, p. 2. [c] Mariana Historia general de Hispana, Ferreras Historia de Hispana. [d] Eginhart Annal. A. D. 806.

who

Digitized by Google

who in these times of distress and desolation retired to the steep mountain of Uruela, in the neighbourhood of the city of Jacca; and upon one of its eminences, built a chapel, which he dedicated to St. John the Baptist. There he remained with four of his disciples; and dying with the odour of sanctity, there resorted incredible multitudes of people to his funeral. Amongst the rest there were no less than six hundred gentlemen; but whether they resorted thither purely by chance, or that this meeting was concerted by some of the most distinguished amongst them, so it was that they took occasion to discourse together on the miseries to which their country was exposed; the rage and cruelty of the Moors; the glory that would result from throwing off their yoke; the natural strength of the adjacent country; its vicinity to France, from whence they might hope support; and the example given them by their neighbours in the Asturias, who had proclaimed and supported Don Pelagio against the whole force of the infidels. After mature deliberation, they unanimously elected Don Garcia Ximenes for their chief. It does not appear that he was of royal descent, or so much as of the blood of the Goths; but rather judged to be descended of the ancient Spaniards: however, he was a person of great distinction, being lord of Amescua and Abarsusa, in that neighbourhood; and he had espoused Donna Iniga, who was also of an illustrious race. It is not agreed whether he was properly king of Sobrarva or Navarre; but he recovered Ainsa, which is the principal place in the first mentioned country, out of the hands of the infidels, and built a noble church, where the chapel of St. Juan de la Penna had stood, and appointed it to be the burial-place of himself and his successors. A. D. 758.

On the demise of this prince succeeded his son Don Garcia Inigas, equally distinguished by his valour and his talents for government. He extended his territories as far as the country of Biscay, or at least made himself master of Alava. Under his reign Aznar, the son of Eudes the Great, took from the Moors some places near the river Arga, to which Don Garcia gave the title of a county, and received homage from him as the first count of Arragon. He was succeeded by his son of the same name, who left his county to Don Galindo, by whom they were transmitted to his son Don Ximenes Aznar. Don Garcia Inigas, at his demise, left his dominions to Don Fortune Garcia his son, a prince highly celebrated for his valour and his virtues. He was present in the famous battle of A. D. 802.

Roncevaux,

Digitized by Google

Roncevaux, in which the emperor Charlemagne was defeated; and in which Don Ximenes Aznar, count of Arragon, lost his life, whose sister Theuda was married to the king Don Fortune. He had by her Don Sancho Garcia, who conquered the country now known by the name
A. D. 715. of Navarre, and fixed his residence at Pampeluna. He is reported to have been slain in battle against the famous Moor Muza, and to have been succeeded by his son Don Ximenes Garcia, who, with his wife Donna Munja, lies interred in the monastery of St. Salvador de Leira, in whom the royal family became extinct; and an interregnum ensued, during which that famous code was made, which is entitled Los Fueros de Sobrarva, or *the laws of Sobrarvia*, from whence all the boasted privileges and immunities of the people of Arragon were derived.

The defeat given the Saracens at Poitiers opens a passage for the French into Spain.

At the time the Moors subdued Spain, it is evident, from the concurrence of the historians of all nations, that they pushed their victories to the utmost limits of the monarchy of the Goths: and, not satisfied with reducing the whole continent of Spain, laboured to seize so much of Gaul as had been in their possession[e]. This design brought them to have some disputes with Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, who defeated Zama, one of their generals, before the city of Toulouse, and cut him off in his flight[f].
A. D. 721. In order to strengthen himself more effectually, not only against these barbarous enemies, but also against Charles Martel, who then governed the French monarchy, he gave his daughter in marriage to Munnuz, a Moorish general, who had revolted in Catalonia. Abderamen, who had then the supreme direction of the affairs of the Moors in Spain, marched with a prodigious army to reduce him, to punish the duke of Aquitaine, and to penetrate into the more fertile provinces of France. The two first parts of his design he executed, taking Munnuz, whom he put to death, and ravaging and destroying the dominions of the duke of Aquitaine; but advancing imprudently with his numerous army into the neighbourhood of Poictiers, he was attacked by the French, under the command of Charles Martel in front, and when the battle was at the height, by Eudes duke of Aquitaine in rear, a circumstance which brought on one of the most signal and total
A. D. 734. defeats of which there is any mention in history[g]. This

[e] Petri de Marca, Limes Hispanicus, Mariana, Ferreras.
[f] Roderic Toletan Histor. Arab. cap. xiii. [g] Paul. Longobard, lib. vi. Isidor Pacens Chron.

broke

broke the power of the Saracens, and in all human probability saved Christendom. Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, recovered Narbonne, and compelled Suleyman, who held Barcelona, Gironne, and the best part of Catalonia, to become his vassal [h]. A. D. 759.

On the accession of Charlemagne, some of the Moorish governors, desirous of shaking off the yoke of the miramamolin, sought his assistance, and offered him their homage: amongst the chief of these was Eben al Gabra, lord of Saragossa, who, having given him his son as an hostage, pressed him to enter Spain, which he did with two great armies, one passing through Catalonia, and the other, which he commanded in Spain, through Navarre, where he took Pampeluna, and pushed his conquests as far as the Ebro. In his return, however, after having demolished Pampeluna, he met with a very severe check in the valley of Roncevaux, where he lost some of his best officers, a great part of his army, and all his baggage; but, however, he wisely continued his retreat; neither did this misfortune deprive him of the places he had occupied on the march or frontier of Spain [i]. In order to understand this matter clearly, we must consider the several nations by whom the chain of the Pyrennees, and the countries at the foot of them on both sides, were occupied: these were the Moors, who held some fortified places, as conquerors in right of arms; the Goths, who had retired into the inaccessible mountains, in hopes of enjoying freedom and their religion; and a third people, who were the Vascons, Bascons, Basques, or Gascons, for it is all but one name, and one nation [k]. If there is any distinction to be made, those on the Spanish side of the mountains are usually styled Vascons, and that of Gascons belong to those on the French side. They were an active, martial, fickle, turbulent, and cunning people. It was this nation that defeated Charlemagne, and who, in point of numbers and of power, exceeded both the Goths and the Moors; that is to say in this country of their's, which, though ill governed, was well peopled. A. D. 778.

Charlemagne enters into, and recovers part of this country from the infidels.

Charlemagne having given Aquitaine, with the conquests on the side of Spain, to his son Lewis, with the title of king, he turned his arms against the infidels; and having made a successful expedition into Catalonia, passed

Navarre at this juncture belonged to him, and to several of his successors.

[h] Pet. de Marca, Limes Hispanicus, Eginhart Annal. [i] Eginhart de Vitâ & gestis Caroli Magni, [k] Oihenartus Notitia utriusque Vasconiæ.

from

Digitized by Google

from thence into Arragon, and returned through Navarre into France. At this time he recovered Pampeluna, which had again fallen into the hands of the Moors; and in the history of this expedition we first meet with the word Navarre [l]. After these conquests he established, according to the mode of the times, and of the Gallic government, counts in all the considerable places which he
A. D. 806. reduced [m]. About eighteen years after this event, under the reign of the emperor Lewis le Debonnaire, a French army, commanded by two counts, was sent to drive the Moors out of Navarre, a service which they performed, and having secured Pampeluna, marched back into France; but the monarch of Cordova having the Vascons, or Gascons, in his interest, they attacked, and totally defeated them in their passage, taking both the counts prisoners.
A. D. 824. One of them, whose name was Ebba, they sent to the king of Cordova, and the other, whose name was Aznar, they set at liberty, because he was their countryman [n].

A. D. 831. The emperor Lewis having given Aquitaine, with the title of king, to his son Pepin, that prince some way or other disobliged this count Aznar, who withdrawing from the French, retired amongst the Spanish Vascons, and in the country of Sobrarva, by the assistance of his relations and dependents, excited a revolt; here in reality commenced that sovereignty, of which we have undertaken to give an account: but in what manner this revolt was carried on, or to what extent he carried it, does not appear, in ancient chronicles [o]. However, from this deduction the reader cannot but discern, that what has been before reported of the ancient kingdoms of Sobrarva and Pampeluna, are mere fictions, at least in the manner in which we have seen them related; for during the period in which those principalities are supposed to have existed, we have shewn that those countries belonged sometimes to the French, sometimes to the Moors, but never to any independent sovereign, great or little. We have likewise made it evident, that this principality did not spring, as that of Asturias, from the valour of the Goths; neither was it erected, properly speaking, at the expence of the Moors, but by throwing off the yoke of France. It must, however, be admitted that the most authentic histories of the kingdoms of Oviedo and Leon [p] assert, that their

Aznar revolts from king Pepin, and establishes himself amongst the Spanish Vascons.

[l] Eginhart Annal. A. D, 806. [m] Petri de Marca.
[n] Eginhart Vita Lodovici, p. ii. [o] Annales Metenf.
[p] Chronicon Ovitense, Lucas Tudensis, Chron. Adefonsi Magni.

mon-

Digitized by Google

monarchs were sometimes masters of Alava, Biscay, and part of Navarre, and even of the city of Pampeluna, which may be, and, as we have shewn elsewhere, probably is true.

Count Aznar, by his revolt from Pepin king of Aquitaine, gave beginning to this sovereignty; which is a fact naked indeed of circumstances, but not destitute of proof. We know little of those times, and amongst the little we know is this, that count Aznar retired with the Gascons, who would follow him out of the more accessible vallies on the side of France, into the almost impenetrable mountains on the frontiers of Spain; where he provided in the best manner he could for the subsistence of his people in a wild and barren country, and for their safety against the Moors on one side, and several Christian princes on the other, none of whom had any reason to consider either him or them in a very advantageous light. The disturbances that happened in the imperial family hindered Pepin king of Aquitaine from pursuing this rebel, though it is not altogether certain that he continued such during his life: it is more probable, that he either compromised his quarrel with him, or that he was received into his friendship as an ally, since he is thought to have lost his life in the quarrel that ensued upon the emperor's bestowing the dominions which his son Pepin had enjoyed upon his other son Charles, to the prejudice of the children of Pepin [q], whose part was taken by the lords of Aquitaine, and even by this count Aznar, who, though he revolted from their father, died in the field in their cause and his own; being sensible that whoever was strong enough to spoil them of their patrimony, would never allow him to possess, in the manner he desired to possess it, the little country he held, where or whatsoever it might be. A. D. 837.

The reign of count Aznar.

Count Sancho, the brother of the deceased, succeeded him in his small estates, and governed them according to his maxims, paying sometimes great respect to Pepin the Second, and at others affecting to acknowlege no superior. He extended his territories in such a manner as to join part of Arragon and Navarre to Sobrarva; and he also treated with the princes his neighbours so as to live with them on tolerable terms [r]. He had likewise some transactions with Charles the Bald, to whom he sometimes gave fair words, and acknowleged him in general terms

Don Sancho succeeds his brother.

[q] Annales Bertiniani. tom. ii, par. iv. sect. ix.

[r] Ferreras, Historia de Hispana,

Digitized by Google

for his prince; with a design to have recourse to his protection in case Ordogno king of Asturias should form any pretensions to his prejudice: for that prince having reduced the Gascons in the province of Alava, was suspected of a design to carry his arms farther, against which count Sancho took the best measures he was able. We have it not in our power to speak with any certainty of the extent of his territories, or the place of his residence; the few contemporary writers have been content to report, that the people of Navarre were at this time Christians, and were governed by a prince whose name was Don Sancho. He died at a very critical juncture, and left his principality, then in great danger of being overwhelmed by the power of Charles the Bald, to his son, who was either wise or fortunate enough to avail himself of that very danger to shake off all dependence[s], and become truly a prince.

Don Garcia comes to the sovereignty.

Don Garcia, at his entrance on the government, found all the sovereignties about him in the utmost confusion. Muza, governor of Saragossa, who is generally reputed to have been a Christian, and a Goth by birth, but who had raised himself to the highest honours by the display of his military virtues amongst the Moors, understanding that his old master was dead, revolted from the new king of Cordova. Charles the Bald, having shut up the sons of Pepin in a monastery, gave the kingdom of Aquitaine to his son; a measure which disobliged many of his subjects, and none so much as the Gascons. Upon this occasion many of their little chiefs resorted to Don Garcia, to take his advice, and to demand his protection. He received them kindly, and denied them neither. He told them, that brave men in a country strong by situation might be always free, and gave them broad hints, that in a situation like their's submission must be necessarily attended with slavery at least, if not extirpation. These hints induced them to fix under his government for their own security, and rendered him much more formidable than his predecessors. In order to strengthen himself still more, and that he might have nothing to fear from that side on which his dominions lay most open, he thought fit to espouse the daughter of Muza, whose revolt had been attended with such success that he assumed the title of king[t].

[s] Chron. Adefonsi Magni, Ferreras, Magni.

[t] Chron. Adefonsi

This

Digitized by Google

This prince of the Gascons was equally brave and politic, but as his prudence did not go so far as to make him afraid of war when it was necessary, so his martial spirit never suggested to him disturbing his neighbours purely to enlarge his dominions. He thought it more suitable to his circumstances to bring what he had acquired into regular order, and a good condition: with which view he began to erect some fortresses, and to enlarge the towns within the compass of this little principality. The same conduct he recommended also to Muza, who, that he might carry on the war against the king of Cordova with greater vigour, resolved to fortify the town of Albayda, that it might cover his country from the incursions of the Christians of Asturias. The king Don Ordogno taking umbrage at this conduct, and being apprehensive that when his affairs should be in better order the king of Saragossa might from thence make irruptions into his territories, assembled an army, and laid siege to Albayda as soon, or perhaps before its fortifications were finished. Muza marched to its relief, and his son-in-law Don Garcia made no scruple of joining him with a body of auxiliaries. They encamped upon a mountain not far distant from the place, in hopes perhaps that their appearance might induce Don Ordogno to raise the siege: but that monarch, who had a great confidence in the valour of his troops, resolved, notwithstanding the strength of their camp, to attack them without delay. This design he executed with so much vigour that the Moors was quickly broke, and Muza having received three dangerous wounds, made his escape on a horse given him by one of Don Ordogno's officers out of personal friendship. But Don Garcia having either advanced too far, or disdaining to save his life by a retreat, was killed upon the spot, to the great grief of his subjects [u], who with great reason revered the virtue and valour by which he established so regular and powerful a principality [w].

He is killed in battle against the king of Oviedo.

A. D. 851.

Don Garcia Iniguez, as he is called by some, or Don Garcia Ximenes, as he is styled by others, succeeded his father; and either at his accession, or within three years after, assumed the title of king, as appears by authentic charters, and was, properly speaking, the first monarch of Navarre. There our history falls in, at least in some mea-

Don Garcia first king of Navarre.

[u] Chron. d'Albayda. Chron. Adefonsi Magni, Ferreras.
[w] Historia generale de Hispana, tom. ii. lib. viii. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, p. 9.

Digitized by Google

sure, with that of Mariana, who, after the interregnum in which he assures us the famous body of laws were made, affirms, that Inigo Arista, count of Bigorre, was unanimously chosen by the nobility for their monarch, leaving the old title of Sobrarva, assumed that of king of Pampeluna, or Navarre, which he transmitted to Don Garcia Ximenes his son [x]. We differ from him for want of seeing his authorities, and in respect to those which we have cited; but we agree entirely in the character he gives to this young prince, who was equally distinguished by his courage and conduct; who enlarged his territories by the one, and by the other rendered his people happy. He governed them twenty-three years with great reputation, and is said to have married Donna Urraca, the sister, daughter, or niece to a count of Arragon, for authors do not well distinguish which. That there were many chiefs in his country who assumed the title of lords, or something equivalent to it, is certain, and that one of these might be in possession of the county of Arragon is more than probable, since there is mention of such a person in a charter of this prince, who therein styles himself king of Pampeluna, and the name of the count Arragon there mentioned is Galindo [y]. This monarch, Don Garcia Ximenes, founded the monastery of St. Salvador de Leyra in the Pyrenees, which, by the bounty of his successors, was rendered very rich and famous. The archbishop Don Roderic of Toledo, who was himself a native of Navarre, commends the valour of this monarch highly, and asserts, that having gained many victories over the Moors, he was at length slain by them in battle; an assertion which, however, is not very certain, or consistent with the authentic histories that remain of those times [z]. At the time of his demise he left two sons, Don Fortune Ximenes, and Don Sancho, who had afterwards, as some say, the surname of Abarca, as also a daughter Donna Sancha.

A. D. 880.

Don Fortune Garcia.

Don Fortune Garcia, the eldest of his sons, succeeded his father; a fact which, however, is doubtfully reported by Mariana. This great historian seems at length to have perceived that Don Garcia Iniguez, or Ximenes, was the

x P. Moret, Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarro, Abarca. y Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. Chron. Antiq. de Reb. Arragon, Hieron. Blanca de variis de subrarbæ Reg. init. sententiis. z Garibay Compendio Historial de las Cronicas de todos los Reynos de Hispana, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

first

Digitized by Google

first king of Navarre; for after his account of him, he adds, "so obscure is the origin of this kingdom." He makes his successor Don Sancho Abarca; but suspicious of the guides he followed in this respect, he breaks out into a warm invective against those who introduced fiction amongst facts, and by interlarding fables have given us romance instead of history. Don Fortune Garcia, governed his dominions many years both wisely and worthily, as we gather from effects, and from the high character given him in the old chronicles of this nation. He was a great benefactor to the monastery of St. Salvador de Leyra, upon which he bestowed large possessions. In this charter he not only assumes the regal style himself, but adds, that he was the son of the king Don Garcia. A. D. 902. About four years after, he thought fit to retire into this monastery, and having sent for his brother, first gave him his blessing in a solemn manner, and then placed the crown upon his head. He spent the remainder of his days in that monastery in great tranquility [a]. A. D. 905.

Don Sancho I.

Don Sancho Garcia thus seated on the throne by the resignation of his brother, found himself quickly called upon to deliver his countrymen the Gascons on the other side of the mountains, who being attacked by the Normans, solicited his assistance [b]. He marched accordingly through the passes of the Pyrenees; and having accomplished all they could desire, disposed every thing for his return. But Aben Lop, governor of Saragossa, and vassal to Abdallah, king of Cordova, judging this a favourable opportunity to fall upon the people of Navarre, when their king and the best part of his forces were absent, and at such a distance as seemed to render it impracticable for them to return time enough to give any disturbance to his plan, communicated it to Abdallah, and having received a numerous reinforcement, marched with the whole force of the Moors at the entrance of winter, and invested Pampeluna [c]. The inhabitants were but in a very indifferent condition to sustain a siege, and the Moors pressed the place with all possible vigour. Don Sancho, informed of the distress of his subjects, immediately began his march for the Pyrenees, but found the frost so set in, and the rocky passes so very slippery that his men were not able to A. D. 907.

[a] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Zurita Annal. Arragon, Mayerne, Turquet. [b] Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan, Luc. Tudens. Chron. [c] Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Ferreras Historia de Hispana, tom. iii. part. iv. sect. x.

Digitized by Google

make any progreſs. In this unfortunate ſituation he ordered the greateſt part of the animals of all ſorts belonging to the army to be killed, and directed his ſoldiers to tie pieces of their ſkins with thongs about their feet, with the hair next them, by which they were enabled to get over thoſe precipices which obſtructed their march. As this kind of ſhoe, ſtill in uſe among the peaſants, is called in the language of the country Abarca, ſo many have thought [d] he received that ſurname from being the inventor [e]. However that matter may be, it is out of diſpute that arriving unexpectedly, he attacked the infidels with ſuch ſpirit and ſucceſs, that he gained a complete victory, and entered the city of Pampeluna in triumph [f].

A. D. 908. The very next year Don Sancho Garcia attacked the caſtle of St. Stephen, which the Moors had fortified to the utmoſt of their ſkill, and into which they had put a ſtrong garriſon, and after an obſtinate defence, reduced it. This ſucceſs encouraged Don Sancho to proſecute the war, and to ſweep all the fortreſſes along the river Ebro, which he performed as far as Milagro. He afterwards paſſed that river, reduced Najera, and the fortreſs called Bilibio, ſince better known to the world by the name of the caſtle of Haro. This ſucceſs inſpired him with the hopes of driving the Moors out of the whole province of Rioja; which aim, after reducing Logrogno, Alcandra, Calahorra, and Tudela, he happily effected. The war carried on by Don Ordogno, king of Leon, being very favourable to his deſigns, he puſhed his conqueſts ſtill farther, and having reduced Terrazona and Agreda, extended his dominions as far as the ſources of the river Duero. But being well appriſed that conqueſts were of little value that were not well ſecured, he not only applied himſelf with diligence to repair ſuch as might be moſt ſerviceable to him; but alſo gave directions for fortifying Pampeluna ſo regularly and ſo effectually, that he rendered it in the eſtimation of thoſe times a place impregnable. He next cleared all the country between the rivers Arragon and Ebro from the infidels, and projected ſome other expeditions of ſtill greater importance; but finding his health much impaired by the fatigues he had already undergone, he retired to the monaſtery of Leyra [g], and placed his ſon Don Garcia at the head of the army; but without reſign-

He fortifies Pampeluna.

A. D. 914.

A. D. 915.

[d] Mariana. Turquet. Ferreras. [e] Luc. Tudenſ. Chron. [f] Mayerne [g] Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hiſpan. P. Moret.

ing

ing to him the crown, as either hoping to recover his health, or esteeming him as yet too young to take the reins of government.

The Moorish governor of Saragossa applied to Abderamen, the fourth king of Cordova, in order to obtain such a supply of forces as might enable him to restrain the Christians of Navarre within their ancient bounds. His project was so plausible in itself, that the Moorish monarch approved, and resolved to carry it into execution, he drew over great numbers of men from Barbary, and having joined these with the whole force of his dominions, sent them under the command of an experienced leader to the general rendezvous, appointed by the governor of Saragossa, in the neighbourhood of Agreda, of which place, together with Terrazona, Tudela, Logrogno, Viguera, and Najera, they soon became masters; after these exploits, they entered the kingdom of Navarre by the way of Viana and Estella. The king Don Sancho came out of his monastery, and assembled a considerable body of troops that were to be employed as a corps de reserve, while the infant Don Garcia, with the army of Navarre, retired into Alava, where he expected Don Ordogno king of Leon. The junction being made, the Christian army under these two princes advanced towards the Moors, who gave them battle at Val de Junguera, near Salinas d'Oro, where, after a warm and obstinate engagement, the Christians were totally defeated [h]. After the battle Don Ordogno retired into his own territories, and the infant Don Garcia retreated towards Pampeluna. As the whole force of the Christians in Spain was in a great measure broke by this unfortunate action, one would naturally imagine that it must in its consequences have been extremely fatal to them, and advantageous to the Moors; but the very reverse happened. The general of the Moors, seeing the country open before him, destroyed it in a cruel manner with fire and sword; and then, penetrating through the passes of the Pyrenees, made an irruption into France, where his forces advanced almost as far as Toulouse, and acquired an immense booty. While he was thus employed, the king of Leon, having recruited and augmented his army, made a bold expedition into the Moorish territories, and wasted them without mercy. The king of Navarre, on the other side, marched with his

His glorious reign and death.

A. D 921.

[h] Luc. Tudens. Chron. P. Moret, Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

Digitized by Google

corps de reserve, and possessed himself of the passes, that he might reckon with the Moors at their return. The greatest part of their army, commanded by their general in person, took the road of Rontel; where, after being harrassed for several days, they were at length totally broken and dispersed, and their general stabbed by a woman; so that none of them escaped, and all their booty fell into the hands of the Christians. The other corps repassed the Pyrenees by the same way they entered them, and without much opposition: but Don Sancho pursuing them, prevented their passing the Ebro, and attacked them with such fury that very few of them returned home[i]. About this time Don Sancho is reported to have recovered his health in a miraculous manner by the interposition of St. Peter[k]; in conjunction with his son, and by the assistance of his good ally the king of Leon, he recovered all the places he had lost, and remained in full possession of what is now styled the Upper Navarre (A). In order to unite

[i] P. Moret, Ferreras.

[k] Abarca.

(A) The kingdom of Navarre is in form of what the mathematicians call a trapezium, or a lozenge. The upper point, regarding the north; the Pyrenean mountains lie on the east, and the country of Biscay on the west; the southern point, terminating on the frontiers of Arragon, has that kingdom on the east, and part of the same country and Old Castile on the west. Each of its sides, for they are nearly equal, extends about ninety English miles. The climate is as pure and healthy, and withal as temperate and as pleasant as can be desired, which may compensate for some defects in the soil, that, generally speaking, is none of the most fertile. In some of the vallies, however, they have very good corn, excellent wine, both white and red; the former equal to any in France, the latter very little inferior to Burgundy. It abounds in good pastures, exceedingly well stocked with sheep and goats. They have likewise tolerable black cattle, and a very good breed of horses. The mountains are covered with timber; and very few countries have venison and wild fowl in greater plenty. It can scarce boast of any great river except the Ebro, and this serves only for its frontier. This kingdom was anciently divided into six provinces, or as they style them in their own language merindades. The first of these is that of Pampeluna. The north-east side of this kingdom is bounded by the Pyrenean mountains, which boundary is two and twenty leagues in length. Through these moun-

tains

Digitized by Google

unite more closely the interests of Leon and Navarre, a marriage was concluded between Don Ordogno, and the infanta Donna Sancha; but who this princess was, admits of some doubt: most writers make her the sister, others the daughter of Don Sancho; but Ferreras [1] inclines to think she was the daughter of the infant Don Garcia. Neither of the kings survived this match long, the former dying immediately on his return home, and Don Sancho much about the same time in the monastery of Leyra, full of years, and covered with glory. A. D. 925.

Don Garcia II. succeeds.

Don Garcia Sanchez succeeded his father, in the flower of his age, and when his reputation for courage and conduct was fully established. He saw the Moors much embarrassed by foreign wars, and factions amongst themselves: he laid hold therefore of this opportunity not to extend, but to strengthen his dominions, and to put every thing into the best order. With this view he repaired some towns, and built others: he fortified several places on his frontiers, and appointed officers of great experience to command in several provinces, amongst these was Don Fortune Ximenes, count of Arragon: at whose request he visited, and granted many favours to the monastery of St. Juan de la Pegna [m]. He supported his near relation Don Sancho against his brother the king of Leon; and for that purpose entered into a close friendship with Don Ferdinand Gonçalez, count of Castile. Afterwards when Don Sancho, upon the death of his brother, succeeded to the kingdom of Leon, and was driven out by his rebellious subjects, with the assistance of his old ally the count of

[1] Historia de Hispana, tom. iii. part. iv. sect. x. [m] Ferreras, P. Moret.

tains there are ten passes into France, seven or eight of which are dreadful, difficult, and dangerous. To the north of Pampeluna there is the valley of Baztan, which runs from north to south, and is seven leagues long, and three and a half broad, containing fourteen parishes. The valley of Roncevaux lies to the north-east of Pampeluna, and carries you through a village called Burguet, which is the last in Navarre, to St. Juan Pie de Port, in the Basse Navarre. This is the easiest and most frequented pass, and is famous for the defeat of the emperor Charlemagne (1).

(1) Delices d'Espagne, par Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, p. 673. Etat d'Espagne, par l'abbé de Vayrac. Tour through pain and Portugal, by Udale ap Rhys, esq.

Castile,

Digitized by Google

Castile, Don Garcia received him with open arm, sent him to Cordova to be cured of the dropsy, and in conjunction with that Moorish monarch, restored him very honourably to his dominions[a]. The method concerted between the two monarchs required that Don Garcia should advance into the territories of Castile, in order to hinder the count from assisting his son-in-law, while Don Sancho, with his Moorish auxiliaries, entered his own dominions. The count Don Ferdinand Gonçalez of Castile, the most active, and the most ambitious man of his time, was so much piqued by seeing the king of Navarre at the head of his forces in his territories, that he marched with an army to give him battle, though he was sensible that Don Ordogno could not bring troops enough into the field to look his enemy in the face, and he himself had married Donna Urraca, sister to the king of Navarre, through whose mediation peace might have been
A. D. 960. easily restored. His impetuosity brought on an action near a place now called Cirueña, where his army being defeated, he was himself taken prisoner, and carried to Pamplona. There Don Garcia entertained him as a brother-in-law; but that Don Sancho might have time to establish himself in his kingdom of Leon, he protracted things as much as he could; and when there was no farther danger of the count's embroiling matters any more, he very nobly set him at liberty, without exacting from him any thing more than a promise, that for the future he should let his neighbours be quiet.

His reign and death. The remaining part of the reign of Don Garcia, who lived to a very advanced age, was spent in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of the territories that had descended to him, and in fortifying those which he had acquired. He died and was buried in the church of St. Stephen.

Don Sancho II. Abarca. Don Sancho Abarca, succeeded his father, with abilities suitable to his rank, and to that juncture of affairs in which he was called to the government. He had not long enjoyed the sovereignty before the Moors invaded the dominions of count Garcia Fernandez, and threatened the reduction of Castile. The count immediately addressed himself to the kings of Leon and Navarre for assistance, though they were then in amity with the Moors, for which reason the former refused it; but Don Sancho, who thought

[a] Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. Zurita Annal. Arragon. Chron. Antiq. de Reb. Arragon.

tho

the unjuſt invaſion of his neighbour an indirect breach of the peace with himſelf, marched with a great body of forces into Caſtile; and having joined the count Don Garcia, attacked the Moors, and defeated them with great ſlaughter [o]. This diſaſter exceedingly provoked Mohammed Abenamir Almançor, alhagib or vizir to the king of Cordova, who brought the next year a vaſt army into the field, with which he over-run great part of Caſtile; an invaſion which induced Don Sancho of Navarre to ſtrengthen his frontiers, and to content himſelf with ſending a ſmaller body of troops to the aſſiſtance of his couſin count Garcia. This war continued for many years, and was one of the moſt unfortunate in which the Chriſtians were ever engaged. Almançor was ſo great an enemy to all the diſciples of the Goſpel, that provided it promoted their deſtruction, it was indifferent to him on which ſide he turned his arms [p]. The frontiers of Caſtile he turned into a deſart; the city of Leon he took, and after putting the inhabitants to death, burnt it to the ground. He uſed no leſs cruelty in Catalonia, where he alſo ſacked and deſtroyed Barcelona. Theſe facts are mentioned to ſhew the genius of this conqueror, and the motives Don Sancho had to embark in this war. A. D. 979.

His reign and death.

At length, having opened the paſſes into Navarre, he advanced with a numerous and victorious army towards Pampeluna, which he inveſted. This expedition he undertook from two motives: the firſt was to reſtore Don Vela to his county of Alava, on whoſe behalf this war was ſaid to be made; and the other was the deſire of the laſt and ſtrongeſt place in Spain, an exploit which he flattered himſelf would quite diſpirit the Chriſtians, and prevent all future and farther reſiſtance. But Don Sancho Abarca, had provided his capital in all reſpects ſo well, and placed therein ſo good a garriſon, that the Moors found themſelves oppoſed in ſuch a manner, as created infinite trouble, and a great expence of blood. At length, when their vigour was abated, Don Sancho advanced with his army, and gave them battle with ſuch ſucceſs, that he gained a great advantage over them, and proſecuted it with ſuch vigilance, that they were conſtrained to quit his dominions [q]. There are many victories of greater eclat, but few of more importance, recorded by the Spaniſh hi- A. D. 990.

[o] Marmol, Ambroſio, Morales, Ferreras. [p] Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [q] Annal. Complut. Annal. Campoſ. Annal. Toler.

ſtorians,

Digitized by Google

storians, since it gave the first check to the most fortunate of the Moorish captains, and who, from a principle of false piety, prosecuted the total destruction of the Christians with indefatigable industry. The calamities that had fallen on their respective dominions having taught the Christian princes their true interest, the kings of Leon and Navarre entered into a close alliance with Don Garcia, count of Castile, which quickly brought things into better order, and gave them besides a probable expectation of future success, which, however, did not fall out till
A. D. 994. Don Sancho Abarca was in his grave. He deceased after a reign of twenty-four years, and was interred with his ancestors in the church of St. Stephen[r].

Don Garcia III. the Trembler.

He was succeeded in his dominions by his son Don Garcia Sanchez, surnamed the Trembler, which epithet some say was occasioned by his shaking violently when he entered into action; not through fear, but from a kind of tumult in his mind, which, however, quickly subsided when the engagement grew more warm. Some charters there are of this prince, in which mention is made of his brother Don Ramiro, styled king of Arragon; and of their mother Donna Urraca: and in other charters we read of another brother, Don Gonzalo, called likewise king of Arragon; but, as Mariana well observes, the authority of these pieces is scarce sufficient to establish these facts as certain, more especially as the historians and ancient chronicles have preserved nothing concerning these princes. There is nothing more certain than that Arragon made a part of Don Garcia's dominions; in defence of which he acted vigorously against the Moors, from the very time he ascended the throne. This kind of war, however, appeared in process of time injurious to the honour and to the interests of all the Christian princes concerned, who therefore entered into a closer alliance, by which they engaged to act with their whole united force, against the common enemy, which ever of the confederates he should next attack, and this the rather, because some advantages gained by the Moors had drawn over many adventurers from Africa, who flattered themselves with the hopes of having settlements assigned them in the new conquests[s].

Almançor at length beat.

Mohammed Abenamir Almançor, after having sacked and destroyed Compostella, advanced with a potent army, into the

[r] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras, Mayerne Turq.
[s] Ambrosio, Morales, Zurita Annal, Arragon.

terri-

Digitized by Google

territories of the count of Castile, as far as Osma, where he was met by the Christian army, which was not only compose of the troops, but commanded by all the three princes in person. Don Bermudo, king of Leon, being disabled by the gout from mounting on horseback, was placed in a chair at the head of his own guards. Don Garcia, at the head of the forces of Navarre and Arragon, was in the other wing, and the count of Castile in the center. The battle lasted till night, and seemed to end doubtfully; but the Mooriſh general, decamping in the night, abandoned the field of battle to the Christians, and himself to despair; so that, refusing to take any sustenance, he expired at Medina Cœli, and with him the fortune of the Cordovan Moors [t]. It is true that his successor Abdilmelech, endeavoured to revive the war, by making an irruption into the kingdom of Leon, from a presumption that, upon the death of the king, he should find things in some confusion; but the count Don Garcia of Castile hastened thither with all the force he could raise, and being entrusted with the entire command of the troops of that kingdom, obtained another complete victory, which changed the face of affairs, raised the courage of the Christians, and abated the spirit of their enemies [u]. A. D. 998.

The progress of this war taught the Christian princes in general, from the light of experience, what sound policy might have taught them long before. They saw that a general war, more especially for any length of time, had a necessary consequence, which it was their business to avoid, that of keeping the Moors in a manner by force closely united, and in perfect harmony with each other. They likewise found, that as the original source of the war was the instigation of the malcontents fled from Castile and Leon to the court of Cordova, and more especially the family of Vela, so in the course of it most of the misfortunes they had met with arose from the assistance those exiles gave the enemy; from their instructing them in the military maxims and discipline in the Christian armies, and from the intelligence they held with their relations and friends in their respective countries [w]. This consideration, therefore, determined them to recall those exiles, *The Christian exiles restored.*

[t] Annal. Compostell. Lucas Tudensis Chronicon, Roderic Toletan. de Reb Hispan. [u] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. [w] Ambrosio, Morales, Luc. Tudens. Chron. Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan.

parti-

Digitized by Google

particularly the sons of Don Vela, count of Alava; and this resolution being taken at a time when a change of fortune rendered those banished persons more inclined to return, as being not so much caressed by the infidels as formerly, it took place according to their wish. After long absence from their own countries, they were not only recalled, but restored to their honours and their patrimonies, the surest and most prudent method no doubt for extinguishing all jealousies and heart-burnings; which, notwithstanding, in its consequences was not found altogether successful. They had met with much kindness, and formed many friendships amongst the Moors; they had done many injuries to the Christians; and by degrees, as the motives to their pardon and reconciliation grew out of remembrance, the instances of resentment they met with from the latter, put them upon renewing their correspondence with the former, which proved the occasion of fresh disturbances [x].

The death of Don Garcia.

We have no other particulars in regard to the reign of Don Garcia the Trembler, only it is said that the best historians have doubted whether the tenour of his government, and the temper of his mind, deserved praise or blame. He was, it seems, liberal to a degree of excess, not only to abbies and other religious foundations, but to all who approached him on any occasion. A disposition which, though it exposed him to the censure of those who survived him, made him generally and deservedly beloved by those with whom he lived. Authors are much divided as to the name of his queen; but Mariana is positive she was called Donna Ximena, and it is very likely he is in the right. By her he had the infant Don Sancho, whose education he intrusted to a religious person of the same name, abbot of the monastery of St. Salvador de Leyra, who was a person of learning and probity, and who took care to infuse into his pupil not only principles of religion, but the maxims also of good sense and honour, which his own experience taught him to frame into a scheme of policy, much superior to any that had been known to his predecessors [y]. Don Garcia left him his dominions after a short reign of six years. Authors are not agreed as to the place of his burial, which some say

A.D. 1000.

[x] Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

[y] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet, P. Moret.

was

Digitized by Google

was in the church of the monastery of St. Juan de la Pegna, and others in that of the monastery of St. Salvador de Leyra [z].

SECT. II.

From the Reign of Don Sancho the Great to that of Don Sancho V. who united this Kingdom to Arragon.

The reign of Sancho the Great.

IT is very uncertain at what age Don Sancho succeeded his father; but it is impossible that he should be in his infancy, as some have written, because we find him married the next year. It appears from indisputable authority, that he began his reign by entering into a close alliance with the house of Castile; which he strengthened by marrying Donna Munia Elvira, the daughter of Don Sancho, and the grand-daughter of the count Don Garcia, which marriage, though it seems to have proceeded chiefly from inclination, contributed not a little to his interest. He did not, however, take any share in the disputes that arose between his father-in-law Don Sancho, and his own father the count Don Garcia; nor does it appear that he embarked in the war against the Moors, carried on by the last of these two princes. In all probability our king of Navarre was desirous of settling and improving what his ancestors had acquired before he engaged in any military expedition; but when this aim was once accomplished, he passed the river Gallego, and began to expel the Moors out of most of the places they held on his eastern frontier. Having succeeded also in these endeavours, he swept the vallies of the country of Sobrarva and the county of Ribagorça of the infidels [a].

A.D. 1001.

A.D. 1011.

A.D. 1012.

His conquests over the Moors.

In these conquests Don Sancho was very much assisted by the natives, of whom a great number were Christians, consequently very desirous of being freed from the yoke of the Moors. There was also a certain count of Ribagorça, called William, master of a part of this country, who looked with a jealous eye upon these conquests of Don Sancho, and though he had not been able to drive out the Moors, attempted to dispossess him [b]. The consequence

[z] Mariana, Ferreras. [a] P. Moret. [b] Ferreras Historia de Hispana, tom. iii. part v. sect. xi.

of

of this act of raſhneſs was, his being entirely defeated by Don Sancho, and diveſted of his dominions. While Sancho was thus employed in the eaſtern extremity of his dominions [c] Mundir, alcayde or governor of Saragoſſa, ſeized the opportunity offered for ravaging Navarre, and for recovering part of the places that had been taken from his predeceſſors. In the firſt part of his ſcheme he ſucceeded, and loaded his army with booty; but in the latter he failed entirely: for Don Sancho, returning with his victorious army, fell upon the Moors with ſuch vigour that he entirely routed them, and obliged them to repaſs
A.D.1015. the Ebro with great loſs, inſomuch that it may be doubted whether they ever recovered the weight of this blow [d]. As the ancient boundaries between this monarch's dominions and the country of Caſtile were become very doubtful and precarious, and as this uncertainty might in ſucceeding times prove the occaſion of very fatal diſputes,
A.D.1016. Don Sancho and his father-in-law appointed perſons in whom they could confide to ſettle theſe limits effectually [e].

Reforms all ranks of his ſubjects.

The king Don Sancho obſerving that the monks throughout his dominions had loſt much of their primitive ſanctity of manners, a circumſtance which of courſe rendered them very unfit inſtruments for government in the inſtructing his ſubjects, he ſent deputies to Adilon, abbot of the famous Benedictine monaſtery of Cluny, to inſpect the regulations of that houſe, and to bring back with them ſome perſons of piety and probity, capable of reforming the monaſteries in his dominions. This being done, he placed Paternus, who was the chief of theſe reformers, in quality of abbot in the convent of St. Juan de la Pegna, and ſent others to St. Salvador de Leyra, and to St. Maria d'Yrache [f]. By their vigilance and care the monks were every where brought into good order; and the king by their advice repaired and reſtored the ancient abbey of St. Victoria [g].

His acceſſion to the county of Caſtile.

The family of Don Vela, count of Alava, having taken freſh umbrage at the count of Caſtile, had withdrawn into the territories of the king of Leon, where, at the diſtance of many years they took a bloody revenge by murdering the young count Don Garcia Sanchez, the laſt heir male of the family, and the ſon of the prince with whom they

[c] L'Hiſtoire de Royaume de Navarre, P. Moret. [d] Roderic Toletan. Hiſt. Arabum, Ferreras. [e] Monument de S. Millan. [f] P. Moret, Ferreras. [g] Mariana.

quar-

quarreled [h]. By the death of this prince, his brother-in-law, the king of Navarre, saw himself legally entitled to this noble county in right of his wife, of which he accordingly took possession. He immediately invested the castle of Monçon, into which the assassins had retired, and having reduced it, put all he found therein to the sword [i]. This was a very great accession of territory, and might very probably alarm his neighbours; for even in those times the Spanish princes were exceedingly jealous of each other, and bore with great impatience such considerable additions of power. An accident which soon after fell out blew the smothered embers of discontent into a flame; the king Don Sancho resolved to restore the ancient city of Palentia, and committed the direction of this work to the bishop of Oviedo, one of the worthiest prelates of that age [k]. The rebuilding of Palentia so disturbed Don Bermudo the third king of Leon, that he took up arms; but Don Sancho entered his dominions with a superior force, and took Astorga: on which the principal prelates and peers in his dominions interposed, and obliged him to make peace; the principal articles of which were, that he should give the district in dispute to the infanta Donna Sancha, who was to espouse Don Ferdinand the younger, son to the king of Navarre, who was to have the country of Castile, with the title of king [l]. This seems to have been a very fair and equal agreement, and was confirmed by both kings at the monastery of Sahagon, where the marriage was performed with great magnificence. But on the part of the king of Leon, as it afterwards appeared, it was a reconciliation only in shew.

His death, and distribution of his estates.

Don Sancho having thus restored the public tranquility, applied himself to reform the monasteries in Castile upon the same plan which he had pursued in respect to those in his hereditary dominions. In compassion to those who made pilgrimages to the tomb of St. James at Campostella, he caused a new and safe road to be made through his dominions, by the foot of the mountains Birbiesca and Amaya, through Carrion, Leon, and Astorga, to Compostella [m]. As he was advanced in years, he was desirous to see the four princes his sons, settled in his life-time, and therefore divided his dominions amongst them in the

A.D. 1034.

[h] Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. [i] Mayerne Turquet. [k] P. Moret. Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hisp. Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [l] Ferreras Historia de Hispana, tom. iii. part v. sect. xi. [m] Luc. Tudens. Chron.

Digitized by Google

following manner: to Don Garcia he gave what is now ſtyled the kingdom of Navarre, with the noble country of Biſcay, then ſtyled as ſome affirm, the duchy of Cantabria, and the province of Rioja; to Don Ferdinand, Caſtile; to Don Gonçalo, Sobrarva and Ribargorça; and to Don Ramiro, Arragon [n]. Having ſent all his ſons into their reſpective governments, where they aſſumed the titles of kings, he ended a long life and a glorious reign in the month of February following [o]. He was firſt interred in the monaſtery of Ona, from whence his ſon Don Ferdinand cauſed his body to be removed to the city of Leon [p].

Don Garcia IV. ſucceeds his father.

Don Garcia Sanchez of Najara, ſo called from the place of his birth, ſucceeded his father in his hereditary realm of Navarre, but deſpoiled of ſo much of Arragon as had ever been united to it, and of the new conqueſts in Sobrarva and Ribagorça. The quarrel that happened between the kings of Caſtile and Leon gave Don Garcia an opportunity of ſhewing his fraternal affection, by ſending a corps of auxiliaries to the aſſiſtance of Don Ferdinand; but when, by the defeat and death of Don Bermudo, he became, in right of his queen, who was that monarch's ſiſter, the heir of that kingdom alſo, it is ſuppoſed that Don Garcia began to entertain ſome jealouſy of him, which ſuppoſition, however, will appear improbable from the ſequel of their hiſtory [q]. The king had concluded a marriage with Donna Eſtafana, infanta of Catalonia: going to Barcelona to ſolemnize his marriage, he paſſed through the dominions of Don Ramiro and of Don Gonçalo, and was treated by both with all the marks of affection and eſteem. He returned the ſame way, and viſited in his journey the monaſtery of St. Juan de la Pegna, as appears by an authentic privilege belonging to that monaſtery, which is ſtill preſerved [r]. We have, therefore, no reaſon to believe that the ſeeds of diſſenſion were hitherto ſown amongſt the deſcendents of Sancho the Great; but that ſoon after they were, and that they produced an abundant harveſt of miſchief will be our buſineſs to make appear; and we ſhall thereby juſtify Mariana's ſentiment, that Sancho the Great hazarded the ſafety of Spain by thus dividing his dominions.

A.D. 1038.

The very ſame year his brother Don Gonçalo was barbarouſly murdered, in paſſing the bridge of Monclus, by a

[n] Pierre Marſilio, Ferreras. [o] P. Moret, Mayerne Turquet, Mariana, Ferreras. [p] Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hiſpan. Zurita. [q] P. Moret. [r] Zurita, Ferreras.

ſervant

Digitized by Google

servant of his own called Ramonet, whose motive to that detestable action was never known [s]. Immediately on his demise his subjects called in his brother Don Ramiro king of Arragon, who by this succession united Sobrarva and Ribagorça to his dominions. We do not find that Don Garcia gave him any disturbance upon this occasion; but contented himself with endeavouring to provide for the happiness of the subjects he had, without invading his neighbours. Besides, at this time the country of Navarre was eaten up by locusts, against which plague, when all methods of prudence failed, he demanded the advice of Pope Benedict the Ninth; who sent Gregory bishop of Ostia to visit the country, to preach repentance to the people in general, and regularity to the monks. It seems before this fall of locusts produced a scarcity, this kingdom was in a state of full prosperity, and the people from thence fallen into luxury, were gradually declining from that high character which the virtues of their ancestors had obtained. These circumstances encouraged Don Ramiro, who had already attacked, and rendered tributary to him several little princes amongst the Moors, to think of spoiling his brother of some places which lay convenient for him. Accordingly having assembled an army, under pretence of prosecuting his designs against the infidels, he suddenly summoned his Moorish auxiliaries, and very unexpectedly entered the kingdom of Navarre, where he laid siege to Tafalla, a place of some strength, and of great consequence [t]. The king Don Garcia assembled a considerable body of his father's old troops, with whom he seemed disposed to intrust the defence of Pampeluna; but marching from thence in the evening, he surprised the army of Arragon in the depth of the night, forced their camp, and obliged his brother to fly on a horse without saddle or bridle [u]. Don Garcia having thus relieved Tafalla, finding his army reinforced by the arrival of several fresh corps of troops, marched directly into Arragon, where most of the great places opened their gates, and his brother, unable to oppose him, retired into the mountains of Ribagorça; from whence he sent certain bishops to assure Don Garcia of his sorrow for what was passed, and to intreat him to remember he was still his brother: upon

The war between the two brethren Don Garcia and Don Ramiro, in which the latter is defeated.

A.D. 1039.

[s] Chron. Antiq. de Reb. Arragon, Chron. S. Joan. de Rup. Mayerne Turquet. [t] Chron. Antiq. de Reb. Arragon, Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hispaniæ. [u] Lucas Tudensis Chronicon.

Digitized by Google

A.D.1042. which the king of Navarre, retired into his own dominions, and quitted all the places he had taken.

Don Garcia's great care in the administration of justice to all ranks of his subjects.

This war being thus happily terminated, Don Garcia applied himself with great spirit and diligence to regulate the domestic affairs of his kingdom, and, in imitation of his predecessors, laid the foundation of the superb abbey of Santa Maria de Najara; but while he was thus employed the Moors made an inroad into his country, and having carried off a considerable booty, lodged it in the fortress of Calahorra [w]. This invasion gave the monarch of Navarre a fair opportunity of annexing that place to his dominions, and he took his measures for that purpose

A.D.1043. with so much secrecy and celerity, that he not only invested, but took it by storm, before the Moors were in any condition to relieve it. This exploit added highly to his reputation, more especially as he immediately restored it, and made it a bishop's see [x]. In Biscay the clergy complained that they were scandalously oppressed by the nobility and gentry, who treated them very little better than slaves, and even obliged them to breed up and feed their

A.D.1045. dogs. The king interposed, and rendered them all the justice they could desire, settled their livings in such a manner that they might live comfortably upon them, and thereby merited great commendation [y].

Is said to have designs somewhat injurious towards his brother, who seizes his person in revenge.

The vast expence incurred by building the new monastery of our Lady of Najara, exhausted the treasury of Navarre, and made it very difficult for Don Garcia to perform his purpose. Upon this he applied to the convent of St. Millan, and desired to borrow a part of their wealth, in order to perfect his new foundation. The abbot was not altogether averse to this loan; but the prior, whose name was Dominic, obstinately opposed, and prevented it; a circumstance which so provoked the king, that he ordered the abbot to exclude him the cloister [z]. Not long after Don Garcia fell dangerously ill; upon which his brother Don Ferdinand, king of Castile, came to Najara to make him a visit. It is said that the latter claimed this very city, with the province belonging to it, and some other places, as having been anciently dependent on the kingdom which his father had given him: whereas, on the other hand, Don Garcia asserted, that in the same instrument by which the king gave his brother a king-

[w] Moret Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiguidades del Reyno de Navarro, lib. xiv. fol. 746. [x] Chart. Monast. S. Millan. [y] P. Moret. [z] Vita Sti. Domini.

dom,

Digitized by Google

dom, he expreſly aſſigned to him theſe places which he kept and would keep [a]. However, he received Don Ferdinand with all the kindneſs and reſpect poſſible; but in a little time it was infuſed into the head of the Caſtilian monarch that his brother had an intention to ſecure his perſon. In conſequence of this information, he retired as ſuddenly and as ſecretly as poſſible into his own territories, highly offended at the injury which had been offered him, not yielding any credit to the aſſurances that his brother gave him, that he was impoſed upon by ſome of his favourites, and that never any ſuch deſign had entered into his head. Some hiſtorians of Navarre would perſuade us that Don Ferdinand was ſo well ſatisfied as to come a ſecond time into Navarre, and returned without the leaſt injury or moleſtation. But however that might be, ſome years after, this prince being extremely ſick at Burgos, Don Garcia went thither to ſee him, where, though he was at firſt received with all imaginable affection and regard, yet was he very ſpeedily ſeized by his brother's order, and ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Cea. He remained not long there, but, by flattering or bribing his guards, made his eſcape; and on his returning into his own dominions he began to raiſe forces, in order to take a ſevere revenge. It is ſaid that to do this the more effectually he ſolicited the Moors of Saragoſſa and Tudela, to lend him their aſſiſtance, which they very readily did; ſo that he was quickly in a condition to invade Caſtile with a very numerous and potent army. A.D.1052.

Don Garcia having made his eſcape, invades Caſtile, and is ſlain in battle.

As his long illneſs was attributed to his offending prior Dominic of the convent of St. Millan, ſo all that happened afterwards is referred to another quarrel with the ſame holy perſon; who having prevented the king by a miracle from removing the body of their patron to his new convent at Najara, was by him ſo roughly handled that he withdrew into the dominions of Don Ferdinand, where he became abbot of Silos, and was employed with other venerable perſons by the king of Leon and Caſtile to mediate with his brother, and to make up this difference. But Don Garcia was inflexible; ſo that when his preparations were over, and his whole army aſſembled, he, in the latter end of Auguſt, began his march into Caſtile, and advancing directly towards Burgos, in a plain between Atapuerca and Aſes: about nine miles from that city, Don

[a] Chron. Antiq. de Reb. Arragon, Lucas Tudenſis Chronicon, Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hiſpaniæ.

Digitized by Google

Ferdinand met him with his troops, and on the 1st of September the two armies engaged. The dispute continued for a long time equal; but at length an officer, whose name was Sanchez Fortune, who had deserted the service of Don Garcia, and entered into that of his brother, penetrated the guards of the former, and piercing the king through with a lance, bore him with his horse to the ground. Others say, that two deserters out of his own guards, being well acquainted with his person, singled him out in the battle, and each of them ran him through with a lance at the same time. Being thus slain, through a private pique his army retired, and are said to have left the Mohammedans to be surrounded, and cut to pieces [b]. His corpse was interred the third day after his death in the royal monastery of our Lady of Najara, which had cost him so dear. The deceased monarch is said to have left behind him four sons, and as many daughters: these were Don Sancho, who succeeded him; Don Ramiro, to whom his father gave the seignory of Calahorra; Don Ferdinand, and Don Raymond: the infantas were Donna Ermesinda, Donna Ximena, Donna Major, and Donna Urraca [c].

A.D. 1054.

Accession of Don Sancho IV. to the kingdom of Navarre, and principal events of his reign.

Don Sancho Garcia ascended the throne after the unfortunate death of his father, and, as some writers say, proved a prince no way distinguished either for wisdom or valour. He stood much in awe of his uncle Don Ferdinand, and though he hated him for his father's death, and was jealous of his exorbitant power, yet at first he seemed to take in good part such excuses as he thought fit to make, and also to comply with whatever terms he judged it proper to demand [d]. But, when thoroughly established in his government, he entered into a close correspondence with his other uncle Don Ramiro of Arragon, who having the same interests, and the same fears, proposed to him a defensive alliance, as the most effectual security for them both, against a king who was equally formidable to his Christian and to his Mohammedan neighbours. This treaty produced in a great measure the desired effect; but the king of Leon and Castile chancing to die, divided his dominions, leaving to Don Sancho, Castile; Don Alonso, Leon; and Don Garcias, Galicia and Portugal [e]. Before this event, Don Ramiro, king of Arragon, was killed in

A.D. 1057.

[b] Lucas Tudensis Chronicon, Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispaniæ. [c] Zurita Annal. Arragon, Mariana L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Paris, 8°. [d] Lucas Tudensis Chronicon, Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hispaniæ. [e] Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

a battle

a battle against the Moors of Saragoſſa, whom the king of Caſtile had taken under his protection: this accident induced Don Sancho of Navarre to renew his treaty with his couſin Don Sancho of Arragon, which enabled him to repel the invaſion of Don Sancho of Caſtile, who was thoroughly defeated by the allied princes; though afterwards, turning his arms againſt his brethren, he united once more all his father's territories, and conſequently became in every reſpect as formidable to his couſins as ever his father Don Ferdinand had been. But the death of that ambitious prince ſoon releaſed them from their apprehenſions, notwithſtanding his brother Don Alonſo, whom he had forced to take refuge amongſt the Moors of Toledo, ſucceeded him in all his dominions [f]. Some facts there are which ſeem to contradict the character before given of this prince; for when Don Sancho of Arragon attacked the Mooriſh king of Saragoſſa, Don Sancho of Navarre received him as his tributary, and thereby ſecured him from becoming the victim of his couſin's ambition [g]. He alſo reſiſted all the importunities of pope Alexander the Second, who preſſed him to lay aſide the old Gothic form of celebrating divine worſhip, and introduce the Roman liturgy. But he did not at all oppoſe the holding a council for reforming ſimony, and other vices, which prevailed amongſt the clergy; on the contrary, he took care that the canons made for that purpoſe were duly executed. He was alſo ſteady, in conjunction with his couſins, in treating with the contempt they deſerved the wild pretences of pope Gregory the Seventh, who by a ſcandalous and ridiculous forgery, pretended to render all the Chriſtian princes in Spain feudatories to the ſee of Rome [h]. Theſe ſeem to be proofs that Don Sancho of Navarre was not either a weak or puſillanimous prince, though he was of a very pacific diſpoſition. Perhaps ſome domeſtic misfortunes reſtrained him from endeavouring to raiſe his reputation, by feats of arms, in the ſame manner his father and other illuſtrious anceſtors had done: but we can only gueſs at theſe things, the ſtory of his reign being particularly obſcure, and even the few facts that are preſerved being differently related, and ſome of them with contradictory circumſtances.

A.D. 1063.

A.D. 1074.

Don Raymond, the brother of the king of Navarre, being ſeduced by ſome young men with whom he had con-

[f] Lucas Tudenſis Chronicon, Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hiſpaniæ. [g] Zurita Annal. Arragon. [h] Ferreras Hiſtoria de Hiſpana.

Digitized by Google

tracted too great an intimacy, began first to treat his brother with less respect than was due to him, and next endeavoured to diffuse this spirit of contempt amongst his subjects. He treated his piety as meanness of spirit; ridiculed his constant attention to business as unworthy of his dignity; and complained that he had made no additions to his territories by conquest [i]. He made no impression upon the bulk of the people, who, persuaded that their sovereign had nothing so much at heart as their happiness, were entirely devoted to his service; but he drew his sister Donna Ermesinda into his intrigues, and had a numerous set of ruffians, who were his partizans, and whom he protected from the punishment which the laws would have inflicted for their offences [k]. The king, having at first tried all methods possible to reclaim him, at length declared him and his associates, rebels and public enemies. Don Raymond, who either persuaded himself, or was persuaded by his bravoes, that if his brother were dead, the people would set aside his children, and receive this gallant prince for their king, with universal applause, having caused some castles to be fortified, and drawn about him a great number of these mutinous people, began to practise against his brother's life, and soon executed his barbarous purpose, though authors differ a little about the manner in which the assassination was perpetrated. Some say, that Don Raymond sent a considerable number of his attendants into the city, disguised, in order to defend the person who was instructed to kill the king; and that at length this scheme was executed at Roda, where Don Sancho was stabbed by his brother's appointment [l]. Others assert, that while he was hunting on the mountains between Funes and Milagro, Don Raymond, who was reconciled to him in appearance, observing that the greatest part of the company were left behind by the king's eagerness in pursuing a wild boar, he and his associates took that opportunity to throw him and his horse over the rocks, by which fall he was beat to pieces [m]. This execrable act was committed on the 4th of June, when the king had reigned twenty-two years. His body is said to have been interred in the church of the royal monastery of St. Maria de Najara, universally lamented by his subjects.

The king is barbarously assassinated by his brother Don Raymond.

A D. 1076.

[i] Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispaniæ. [k] Zurita Annal. Arragon, l'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Paris, 8°. [l] Mariana. [m] Annal. Compostell. Chron. S. Joan. de Rup.

The

The generality of historians tell us, that this king espoused Donna Placentia, and had by her three sons, of whom the eldest was Don Ramiro, and both the others were called Garcia; but this is a mistake, for in reality Don Ramiro was not his son, but the two Don Garcias were, and being very young at the time of their father's death, were carried for safety into the territories of Castile. The confusion was so great that very few knew what they were doing, or what they would have done; in this particular only they agreed, that the stain of this treason could be effaced by nothing but the blood of the infamous Don Raymond and his associates; upon which he fled immediately to Almutadir, king of Saragossa, who in pity to his distress gave him a subsistence [a]. Don Ramiro, lord of Calahorra, laboured to pacify the minds of the people, and engage them to place him on the throne with his brother, to no purpose; for they persisted in the strange resolution they had formed, not to admit any of the family. Don Ramiro immediately proclaimed in Calahorra Don Alonso king of Castile and Leon; and on his detaching a considerable body of troops to his assistance, seized the provinces of Rioja and Biscay; all which steps wrought not in the least on the people of Navarre, who, in pursuance of their own inclinations, called in the king of Arragon, shewing no concern for the children of their deceased king, who were left to the compassion of the king of Leon and Castile, who caused them to be well educated: the younger died a child, and the elder was killed in battle by the Moors as some say, though Ferreras conjectures from their being both of the same name that one was illegitimate, and that both died in their childhood. As Don Sancho brought a great body of troops with him to Pampeluna, and as Don Alonso reinforced his army in the province of Rioja, it looked as if the possession of Navarre was to be decided by force of arms; but the prelates and peers interceding, and representing to both princes that they were fighting the battles of the infidels, in fighting against each other, it was at last agreed that each should keep what he had already obtained, and that the river Ebro should be the bounds of their respective dominions [c]. It was by this unfortunate event that the kingdom of Navarre lost those fertile and great provinces, all communication with the ocean, and that part of Old Castile which had been hitherto annexed to it. As for the

Biscay, Rioja, and other countries are separated from Navarre, and added to Castile and Leon.

[a] Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

[c] P. Moret.

infant

Digitized by Google

infant Don Ramiro, and the infantas Donna Urraca, Donna Major, and Donna Ximena, they withdrew into Castile, and were treated with all the regard due to their birth, and all the kindness their distressed circumstances demanded.

SECT. III.

From the Reign of Sancho the Fifth to that of Queen Joanna, who, by Marriage, united this Crown to that of France.

Don Sancho V. king of Arragon and Navarre, reigns with honour over both kingdoms.

DON Sancho Ramirez, thus mounted the throne of Navarre by the consent of the people, and assumed the title of Don Sancho the Fifth. As we have given the history of this prince already, in speaking of his hereditary kingdom, we shall confine ourselves here to such facts as have a strict relation to Navarre. He found himself frequently obliged to pay much higher respect to Don Alonso, king of Leon and Castile, than he was by any means inclined to give, and that on two accounts; one because of his pretensions to Navarre, which were at least as good as his own; and the other because he gave a protection in his dominions to those who had a better title than either. It was this circumstance that engaged him to assist at the siege of Toledo, where, to conceal his jealousy of that monarch's power, he contributed not a little to make him much more powerful than he was. On the other hand, Don Alonso, not satisfied either with those provinces which he had torn from his kingdom, or with the submissions paid him by Don Sancho, secretly hated him for the acquisition he had made of Navarre, and for this reason protected the Moorish princes, their common neighbours; so that during their whole reigns these monarchs lived in apparent amity and private enmity with each other, till it wrought the death of one of them [p]. In his domestic government king Sancho was equally zealous for the welfare of his subjects and the glory of his crown: he made many good laws that are contained in a code that bears his name [q]; he built the city of Estella, or Stella, in a pleasant plain, on the banks of the river Erga, covered by a strong castle, which is now looked upon to be the second

[p] Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [q] P. Moret, Zurita Annal. Arragon, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

place

Digitized by Google

place in the kingdom; he made reſtitution and did penance for having taken the treaſure of the church to ſupport his wars againſt the Moors, who in the times of public confuſion had found means to ſeize ſeveral places in the mountains, of which he diſpoſſeſſed them; to prevent which inconvenience from ever happening again, he gave the countries of Sobrarva and Ribagorça to his ſon Don Pedro, in his life-time [r]. The laſt great action of this monarch's life was that which put an end to it; for having inveſted the city of Hueſca, which was defended againſt him by the whole force of the Moors, not without the aſſiſtance of ſome Caſtilians: he was ſhot in the body with an arrow, under the arm, as he extended it in giving directions, of which wound, being carried into his tent, he ſpeedily expired, as ſome ſay on the firſt, but as others A.D 1094.
on the 4th of June, when he had reigned in Navarre eighteen years [s].

Don Pedro's ſhort reign.

Don Pedro, reputed by ſome king of Sobrarva ſeveral years before, ſucceeded his father in all his dominions; and having, in conjunction with his brother Don Alonſo, promiſed never to put an end to this war till Hueſca was reduced, he, to fulfil that promiſe, gave battle to a numerous army of Moors, under the king of Saragoſſa, and A.D.1096.
of Chriſtians, under the count of Cabra, in the great plain of Alcoraz, and by their total defeat made way for the ſurrender of that place. The beſt part of his reign was ſpent in expeditions againſt the infidels, from whom he took many ſtrong places, and thereby extended his dominions on every ſide. But if he was fortunate in his wars, he was very far from being ſo in his family, ſince his ſon the infant Don Pedro, and his daughter the infanta Donna Iſabella, died both on the 18th of Auguſt, and he A. D.1104.
himſelf, as ſome ſay, on the 28th of September following, partly of a lingering diſeaſe, and partly of grief for his children, when he had governed the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon ten years [t]. He was interred with his children in the church of the monaſtery of St. Juan de la Pegna.

Don Alonſo ſucceed his brother, who died without poſterity, and became in a very ſhort ſpace of time from the younger brother of a little king, the moſt powerful of the

[r] Zurita. [s] Roderic Toletan de Rebus Hiſpaniæ Martinez Hiſtoria de la Foundacion y Antiguidades de S. Juan de la Pena, Annal. Compoſtell. Mayerne Turquet, [t] Annal. Compoſtell. Martinez, Zurita, Abarca, Ferreras.

Chriſtian

Don Alonso I. by some styled emperor of Spain, firnamed the Gainer of Battles.

Christian monarchs, which, since the ruin of the Gothic kingdom, had reigned in Spain. He was the first of his name who had reigned either in Arragon or Navarre; but after his marriage with Donna Urraca, he entitled himself Don Alonso, the Second of Leon, and Seventh of Castile; but that he ever entitled himself emperor is, if not false, of very doubtful authority [u]. We have said so much of this gallant prince in the histories of Leon, Castile, and Arragon, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon his great actions here. We shall, therefore, only observe that he reduced Saragossa, Tudela, Terraçona, Calatayud, Daroca, and all the country on the south of the Ebro, which he annexed to the kingdom of Arragon [w]. He was the first who carried the arms of the Christians into the fruitful province of Andalusia; so brave in his person, and so fortunate in his military expeditions, that he obtained the firname of the Gainer of Battles. His valour was no less conspicuous in France, where he took Bayonne; and the very fame of his exploits drew to his standard, as the custom of that age was, the most gallant knights from all the countries in Europe [x]. But this noble, and in the general acceptation of those times, pious prince, persisting obstinately in the siege of Fraga, and giving battle to a much superior army of Moors, who advanced to the relief of it, was totally defeated on the 17th of July. Having lost upon the spot most of the generous cavaliers that came to him out of foreign countries, and the flower of the nobility of both his kingdoms, he escaped with difficulty to the monastery of St. Juan de la Pegna, and there died in two days, of grief, as contemporary writers say [y]; so that there is not the least reason to credit the fables reported by some authors of his surviving this action several years, and leading a retired life in the guise of a hermit near Jerusalem. He died without issue; and by his will, which was made at Bayonne, left prodigious legacies to the church, and both his kingdoms to the Knights Templars; but his subjects were wise enough not to suffer themselves to be disposed of in that manner, and therefore as soon as they had recovered from the great consternation they were under, they convened an assembly of the states [z].

[u] Mariana. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron.
[w] Zurita, Roderic Toletan de Reb.
[x] Abarca, Ferreras.
[y] Annal. Compostell.
[z] Ferreras, tom. iii. part. v. sect. xii.

It

Digitized by Google

It was of the greateſt conſequence to come to a ſpeedy election, and the greateſt part of the aſſembly had caſt their eyes upon Don Pedro Atarez, a man of great virtue and ability, deſcended from Don Ramiro the Firſt, king of Arragon. Againſt this meaſure, however, Don Pedro Tizon de Cadreita, and Don Peregrin Caſtellezuelo ſet themſelves violently, affirming, that he was a perſon of auſtere manners, and already exceſſively proud; ſo that raiſing him to the throne would be making themſelves and their countrymen miſerable [a]. Warm debates ariſing, the aſſembly was transferred to Moncon, where it quickly appeared that the only means to prevent a civil war conſiſted in the elevation of Don Ramiro, brother to the deceaſed king, to the throne, though a monk, and in prieſt's orders [b]. The nobility of Navarre retired in diſcontent, and aſſembling at Pampeluna ſuddenly, unanimouſly elected Don Garcia Ramirez, and having ſent for him from Moncon, declared him king. All authors agree that he was of the royal family; but many, and Mariana among the reſt, will have him to be the ſon of Don Ramiro, and the grandſon of Don Sancho, whom his brother aſſaſſinated: yet, upon a ſtrict examination of the charters, and other authentic inſtruments of thoſe days, it very clearly appears that he was in reality the grandſon of Don Ramiro, the brother of Don Sancho, who retired into Caſtile during the troubles of Navarre; ſo that his new ſubjects might be truly ſaid to render him that juſtice which they had refuſed his grandfather. He was in the flower of his age, and very capable of that high dignity to which he was advanced; perſonally brave, but politically cautious; jealous of the honour of his crown, but tender of his people's ſafety: in a word, very able to maintain war when forced to maintain it; but by no means diſpoſed to diſturb his neighbours, or to expoſe thoſe who had choſen him for their protector to gratify his ambition.

The ſtates of Navarre aſſembled at Pampeluna chooſe Don Garcia Ramirez their king.

He had ſcarce felt the weight of a crown before he found two princes equally deſirous of eaſing him of his burthen: the firſt was Don Alonſo Raymond, king of Leon and Caſtile, who pretended to the ſovereignty of Navarre, as being deſcended from Don Sancho the Great in a direct line; the other was Don Ramiro, king of Arragon, who conceived that, as the heir of his brother,

Difficulties to which he found himſelf expoſed immediately on his acceſſion.

[a] Zurita, Chron. Adefons Magni. Turquet. [b] Mayerne

he

he was as much entitled to one kingdom as the other [c]. Don Garcia with great address, extricated himself out of these difficulties. He went to pay his devoirs to Don Alonso, and by this condescension concluded a treaty with him much to his own advantage. With the like dexterity he insinuated to the nobility of Arragon, that a war would be fatal to both nations; and that though he had just pretensions, as the heir of Don Garcia de Najara, upon the sovereignty of Arragon, yet he was content to remit things to an arbitration: the result of which was, that his right to Navarre was acknowledged, the nobility of Arragon being satisfied that Don Ramiro would have enough to do
A.D. 1135. to govern one kingdom. They insisted only, that in reverence to his age, Don Garcia should pay him a kind of homage, which he very readily performed, hoping, in case he survived him, to be chosen his successor.

Successes of this monarch, and his decease after a glorious reign.

Things did not long continue in this pacific situation; for Don Garcia having demanded the restitution of the provinces that had been dismembered from his kingdom, and annexed to Castile, and having received a rough answer from the emperor, for so Don Alonso was now styled, he entered into an alliance with Don Alonso Henriquez, prince of Portugal, and endeavoured to obtain it by force of arms; but failing in this endeavour, the dispute was at length compromised. This was succeeded by a new quarrel with Don Raymond Berenger, who, on the abdication of Don Ramiro, had assumed the title of prince of Arragon, and was count of Barcelona in his own right. The emperor Don Alonso assisted his brother-in-law Don Raymond in this dispute; but Don Garcia managed the war with so much courage and conduct, that he defeated the prince of Arragon, and obliged the emperor to raise
A.D. 1140. the siege of Pampeluna; and at length the peers and prelates of his realm interposing, the emperor concluded a treaty with him, by which an end was put to all their differences, and for the confirmation of it his son Don Sancho married the infanta Donna Blanch of Navarre [d]. The war with Arragon was still continued; in which Don Garcia gained several advantages; but his queen Donna Margaret dying, he thought fit, to promote his own interest, to marry Donna Urraca, the natural daughter of the emperor; who compromised the disputes with Arragon, and engaged both princes to assist him in his wars

[c] Martinez, Chron. Adefons Magni, Zurita, Ferreras, Roderic Toletan, Luc. Tudens. P. Moret.

against

against the Moors, an undertaking which they very honourably performed, and the emperor, by their assistance, managed that war with great success [e]. This was one of the last great actions of Don Garcia's life, who, after managing very prudently that perplexed state in which he found the affairs of his monarchy, and having restored it to its ancient independency, died in peace at Pampeluna on the 21st of November, and was buried in the cathedral church of that capital, equally regretted by his subjects and by the princes his allies [f]. A.D. 1147. A.D. 1150.

Don Sancho VII. or the Wise.

Don Sancho, surnamed the Wise, succeeded his father, and very steadily pursued his maxims. He delivered his sister, who had been married while a child, and who was now become a woman, to the infant Don Sancho; and at the same time his mother-in-law Donna Urraca returned to her father's court [g]. The war with Arragon being revived, he carried it on with great spirit and success, notwithstanding the emperor assisted Don Raymond, and at length obliged the latter to terminate the disputes that had lasted so long between the two crowns, by an equitable and solid peace. After the death of the emperor he attempted the recovery of the places, that, to the prejudice of the crown of Navarre, had been annexed to Castile; and though he failed in his first attempt, yet taking afterwards a more favourable opportunity he succeeded, and by the like prudent management hindered the coalition of the small Moorish principalities, by assisting the weaker against the stronger, by which means, he kept their forces still divided, and at the same time employed in ruining each other [h]. It was from the exercise of these refined arts of policy, as well as from his diligence and attention to domestic improvements, that he obtained the surname of Wise, and retrieved and restored the broken forces of his monarchy in such a manner that he begun to be as much considered both by the Christian and Moorish princes as any of his predecessors had been [i].

We must allow the historians of Navarre to have had a just right to set this monarch on a level with any of those who flourished in his time: he took possession of his dominions when they had been harrassed by a long war, and curtailed through a series of ill fortune. He had scare a

[e] Chron. Adefons Magni, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.
[f] Annal. Toletan. P. Moret, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana.
[g] Luc. Tudens. Chron. Chron. Adefons Magni.
[h] Annal. Toletan. Garibay, Ferreras.
[i] P. Moret.

single

Other instances of Don Sancho's prudence and policy.

single power that was sincerely allied to him, and even in his own territories some inclined to the king of Castile, and more to the king of Arragon. He kept at first on the defensive; entered into a league with Lewis the Seventh of France, which subsisted during both their reigns, enlarged the privileges of most of the great towns; built some new cities, and fortified all; exempted the inhabitants of the vallies that were most barren from taxes, by which indulgence they were always ready to take arms as occasion required [k]. His court was the asylum of the injured and oppressed, whether Christians or Moors; so that he had ever in his service men of distinguished courage and great experience. He was, for those times, a prince of learning, which he encouraged amongst his clergy and nobility. He had a good correspondence throughout Europe, and so good intelligence, that he let slip no opportunity of recovering the places that had been torn from his predecessors. His alliance with Portugal was of great use to him; and his industry and activity in time of peace enabled him to make or sustain war sooner and steadier than any of his neighbours. He lost several battles, and some towns; but he rejected all offers of peace till these were restored; and his abilities and experience furnished him with such resources, that, sooner or later, he carried his point [l]. His generosity to his prisoners gained him a high reputation, and was in other respects very useful; his modesty and his silence rendered his designs impenetrable; and his readiness in forgiving past offences, brought back into his dominions most of those who had retired into Arragon or Castile. He first introduced the title of count into Navarre; and was so ready to acknowlege whatever services were rendered him by the nobility, and paid them so much respect upon all occasions, that they let slip no opportunity of expressing their zeal, or of conforming to his will; by which means he wrought so great a change in the order and œconomy of the state, that at the same time he raised his own revenues, the people in general were much richer than before his accession to the crown. His address and his experience might have given him a boundless authority if he had sought it; but, except in great emergencies, he did nothing but by the advice of the states, or at least with their consent; and was so far from abridging the liberties of the people, that in many instances he extended

[k] P. Moret, Mayerne Turquet, Roderic Toletan. de Reb Hispan.

[l] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

them

Digitized by Google

them[m]. When he found it impracticable to recover all Biscay, he insinuated to the lords of it, who were vassals to the crown of Castile, that hostilities might prove the destruction, but could never turn to the advantage either of the Biscayners or the people of Navarre; and therefore he advised them to keep a tacit and perpetual neutrality when the two crowns were at war, the advantages of which were quickly so apparent, and the lords of Biscay became by this conduct so independent, that the monarchs of Castile could never engage them to break through it, while the kings of Navarre drew little less benefit from that province than they would have done if it had been held of them; which benefit, though foreseen by him, was not felt in its full extent but by his successors[n].

Don Alonso king of Arragon, count of Barcelona, and master of several estates in France, could never divest himself of the passionate desire he had once entertained of being master of Navarre. Finding the like disposition in Don Alonso the Third of Castile, he took advantage of their having concluded a truce with the Moors, to propose the conquest of that kingdom, in order to which a kind of convention was settled between them; as both princes had numerous armies on foot, and had bound themselves by reciprocally depositing certain fortresses for the due performance of their engagement, Don Sancho was never in so great peril before. At the time appointed the troops of Arragon entered Navarre, and took several places; but they were so well and so long defended, that by the end of the campaign the army was much reduced. On the other hand, the king of Castile in person penetrated almost as far as Pampeluna, with a superior army, Don Sancho retiring before him all the way, and suffering him to burn and pillage the country at his pleasure; but in his retreat he harrassed his troops exceedingly, and recovered a great part of the booty[o]. Next year the war was carried on in the same manner; but while the king of Arragon pleased himself with taking several small places, he was alarmed with the news that Don Sancho had made an irruption into Arragon, had taken Cajuelos, and was preparing to cut off his retreat. As for the Castilians, finding the country in the same manner as they left it, and meeting with no opposition, they were afraid of advancing too far, from an apprehension of suffering by that famine which they

A.D. 1173.

This monarch defeats the confederacy formed for conquering and dividing his dominions.

[m] Zurita, Luc. Tudens. Chron. [n] Ferreras. [o] P. Moret.

had caused. Events of the like nature followed in several campaigns, till at length all parties weary of a war by which none were gainers, consented to leave all their disputes to the arbitration of Henry king of England, to whose court each of the princes sent ambassadors, and gave security to submit to his decision [p]. In the mean time a cessation of arms took place, which continued for several years. The use Don Sancho made of this calm, was to build in the province of Alava the beautiful town of Victoria, to cover his country from irruptions on the side of Castile. He chose the situation so happily, that in process of time it became a fine city, and the capital of this country, after it fell, during the reign of his son, under the dominion of the crown of Castile, to which it has been united ever since.

Other memorable acts, and death of Don Sancho the Wise.

The decision of king Henry of England was not accepted, and yet the truce still continued. But the king of Castile reflecting, that while this misunderstanding continued, it would be always the interest of Don Sancho to hinder as much as in him lay the success of his expeditions against the Moors; and also that the campaigns against that monarch were attended with great loss of blood, and little or no profit, while the common enemy was increasing in strength, a circumstance which must be attended with great ill consequences in process of time, he demanded an interview with that monarch. On this occasion they once for all adjusted the disputes that had so long subsisted, settled the frontier between both their kingdoms, and gave each other, according to the mode of those times, security for the due performance of this treaty, which was one of the greatest and happiest events in his reign [q]. The king of Arragon also, tired out with unsuccessful expeditions, and desirous of applying his attention to affairs of another nature, took the like method, and concluded a definitive peace. Thus Don Sancho carried his two great points, and obliged both his potent neighbours to renounce those pretensions which ambition suggested, and which, for such a length of time, had been seconded by force [r]. Richard the First, king of England, having demanded Donna Berengara, Don Sancho's eldest daughter, in marriage, he readily consented; and that princess being delivered to queen Eleanor, the king's mother, was by her carried into Flanders, and from thence, on board a fleet, to

[p] Roger Hoveden Annal. [q] Luc. Tudens. Mariana. [r] Zurita.

the

Digitized by Google

the island of Cyprus, where their nuptials were solemnized on the 12th of May, at Limisso [s]. The very next year, the English monarch being in the Holy Land, the count de Toulouse attacked his seneschal in Gascony, supposing that he should obtain an easy conquest; but the king of Navarre being acquainted with this outrage, sent the infant Don Sancho, with eight hundred men at arms, to the assistance of the seneschal, a reinforcement which entirely disconcerted the count's scheme [t]. This was one of the last great actions of his life; for the king being seized with a consumptive distemper, sunk by a gradual decay, and breathed his last on the 27th of June, leaving behind him the reputation of being the most accomplished monarch that ever sat on the throne of Navarre [u]. A.D. 1191. A. D. 1194.

Accession of Don Sancho VIII. the Strong.

Great hopes were conceived of Don Sancho, who succeeded his father of the same name, and who, in the former part of his reign was surnamed the Strong, or the Brave; but towards the end, for a reason that will be given, the Hidden, or Inclosed. He was certainly a prince of lively parts, as well as steady courage; but either he did not understand, or at least he did not pursue the maxims of Don Sancho the Wise. Immediately after his accession he promised Don Alonso, king of Castile, to bring him a considerable reinforcement, in order to enable him to make head against the whole strength of the Moors; and there is no reason to doubt that he would have been as good as his word, as well as the king of Arragon, who had made the same promise, in case that monarch had given them time to accomplish their design. But by an unaccountable stroke of vain-glory, and a preposterous desire of defrauding his allies of their just share of reputation, he advanced with the troops of Castile against a numerous army of Moors, by which he lost the great battle of Alarcos, which might have been fatal at least to his own dominions, if the infidels had prosecuted their victory. The kings of Navarre and Arragon were so much provoked at this behaviour, that they disbanded their forces: on the other hand the king of Castile took this step so ill, that having obtained a truce from the Moors, he made an attempt upon their dominions, but with little success [w]. Some time after he entered into an alliance with the king of

[s] Roger Hoveden Annal. [t] Ferreras. [u] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. Mayerne Turquet, P. Moret, Ferreras. [w] Luc. Tudens. Chron. Annal. Toletan. Annal. Compostell. P. Moret.

Digitized by Google

Arragon, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in caſe he would revive his old pretenſions to the crown of Navarre. The king of Morocco, being well informed of all that had paſſed, as well as the forces and diſpoſitions of theſe princes, began a ſecret negociation with the king of Navarre; by which he promiſed him his daughter, and offered, by way of portion, to give her all the large dominions which he held in Spain. Alarmed on the one ſide, and allured on the other, Don Sancho, whoſe ſtrength lay rather in his arm than in his head, embraced this propoſition, ſo far at leaſt as to enter into conferences with the emiſſaries of this potent prince; but with what view cannot be ſo clearly determined [x].

His voyage to Africa and its conſequences.

This intrigue could not be carried on ſo ſecretly as to eſcape the knowlege of other Chriſtian princes; who thereupon attacked the character of the king of Navarre with the utmoſt marks of reſentment, giving out, that he intended to enter into a cloſe alliance with the Moors, and perhaps to abandon the Chriſtian religion. This report induced him to ſend the biſhop of Pampeluna to Rome, to aſſure pope Celeſtin the Third, that theſe were downright calumnies, and that he intended nothing of that kind; and the pontiff thereupon wrote him a very tender and obliging letter, which is ſtill extant [y]. Notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, Don Sancho, being perfectly informed that the kings of Caſtile and Arragon were concluding a peace with the Moors in order to attack his dominions, not only perſiſted in his negociations with the infidels, but proceeded at length to quit his own dominions, and with a ſmall retinue to paſs over to Barbary, in hopes of accompliſhing his marriage [z]. At his arrival in the court of Morocco he found the face of affairs very unexpectedly changed by the death of the king, and his ſon's poſitive declaration, that he did not intend to be bound by his father's agreement, but meant to preſerve his Spaniſh dominions, and to tranſport a conſiderable body of forces from Africa for that purpoſe. Don Sancho thus diſappointed, and knowing what unhappy conſequences muſt attend his abſence, would willingly have returned without delay into his own territories, but was quickly made ſenſible that this was alſo impracticable; for the new monarch of Morocco inſiſted on his going with him in perſon againſt

A.D.1199.

[x] Roger Hoveden, Ferreras. Monica Generale de Hiſpana. Tudenſ. Chron. P. Moret, Ferreras.

[y] Ambroſio Morales, Cronica Generale de Hiſpana.

[z] Roger de Hoveden, Luc. Tudenſ. Chron. P. Moret, Ferreras.

his

Digitized by Google

his rebels; which expedition, not being able to avoid, he engaged in it with a good grace, and acquired great reputation by his behaviour.

The kings of Castile and Arragon attack his dominions in his absence, and make great conquests.

In the mean time the kings of Castile and Arragon did not let this favourable occasion slip, but attacked the kingdom of Navarre with all their forces. In the very first campaign the king of Arragon made himself master of several places, some by force, and some by composition; but the king of Castile, though he had the better army of the two, was by no means able to make so rapid a progress [a]. He had made an irruption into the province of Alava, and had made himself master of several inconsiderable places, and most of the open country; but Victoria, which was well fortified, and had a good garrison, made a long and obstinate resistance; so that he was obliged to leave the reduction of it to Don Lopez de Haro, lord of Biscay, who brought it by the beginning of the next spring into such a situation, that the garrison and the inhabitants desired leave to send the bishop of Pampeluna into Barbary, to know whether they had any relief to expect, promising to surrender upon his return. This request was granted, and the bishop went accordingly; and the king told him, that he was obliged to his faithful subjects for the long and gallant resistance they had made; but that not having it in his power to bring them any succours, he did not pretend to hinder them from making the best terms they could for themselves. Upon this intimation the inhabitants of Victoria demanded, that the king of Castile should promise to maintain them in all their privileges and immunities; and this demand being granted, they immediately opened their gates. The fate of Victoria not only drew after it the loss of the whole province, but that also of Guipuscoa, and of what yet remained to the crown of Navarre of Biscay, particularly the port of St. Sebastian; all which were from this time united to the kingdom of Castile [b]. Instead of wondering that so much was torn from the territories of Navarre, we have reason to be surprised that any thing was left, considering the power of the monarchs who attacked it, the address by which the king of Castile gradually detached the crown of France, and the rest of Don Sancho's allies, and the supineness of the kings of Leon and Portugal, who had A.D. 1209.

[a] Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. Zurita, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [b] Annal. Toletan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Roger Hoveden.

Digitized by Google

an intereſt in preſerving a monarchy by which themſelves had been more than once preſerved; and this was ſo much the more aſtoniſhing, as the alliance which had driven Don Sancho in a manner to deſpair, and the war that had deprived him of his dominions, were the pure effects of jealouſy and ambition, and did not proceed from any thing this monarch had done, or a leaſt he had given no adequate offence[c]: the outcry made as to his treaty with the infidels being fully anſwered by its motive, which was that ill uſage he received from Chriſtians, without meeting with ſo much as one Chriſtian friend.

Don Sancho returns into his territories, and concludes a peace with the king of Caſtile.

It muſt appear ſtrange, that while his ſubjects were thus oppreſſed, when two foreign armies were in the bowels of his country, Don Sancho, who had the reputation of being ſo brave a prince, ſhould remain abroad in the ſervice of the Moors, and without attempting to afford them the leaſt ſuccour. The writers of thoſe times, however, own that Don Sancho was not inexcuſable. He was ſeized, either through fatigue or diſturbance of mind, with a very dangerous fever in his paſſage; and this, either through the malignity of the diſeaſe, want of ſkill in thoſe who treated it, or want of patience in the king himſelf, fell into his foot, and turned afterwards into a cancerous humour which never could be cured. We are alſo told, that though he was in the higheſt credit with the monarch he had ſerved, yet he abſolutely refuſed to make a diverſion in his favour, by attacking the kings of Caſtile and Arragon, though he might have done it very conveniently, becauſe he had made a truce for ten years, and had ſworn to the due obſervance of that truce. But he ſhewed his gratitude to the king of Navarre another way; for on his departure he not only loaded him with preſents, but furniſhed him likewiſe with a vaſt ſum of money, that he might be the better enabled to change the face of his affairs[d]. He landed at Carthagena, and took his meaſures ſo well, that he paſſed from thence into his own dominions without being diſcovered. On the news of his arrival the Caſtilians raiſed the ſiege of a place on the very point of falling into their hands[e]. There happened ſoon after an event of much greater importance: Don Diego Lopez, who thought himſelf ill-treated by the king of Caſtile his maſter, revolted, and withdrew with his depen-

[c] Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hiſpan. Ferreras. [d] Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hiſpan. [e] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

dents,

Digitized by Google

dents, and a good body of troops, into Navarre, from whence he made inroads into the very heart of Castile. His master, Don Alonso the Noble, marched with the joint forces of Castile and Leon against him, and at length shut him up in Estella, where he made so good a defence, that the king found himself constrained to raise the siege. The pope having received exact information of the situation of things in Spain, and the ill usage the king of Navarre had met with, interposed his good offices[f]. Don Diego Lopez, having made his peace with his master, remembered the obligations he was under to Don Sancho, and concluded a treaty for him upon the best terms that could be obtained[g]. A.D. 1541.

He proceeds very prudently in his endeavours to recover his kingdom.

The king took the opportunity of this interval of peace, for the war with Arragon was also suspended, to put his country into a posture of defence, and to repair the losses he had sustained, by making better the dominions he had left. He was either by nature, or in consequence of his misfortunes, extremely frugal; but this disposition was so far from being grievous to his subjects, that it turned to their benefit; for, having his coffers full, he remitted several grievous impositions, proceeding on the true maxim, that wherever the people were oppressed the prince must be poor. This conduct had a wonderful effect; for his subjects continually boasted, that the father was the wisest, and the son the best prince ever seated on their throne: and hence followed an event that no policy could foresee; for the inhabitants of Bayonne, and the country adjacent, finding themselves harrassed by the contiuual wars of the princes their sovereigns, and those who pretended to be so, put themselves under the protection of the king of Navarre. The truce still subsisting with the king of Castile, that monarch demanded an interview with Don Sancho at Guadalaxara, where it was renewed for five years; and Don Alonso at the same time undertook to mediate a peace with Arragon. On his return from this interview to Pampeluna, there fell out a dismal accident; for the king's only brother, Don Ferdinand, running at the ring, was thrown by his horse against a stone pillar, and died upon the spot[h]. A.D. 1207.

Peace with Arragon concluded.

Don Alonso the Noble, king of Castile, perceiving the ten years truce with the Moors drawing towards a close,

[f] Ambrosio Morales, Cronica Generale de Hispana, Ferreras.
[g] Luc. Tudens, Chron. [h] Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. Chronique de Don Thibaud, Ferreras.

Digitized by Google

and knowing how assiduous they had been in improving the quarrels amongst the Christian princes to their own advantage, represented in very strong terms to Don Pedro, king of Arragon, the necessity of turning the truce with Navarre into a solid peace, that they might be in a condition to act offensively against the infidels, as the most effectual means to preserve their own territories from becoming the seat of war [h]. Upon this remonstrance an interview was appointed between the three kings, at a place called Mallen, where a peace was concluded between Don Sancho of Navarre, and Don Pedro of Arragon, to their mutual satisfaction; and at the same time both kings promised Don Alonso to bring the flower of their forces to his assistance: but Don Pedro of Arragon intimating that his finances were in great disorder, Don Sancho of Navarre generously lent him twenty thousand pieces of gold, and had a certain number of castles and towns consigned to
A D. 1209. him to secure the repayment. Next year there was another congress held, and the following was entirely spent in preparations; and in the succeeding spring, the war being commenced, Don Sancho, in performance of his promise, marched with a fine corps of troops to join the Christian army. He not only commanded the
A D. 1211. right wing in the decisive victory gained July the 16th, but was, by the universal consent of all writers, the principal instrument of providence in obtaining it; for Don Sancho, with his cavalry breaking the iron chain, and penetrating into the center of the Mooriſh army, compelled the miramamolin to seek his personal safety in flight. Some authors say, that the tent of the Mooriſh monarch was assigned him as a trophy of his victory. It is, however, more certain, that he returned with Don Alonso, and made his public entry with that monarch into Toledo; from whence, after a short stay, he returned home with his victorious army, himself covered with glory, and his troops laden with plunder. At his departure, Don Alonso, as a mark of his gratitude, restored to him fifteen places, which had been left to him by the peace; so that nothing could be more honourable or advantageous to him than this campaign, which rendered him as much revered throughout all Spain, as he had hitherto been in his own dominions [i].

[h] Lucas Tudenſ. Chron. Zurita. Mariana. Toletan. de Reb. Hiſpan. Annal. Toletan.

[i] Ibid. Roderic

At

Digitized by Google

At his return to Pampeluna, he resumed his former designs for the benefit of his subjects. He had already instituted an order of knighthood for the security of the roads, and the protection of passengers. He now caused a body of laws to be published, which had the same thing in view, as well as the suppressing robberies, murders, and whatever else, from the violence of those times, carried in it reproach to civil government [k]. He caused also some convents to be repaired, and others to be erected, having chiefly in view the drawing people into his dominions, and increasing the number of towns and villages, which were commonly the effects of such foundations. His liberality appeared sufficiently upon these and other public occasions: at others he was sparing to a great degree. The fortress of Viana he constructed for the security of his country, in case the spirit of ambition should revive in the court of Castile. He took his measures so well, and prosecuted his design with such vigilance, that the place was very soon in a posture of defence; and from its happy situation became in a very short space of time one of the most considerable places in the kingdom. He also repaired and improved the town of Tudela, which he made the principal place of his residence, partly on account of the excellency of its air, and partly from its vicinity to the frontiers of Castile; whence he judged it absolutely necessary that it should be rendered one of the strongest and most populous places in his dominions. Here, as some writers assert, he shut himself up closely in the castle, and was seldom seen by any but his domestics, on account of that cancerous humour, which, in process of time, extended itself from his foot upwards; and from hence it is pretended that he had the surname of Hidden or Retired [l]: with respect to which we pretend not to decide; only this is certain, that he did not at all relax in his care of public affairs, but continued to form and execute various schemes for increasing the number, and promoting the welfare of his subjects, in which Providence blessed him with as great success as he could desire. He was also equally fortunate in amassing wealth by leading almost a private life, without offending his people.

Resumes his designs for the benefit of his subjects, and the security of his dominions.

A.D. 1219.

We come now to the last and most obscure point of this prince's history. Some writers, and particularly Mariana, say, that being very old and infirm, his subjects began

Don Sancho adopts James king of Arragon, heir of all his dominions.

[k] Moret, Mariana. [l] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

Digitized by Google

gan to ſlight his authority, inſomuch that there were various ſeditions in Pampeluna; that theſe were excited by his nephew Thibaut, earl of Champagne, who, being his next heir, was weary of waiting for the crown till it fell of itſelf, and was therefore deſirous of ſhaking it off the old man's head. They add, that Lopez Diaz de Haro, lord of Biſcay, had invaded Navarre, and committed great outrages there, which he attributed to the ambition of St. Ferdinand. Upon theſe motives, Don Sancho is ſaid to have invited James king of Arragon to Tudela, where after many conferences, in which he inveighed bitterly againſt the want of fidelity and duty in his nephew, and the exorbitant luſt of dominion in Don Ferdinand, he made an agreement with the king of Arragon, that they ſhould reciprocally adopt each other, in order that the ſurvivor, being poſſeſt of both kingdoms, might have power ſufficient to defend their independency, and to protect their ſubjects in the enjoyment of their liberties. He alſo lent him at this time one hundred thouſand crowns, that he might be the better able to proſecute his wars againſt the Moors [m]. The adoption and the loan are things certain; but the other circumſtances are very improbable; for king James, the very next year, and during the lifetime of this prince, cauſed the ſtates of his kingdom to ſwear allegiance to his ſon, which would have been a wanton infraction of his treaty with the king of Navarre, had it been really made on theſe terms [n]. It is alſo probable, that what is ſaid of the count of Champagne is ſaid without foundation, ſince it is a fact out of diſpute, that this prince, to pleaſe his uncle, actually did homage to the king of Arragon, in prejudice of his own right, which certainly he would never have done if he had been of ſuch a temper as is ſuggeſted, or if he had had ſo ſtrong a party in Navarre: ſo that, after all, the truth ſeems to be, Don Sancho was ſo univerſally beloved by his ſubjects, that they ſubmitted implicitly to his will, not becauſe he was an abſolute prince, but becauſe a long and wiſe adminiſtration had given them an entire confidence in him, which is true abſolute power; and his nephew Don Thi-
A.D. 1232. baut took this extraordinary ſtep of relinquiſhing what he took to be his right, as well to pleaſe the people, as to pleaſe his uncle [o], who, in fact, had nothing elſe in view, but to provide for their future happineſs and perfect inde-

[m] Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre. [n] Zurita. [o] Ferreras.

pendency,

pendency, by procuring them a potent protector when he ſhould be no more.

The generality of hiſtorians inform us, that after this tranſaction, Don Sancho led a very uneaſy and unſettled life, ſometimes inclined to embark his adopted ſon the king of Arragon in a war with Caſtile, and at others out of humour with that prince, as well as diſpleaſed with his own ſubjects [p]. But it is very doubtful whether theſe facts be true: it is at leaſt certain, that thoſe who report them fall into evident confuſion in reſpect to dates, and intermix various circumſtances, as to which the hiſtorians, who lived in or near thoſe times, are altogether ſilent. There may, however, be good grounds to ſuppoſe, that Don Sancho might be much chagrined at the foreſight of thoſe evils that were like to come upon his ſubjects by his dying not only childleſs, but without heirs male of the whole blood. His eldeſt ſiſter Berengara had married Richard king of England, who died without iſſue. His younger ſiſter Donna Sancha, who eſpouſed the count of Champagne and Brie, had left by him a ſon, Don Thibaut, who ſucceeded in his father's eſtates, and was now upwards of thirty. The acceſſion of this prince to the throne of Navarre the king judged inexpedient for himſelf and for the nation; for he apprehended, that if he came into Navarre, his hereditary poſſeſſions would ſuffer extremely; and that on the other hand, if he paid only a proper attention to his patrimony, it would excite great diſturbances and factions in Navarre. On the other hand, the king of Arragon was deſcended from the male line of the kings of Navarre, his territories had been formerly united to that crown, the laws were nearly the ſame; and theſe, with other cauſes, had determined the king to act as he did; and for a time all parties ſeemed to acquieſce in his plan [q]: but the people of Navarre afterwards changing their minds, we may very eaſily conceive how their hiſtorians came to impute to age, infirmities, and a ſplenetic diſpoſition, that project of their king's, which in reality proceeded from his zeal for their welfare. However this might be, Don Sancho ended his days at Tudela, on the 7th of April, 1234; and in him expired the male line of Don Garcia Iniguez, after they had held the kingdom of Navarre near four hundred years. His body was interred in the church of the monaſtery of the

Death of Don Sancho VIII.

[p] Mariana, L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet. [q] Ferreras,

canons

Digitized by Google

canons regular of Roncevaux, of which he is said to be the founder [r].

Thibaut I. succeeds his uncle

The clergy, nobility, and people of Navarre, as soon as the king was dead, determined, notwithstanding all that had passed, to call his nephew the earl of Champagne to the succession, preferring as it seems the independency of their crown to their own interests. That they might proceed with caution and safety, they sent deputies to king James of Arragon, to let him know their resolution, and to desire that he would release them from the homage which they had sworn to him at the request, and purely with a view to gratify their deceased king, a request which that monarch readily granted. This point being once settled, they sent Don Pedro Ramirez de Pedrola, bishop of Pampeluna, and other lords, to invite the earl of Champagne to come and accept the crown; which he very willingly received, and was with great solemnity crowned in the cathedral of that capital on the 8th of May following [s], the pope also interposing vigorously, to prevent the transaction becoming the ground of a war. The reason of this interposition was the hopes the pontiff had, that the new king would take upon him the cross, and join in an expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land, which, in pur-

A.D.1235. suance of a vow made by his father, he accordingly did, though at the apparent hazard of his dominions. Lewis IX. better known by the name of St. Lewis of France, had at this time some disputes with this new king, in quality

A.D.1236. of earl of champagne; but pope Gregory IX. interceded so effectually, that the king promised to suspend all his pretensions during the absence of that prince, who was now employed in raising forces in France as well as Na-

A.D.1237. varre, in order to fulfil his engagement [t]. With the same good intention he addressed himself to the kings of Castile and Arragon, and procured from them, without any difficulty, the strongest assurances that they would take no advantage of the king of Navarre's absence [u].

His expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land.

Don Thibaut seeing all things thus happily settled, took his leave of the nobility, and having settled the government, went into France to join the army of the Crosses [w]. The dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, the counts of Bar, Vendosme, and Montfort, with several other great lords, having taken part in the same design, chose him generalis-

[r] Annal. Compostell. Kalendar Lyrens. [s] Ferreras. [t] Rainald. [u] Annal. Toletan. Zurita Annal. Arragon. Chron. Antiq. de Reb. Arragon. [w] Chronique de Don Thibaud.

simo

simo of this holy league [x]. Next year they embarked with a potent army at Marseilles, and other places in its neighbourhood, for Syria, where they arrived without any considerable accident. This expedition, however, though begun with the greatest hopes, ended next year without the smallest success; for the princes quarrelling amongst themselves, and the duke of Burgundy making a very unadvised attempt upon Gaza, in which he lost the best part of his troops, their misunderstandings increased to such a degree, that Don Thibaut seeing plainly there was no good to be done, and that the whole army would be gradually wasted, embarked such of the troops as would obey his command, and returned into Europe not a little chagrined at this misfortune, which, however, did no prejudice to his reputation, since it was on all hands allowed that his behaviour was without blame; that the mischiefs which had happened arose from disobeying his orders; and that it was owing to his prudence and patience that so great a part of the army was preserved and brought home [y]. His subjects received him with great satisfaction, and the posture of affairs in Spain left him at full liberty to gratify his natural inclination to improvements of all kinds, which he pursued to his own satisfaction, and to the no small pleasure of his subjects, by whom he was generally and deservedly beloved.

A.D. 1239. A.D. 1240.

His return to, and mild government of his dominions.

The preceding monarchs of Navarre had bounded their views by erecting fortresses, churchs, or convents; but Don Thibaut introduced elegance and magnificence, as well as utility. His genius, admirable in itself, had been cultivated by an excellent education, and by travel, which furnished him with notions much superior to those of princes unassisted by these advantages. He brought with him from the East many different kinds of rich fruits into his territorries in France, and these he transplanted again into Navarre, to which conduct the people of that country owe their most delicate wines, very little inferior to those of France; and an excellent sort of pears, which, in honour of him, and to perpetuate the memory of this prince, are called Thibaudines. He was still more careful with regard to agriculture, which hitherto his subjects had practised but rudely, and in such a manner that the soil and climate were unjustly reproached for what was in truth owing to their want of skill and application. He built some palaces, which

A.D. 1247.

[x] Favin Histoire de Navarre. Histoire des Croises.

[y] P. Moret, Maimbourg

Digitized by Google

which remain no contemptible monuments of his taste; and, led by his example, many of the nobility did the like, so that in a short time the court of Navarre became one of the most brilliant in Spain [z]: but as human happiness is never solid or sincere, so what Don Sancho had foreseen, in process of time came actually to pass; that is, the nobility began to form cabals against him, which he was compelled to pacify by grants of offices and lands, to the great impoverishment of his treasury, and with some diminution of his authority. The most remarkable of these disputes was that which he had with Don Pedro Jaçolas, bishop of Pampeluna, on account of the castle of St. Stephen, which belonged to that prelate, in right of his see. This the king caused to be fortified for the benefit of his subjects; for this high offence the bishop, retiring into Arragon, put his diocese under an interdict, which threw the whole kingdom into the utmost confusion [a]. At length, after a tedious struggle, the king accommodated matters with the bishop, who thereupon removed the excommunication. There remained, however, so many doubts and scruples on the minds of the more ignorant part of his subjects, that he found it absolutely requisite to go to Rome, in order to obtain a general absolution from the pope, which he obtained with some difficulty.

A.D. 1248.

A.D. 1249.

A.D. 1253. After his return things went on quietly; he continued to govern and to adorn his territories, and enjoyed the love of his subjects, and esteem of his neighbours, to the time of his decease, which happened on the 8th of July, when he was very little turned of fifty. He had a graceful person, was excellently skilled in music and poetry, a great lover of learning and learned men. His reputation for courage was so well established, that none of his neighbours were willing to provoke him; and his ambition so regulated by his respect to justice, that he made no attempts to their prejudice. He was thrice married; first to the daughter of the count of Metz, from whom he was divorced by the pope, and by whom he had no issue; the second was the daughter of the lord of Beaujeu, by whom he had Donna Blanca, who espoused John, surnamed the Red, duke of Bretagne [b]. His last consort was Margaret, daughter to the count de Foix, by whom he had three sons, Thibaut, Pedro, and Henry, the first

Remainder of his reign and death.

[z] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [a] P. Moret, l'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet, [b] Favin Histoire de Navarre.

and

Digitized by Google

and laſt ſucceſſively kings of Navarre; and a daughter, Donna Agnes, whom others call Leonora, married ten years before her father's death to Don Alvaro Perez de Azagra, lord of Albaracin. On his death-bed he recommended the queen and her children to the protection of the king of Arragon, with whom he had always lived in peace and friendſhip. His corpſe was interred in the cathedral church of Pampeluna [c].

Thibaut II. ſucceeds his father, under the protection of James king of Arragon.

The ſame hiſtorians, who repreſent king James of Arragon as a diſſembler in the caſe of his renunciation, beſtow on him the higheſt praiſes, in regard to that ſpirit and punctuality with which he executed his charge as guardian to the royal family of Navarre. They tell us that he went in perſon to Pampeluna; contracted an alliance offenſive and defenſive with the young king againſt Caſtile; treated of a marriage between him and his daughter; and entered into other engagements, which were ratified and confirmed by a ſubſequent treaty, after the king of Navarre became of age [d]. But perhaps thoſe come nearer the truth who content themſelves with ſaying, the king of Arragon diſcharged his truſt with fidelity, by which the two kingdoms enjoyed peace and happineſs for ſeveral years. The queen-dowager, Donna Margaret, went to make a tour into her ſon's eſtates in France, where ſhe was ſeized with a diſtemper that very ſoon conducted her to her tomb, which ſhe found in the monaſtery of Clervaux. The death of the queen his mother made it requiſite for the young king to take a journey into France, and he was on the very point of ſetting out, when he underſtood that ſome of his ſubjects had made an inroad on the territories of the king of Arragon. Upon this occaſion, he gave that king the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, not only of its being done without its privity or conſent, but alſo of his ſincere intention to give him adequate ſatisfaction, in caſe any of the offenders ſhould fall into his hands [e], by which declaration he prevented any miſunderſtandings between the two crowns, and gave the world a juſt idea of his own character. He then proceeded in his deſign of viſiting his territories in France, where his preſence was very acceptable, and where, by his mildneſs and affable behaviour, he eſtabliſhed his reputation as a moſt accompliſhed prince. St. Lewis invited him to his court, and

A.D. 1256.

[c] Favin Hiſtoire de Navarre. [d] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [e] Moret, Ferreras.

propoſed

Digitized by Google

proposed to him a very advantageous alliance, which he very willingly embraced, as being equally honourable and advantageous.

He goes into France, and espouses the princess Elizabeth, or Isabel, daughter to St. Lewis.

King Lewis consented to his marriage with his daughter Isabel, provided he compromised the claim made by his sister the duchess of Bretagne upon parts of his estates in France, which was done by the grant of an annuity of three thousand livres per annum, which, as the French historian observes, fall but little short of thirty thousand livres at this day. This and all other points being adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of both princes, the marriage was celebrated at Melun, where Don Thibaut received, as the portion of the princess Elizabeth, ten thousand livres, being the same sum that was given to her sister [f]. This marriage gave him a great interest at the court of France, which he employed in favour of his friend and guardian the king of Arragon. He was very instrumental in making that treaty by which all disputes were compromised, and all claims regulated between the two crowns [g]. He continued for some after in France, where he constituted his brother, the infant Don Pedro, governor of Champagne, which office, however, he did not long enjoy, being removed by death when he was a very young man [h].

A.D 1264. On his return into Navarre some disputes arose between him and his nobility, who entered into a league against him, and chose one of their number to oppose all acts of their sovereign, which they judged to be inconsistent with their privileges. But the pope, having intelligence of this confederacy, directed the archbishop of Bourdeaux to make a tour into Navarre, and to use his best endeavours to put an end to these heart-burnings and jealousies; a task which he performed very effectually [i]. This pope was Urban the Fourth, who died the same year, as appears by the king's letters of felicitation to his successor.

Returns thither again, and together with St. Lewis takes the cross.

The death of his brother before mentioned made it requisite for the king to return again into France, as well to procure a fit marriage for the infant Don Henry, his only surviving brother, as to put him in possession of the government of Champagne, and other measures for the benefit of his family. Pope Clement the Fourth prevailed upon St. Lewis of France to assume the cross, in which

[f] Inventoire des Chartres, tom. ii. cap. vi. N° 97, Histoire & Chronique de St. Loüis de France, par Sire de Joinville, Senechal de Champagne, Contemporain du dit Roy, 4°. [g] Memoires de du Puy, tom. ii. [h] Ferreras. [i] Rainald, Ambrosio Morales.

expedition

expedition he was accompanied by his ſons-in-law Thibaut king of Navarre, and Edward prince of England. The preparations requiſite for aſſembling an army, and equipping a fleet, took up a conſiderable ſpace, during which the king negociated and concluded a marriage between his brother the infant Don Henry, to whom he committed the regency, and the princeſs Blanch, daughter to Robert count of Artois, brother of St. Lewis, with whom he obtained the county of Rheims [k]. On the return of his brother into Navarre, he confided to queen Iſabel the government of Champagne, and the reſt of the territories that he held in France; and, by the interpoſition of St. Lewis, he renewed for five years more a truce formerly concluded under the ſame mediation with the king of England, in reſpect to the town of Bayonne, upon which he formed ſome pretenſions. In fine, all obſtacles being removed, he embarked with his troops in order to follow his father-in-law, who had already ſailed with his fleet and forces to Sicily [l]; and with him went many lords of Champagne and Navarre. A.D. 1269.

In the abſence of the king a civil war broke out in Caſtile, and the infant Don Philip, who embarked therein againſt his father, went into Navarre, to perſuade the regent to ſupport him and the reſt of the nobility in their pretenſions; but though Don Henry might eaſily have drawn them to have made large conceſſions in his favour, with reſpect to thoſe provinces and their dependencies, which had been detached from the kingdom of Navarre, with little appearance of right, in former reigns, yet he very wiſely anſwered, that though he adminiſtered the government, he wanted regal authority in Navarre, and could not therefore, conſiſtent with the truſt repoſed in him by his brother, enter into a meaſure which muſt involve the nation in a foreign war [m]. *His brother Don Henry governs the kingdom with much prudence in his abſence.*

When the king of Navarre arrived in Sicily, with the French lords who accompanied him, he was very much ſurpriſed to find, in the firſt council of war that was held, that he had not been admitted into the ſecret of the deſign, St. Lewis declaring it his intention not to proceed to Syria, but to the coaſt of Africa, where he intended to beſiege Tunis. Thither Don Thibaut accompanied him, and was preſent when he died of the plague, or ſome other conta- *The king, in his return from the ſiege of Tunis, dies at Trapani in Sicily.*

[k] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Favin Hiſtoire de Navarre, Ferreras. [l] Nangius in Geſtis Lodovici, Mariana.
[m] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

Digitized by Google

gious distemper, before the place on the 25th of August, as appears by a letter of the king of Navarre's writing, which is still extant, and in which he gives a very distinct account of the circumstances that attended it [n]. He did homage in the same camp to the new king Philip the Hardy, for the estates he held in France; and, after the peace was made with the king of Tunis, he returned with him into Sicily, where he was scarce arrived before he fell sick at Trapani, and after a short illness deceased on the 5th of September, 1270. His queen Elizabeth, or Isabel, who either accompanied or followed him, deceased likewise in the spring of the succeeding year, at or near Marseilles, on her return to France. In the spring the body of the king was transported into France, and buried in the church of the convent of Cordeliers at Brie. As he was a monarch of sincere piety, endowed with many amiable qualities, and particularly remarkable for the sweetness of his temper, he was caressed and admired by all the princes his neighbours; and by his own irreproachable character maintained his dominions in peace during his whole reign.

Henry the Fat succeeds his brother, and enjoys the regal dignity but a short time.

Henry, surnamed the Gross or the Fat, was proclaimed king at Pampeluna, in the month of March. He is said to have been of a more reserved temper than his brother; but is allowed to have governed well in his absence, and to have supported his dignity after his accession to the throne with spirit, notwithstanding the misfortunes that he met with in his family, and the opposition given him by the infant Don Pedro of Arragon, who pretended to revive those pretensions which his father, still living, had disclaimed. This king having married the neice of St. Lewis, depended on the friendship and assistance of his cousin king Philip; and governed so steadily that though his neighbours were willing enough to have given him disturbance, yet perceiving him always in a condition to defend his territories, they did not think fit to attack him [o]. He had by his queen a son, called after his father and brother Thibaut, who was nursed at Estella, where, as some writers say, his nurse let him fall out of a gallery, by which fall he was killed upon the spot [p]. Others affirm, that it happened through the carelessness of his governor, who, in a fit of despair, threw himself from the same gallery, and perished with him [q]. Besides this son he had a daughter,

A.D. 1271.

[n] P. Daniel Histoire de France, tom. iv. p. 263. [o] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [p] Favin Histoire de Navarre. [q] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

the

Digitized by Google

the infanta Donna Joanna, about two years old at the time this lamentable accident happened, whom he immediately caused to be acknowleged heiress of the crown by the states [r]. He not long after made a treaty with Edward the First, king of England, by which he promised to give this princess in marriage to one of his sons, when she should attain to a fit age. But it is very probable this circumstance was not made public, since many historians affirm, that James king of Arragon, in hopes of marrying her to a prince of his blood, concluded an alliance with king Henry, which was of no small advantage to his affairs. He did not, however, survive long enough to avail himself of those troubles that might have given him an opportunity of recovering some of the provinces which he claimed, as dismembered from his monarchy by the kings of Castile; for, as most writers agree, he was choaked with fat on the 22d of July, 1274, leaving his daughter sole heiress of his dominions, under the tutelage of the queen-dowager [s], whom some historians call Blanch, others Joan of Artois. He left likewise a natural son, born, before he was married, of the heiress of the house of Lacarra, who bore his own name, and became afterwards marshal of Navarre [t]. He was buried in the cathedral church of Pampeluna, with great solemnity; and in him ended the male line of the counts of Champagne, kings of Navarre, after having possessed that kingdom above forty years.

Donna Joanna, under the tutelage of her mother, becomes queen of Navarre at three years old.

Donna Joanna was scarce three years old when she became a queen. It is said that her father directed by his will that she should not marry a prince of Castile or Arragon, but of France. It is however, not impossible that this circumstance might be invented after such a marriage took effect. Be that as it will, the queen-dowager called an assembly of the states on the 27th of August following, in order to make choice of a person who might assist her in the administration of the government, when Don Pedro Sanchez Montagu was chosen [u]. It was not long before a strong party was formed against Don Pedro; at the head of which was Don Garcia de Almoravides, who had recourse to the crown of Castile for protection, which was promised him; and this circumstance obliged Don Pedro Sanchez de Montagu to apply himself to the king of Arragon, with the like success [w]. As both these princes had in view the

[r] P. Moret. [s] Favin, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.
[t] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. [u] Favin, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [w] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

Digitized by Google

marriage of the heireſs of Navarre into their families, the queen, who was equally averſe to either, reſolved to ſecure her own ſafety, and that of her daughter, by flying into France, and demanding the protection of king Philip, which ſhe accordingly did, and was received with all the reſpect due to her dignity, and all the kindneſs which her diſtreſſed circumſtances required.

A.D. 1275.

Philip the Hardy contracts his ſon Philip the Fair to the young queen of Navarre.

At this juncture Don Alonſo, ſirnamed the Wiſe, governed Caſtile; but, as we have ſhewn in another place, his adminiſtration, notwithſtanding that high title, was not either ſteady or ſucceſsful [x]. His eldeſt ſon, the infant Don Ferdinand de la Cerda, was a prince of parts and ſpirit, but withal very ambitious. He had married Blanch, daughter of St. Lewis, by whom he had two ſons, who were children at this time, of whom he intended to marry the eldeſt to the heireſs of Navarre. Knowing the confuſion the kingdom was in would prevent any army from taking the field againſt him, he marched into the country, not doubting but that he ſhould make a cheap and ſpeedy conqueſt; and this once effected, or even in part effected, the marriage he had in view would be eſteemed a favour [y]. But the policy of the kings of Navarre, who kept their frontiers always well fortified, and their ſubjects in exact diſcipline, prevented the execution of this ſcheme; for though he became maſter of ſome ſmall open places, yet Viana, the firſt ſtrong place he beſieged, made ſo good a reſiſtance, that after conſiderable loſs he was obliged to retire [z]. On the other ſide, James king of Arragon was grown old and feeble in body and in mind; the infant Don Pedro, his heir apparent, ſet up a kind of claim to Navarre, but managed it with a great ſhew of temper and moderation; offered the ſtates the choice of either of his ſons for the young queen, and to leave him in the entire poſſeſſion of the kingdom, with a promiſe of ſuch ſuccours as ſhould be neceſſary to defend them againſt Caſtile. It was this conſideration that engaged Don Pedro Sanchez de Montagu, and other noblemen of the firſt houſes in Navarre, to lean to his party; ſo that the kingdom in general, moſt of the great towns in particular, and the city of Pampeluna more eſpecially, ſtood divided into three factions, the Caſtilian, the Arragonian, and the French. Philip the Hardy had received and ſuccoured the queen

x Garibay, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Zurita Annal. Arragon. Hiſtoire de Navarre.

y L'Hiſtoire

z Favin

with

Digitized by Google

with great generosity; but he likewise had his views, and was in truth more nearly interested than either of the other princes [a]. The young queen was heiress of Champagne and Brie, in the very heart of his dominions; he judged, therefore, that there could not be a more expedient match for this young princess than one of his sons, and he had three by his first queen, Lewis, Philip, and Charles. His own inclination was to marry her to the eldest; but pope Gregory the Tenth, though he had a great kindness for the king, would not hear of this match; and a dispensation, according to the mode of those times, being necessary, he was obliged to accept that favour in behalf of Philip, who espoused, or rather was contracted to that princess by the consent of the queen her mother [b]: this disposition answered the king's purpose much better than his own choice would have done; for Lewis being quickly after poisoned, Philip became his heir, and consequently all the dominions and estates of the young queen were annexed to the crown.

Sends a viceroy with an army into Navarre, and afterwards the count d'Artois.

As soon as things were thus far settled, the queen-dowager of Navarre, by the advice of king Philip, declared Eustace de Beaumarchais seneschal of Thoulouse, viceroy or regent of Navarre, and sent him with a good corps of troops to take possession of his government. He met with greater success than could well have been expected; for he not only penetrated into Navarre, but got possession also of part of the city of Pampeluna [c]. A foreigner, with the title of regent, supported by an army of strangers, could not be very welcome to a free people, who were very jealous of their liberties. But Eustace was a wise man, behaved with great moderation to such as submitted, and punished those who, taking advantage of the situation things were in, committed either murders or robberies, with great severity, which soon gained him respect, and in process of time affection [d]. However, Don Garcia Almoravides held one part of the city, with his faction, in favour of Castile; Don Pedro Sanchez de Montagu had also a corps of troops without, and looking upon Eustace as one who had deprived him of his post, patched up an agreement with Don Garcia, constrained the French viceroy and his garrison to retire into the castle, and held them there besieged. As soon as this

[a] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. Daniel, Mayerne Turquet. [b] P. Moret, Favin Histoire de Navarre. [c] Zurita Annal, Arragon. [d] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

Digitized by Google

circumſtance was known in France, an army was aſſembled for the relief of Navarre, and the command of it given to the king's uncle, Robert count of Artois, father to the queen-dowager [e]. The malecontents had ſeized all the paſſes in Navarre; but the count making a feint, marched his army through the territories of Arragon, and appeared before Pampeluna on Chriſtmas-eve. Don Garcia de Almoravides ſuſpecting Don Pedro de Montagu, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, and demanded very importunately the aid of Caſtile; upon which Don Alonſo marched a powerful army to ſupport him; but underſtanding the ſtrength of the count de Artois, and how well he was poſted, ſuddenly retired [f]. Don Garcia, having early intelligence of this retreat, pretended to receive news of a very different kind; and cauſing great rejoicings to be made in that quarter of the town which he held, took an opportunity in the night to withdraw with his chief partizans into the dominions of Caſtile. His faction, thus deſerted, ſent to the count of Artois to demand terms, who directed the conſtable Imbert to ſettle the capitulation. Mean while ſome of the ſoldiers perceiving that the garriſon had quitted their poſts ſcaled the walls, and having admitted their companions, put to the ſword all they met with, ſo that greater cruelties were ſcarce ever exerciſed than in this place. At length, the viceroy iſſuing from the caſtle with his garriſon, put an end to theſe diſorders, and protected the people that were left. He afterwards recovered part of the plunder, and by reſtoring it to the right owners, acquired much honour and eſteem, from an event that muſt otherwiſe have rendered the French nation odious in Navarre to the laſt degree.

He reduces the rebels, and ſettles the kingdom in order and quiet.

Count Robert of Artois, perceiving how great a terror this incident had ſtruck throughout the whole kingdom, and being very ſtrongly ſolicited by ſuch as had firmly adhered to the intereſts of the two queens, followed his blow, and ſpeedily reduced the whole kingdom, a few caſtles on the frontiers only excepted, which being in the hands of the malecontents, they had time to call in the Caſtilians or the Arragoneſe to their aſſiſtance [g]. The war being very warm between the crowns of France and Caſtile, on account of the ſetting aſide of the children of the infant Don Ferdinand de la Cerda, Don Alonſo the Wiſe

[e] Favin, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [f] Zurita Annal. Arragon, P. Daniel. [g] Favin, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

deſired

desired a conference with the count of Artois, who, by the permission of the king of France, made a tour to his court, and left the command of the army, as well as the direction of civil affairs, to the viceroy Eustace Beaumarchais. This nobleman brought all things into good order, and made the people of Navarre very sensible that their welfare was the principal object his care [h]. His successors followed his example closely, which conduct, by degrees, reconciled the whole nation to a match, which at first appeared to them in the light of a great misfortune [i]. It may be, the comparison of their own circumstances with those of the subjects of Castile and Arragon, might contribute to keep up this disposition, since both countries were at this time perplexed with civil and foreign wars, which spread discord and distress quite through them, and in a short space of time exhausted their wealth and power.

Donna Joanna's marriage solemnized with Philip le Bel.

When the young queen Donna Joanna entered into her fifteenth year, the marriage was solemnized with great magnificence between her and the French prince Philip, afterwards surnamed le Bel, or the Fair, who was then about seventeen, and who assumed the title of Philip king of Navarre, till by the death of his father he added it to that of France. This marriage was extremely pleasing to the inhabitants of Champagne and Brie, and not disagreeable to the people of Navarre, who by the assistance they had received from France had rendered themselves so formidable to the subjects of Arragon, that even the haughty Don Pedro was glad to negociate a truce, which they were suffered to conclude, though the war continued as hot as ever between that kingdom and France. Thus we have conducted this history to the end of the period prescribed to this section, and to its first conjunction with that crown, to which it stands at present united.

A.D. 1284.

[h] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. [i] Zurita Annal. Arragon.

Digitized by Google

SECT. IV.

From the Union of Navarre with the Crown of France, in the Person of Philip, to its Conjunction with those of Arragon and Sicily.

The war continues between France and Arragon to the death of both kings.

THE disputes between Philip the Hardy and Don Alonso the Sage, king of Castile, ran very high, and brought both monarchs sometimes into the field, but negociations generally intervened; and as war was alike difficult to both parties, so, without reconciliation or friendship, interest drew them from time to time to conclude truce after truce [k]. If France had made war in earnest, the seat of it must have been in Navarre, which being at this juncture united to France, she was inclined to spare. But it was far otherwise with regard to king Philip's quarrel with the house of Arragon, on the score of the Sicilian Vespers, in which the French having received a national injury, the king employed the whole force of his realm to revenge it, supporting at that time the thunder of Rome by that of his arms [l]. King Philip of Navarre attended his father in his expedition into Catalonia: in which, with a prodigious expence of men and money, he made himself master of Gironne: a conquest equally dear to both kings; for Don Pedro of Arragon soon after breathed his last, chiefly through the excess of fatigue, which he had endured in the last campaign; and king Philip expired at Perpignan, in his return to his own dominions, of a disease which he had caught at the siege. These wars, however ruinous to other countries, were highly serviceable and beneficial to Navarre, where the viceroys, though frequently changed, were all of them tied by their instructions to act upon the same plan. This consisted in the improvement of the interior part of the country, and in finding employment for restless spirits on the frontiers, or sending them to exercise their valour in the armies of France, where they were always well received, and some of the nobility highly advanced and amply rewarded.

A.D. 1285.

Philip the Fair, now king of both realms, pursued the war against Arragon with vigour, but continued the

[k] Favin Histoire de Navarre, P. Daniel Histoire de France, Ferreras. [l] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

truces

truces with Castile to the demise of king Sancho, when the viceroys of Navarre altered their measures, adjusted their differences with Arragon, and endeavoured to avail themselves of those intestine troubles, which disturbed the kingdom of Castile. The apparent reason of this alteration in their conduct, was the conjunction of the two crowns, in favour of Don Alonso de Cerda, whom they pretend to advance to the thrones of Castile and Leon; but the genuine and real plan upon which they acted, was to extend the territories of Navarre and Arragon, at the expence of the young monarch of Castile, whose affairs were administered by the queen-dowager his mother [m]. It was to save appearances in some measure that Alonso de Roleed, viceroy of Navarre, and very active in this confederacy, sent a knight with a message to the queen-regent of Castile, demanding restitution of all the places and provinces of which their majesties predecessors had been despoiled, by the ancestors of the king of Castile; and this claim went as far as Atapuerca, at no great distance from Burgos. The queen gave a mild answer; and the viceroy, having obtained his master's consent, acknowleged Don Alonso de la Cerda for king of Castile, by which means, all the country as far as the river Oia was yielded to Navarre [n]. But king Philip, being engaged in the war of Flanders, could not assist the confederates so powerfully as to enable Don Alonso to comply with his agreement. While this war was carried on slowly, and with little success, Donna Joanna, queen of Navarre, died on the 4th of April, 1305, when she had borne that title thirty-one years. The most memorable action of her life was the building the college of Navarre at Paris, for promoting useful literature, and which she liberally endowed with lands in her own county of Champagne. She had by her husband the following children, Lewis, Philip, and Charles, successively kings of France, Robert who died young, Margaret, Isabella, who espoused Edward II. of England, in whose right Edward III. her son, claimed the French crown, and Blanch who died young. This queen is much blamed for her hatred to the Flemings.

History of the transactions in Navarre, to the death of Donna Joanna I.

Lewis Hutin, that is *the Quarrelsome*, assumed the title of king of Navarre, on his mother's death, being then about fifteen years old; and espoused Margaret, daughter

[m] Zurita, Favin, Ferreras. [n] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. Daniel.

to

Digitized by Google

The reign of Lewis, surnamed Hutin, over Navarre, in whom came a new line to the succession.

to Robert duke of Burgundy, by Agnes, daughter of St. Lewis [o]. The death of the queen was no sooner known in her dominions than the states of Navarre sent a deputation to the court of France, desiring that their young king might be sent into his own dominions; which demand they supported by so many reasons, that both the kings admitted them to be just, and promised to comply with them. The circumstances of their affairs, however, were such, that it was two years before he went thither; and on his arrival at Pampeluna he was solemnly crowned in the cathedral, with the acclamations of all his subjects [p]. He did not continue to reside there long; and even during his stay there happened some disputes, occasioned by his imprisoning two noblemen of Navarre, who had opposed the French viceroys, and whom he carried with him at his return into France. He was likewise attended by two hundred young noblemen and gentlemen, all of whom he provided for, and thereby attached so many families to his person and government, as rendered his administration quieter than otherwise it would have been. The quarrels on the frontiers of Arragon were about this time renewed, a circumstance which James then king of that country so much resented, that he sent an army to invade Navarre, which was defeated, and the royal standard of Arragon was taken by the militia of the town of Sangueſſa; for which reason, by a grant from Lewis Hutin, they have borne it ever since in their arms. The king of Navarre being at Lyons, to pacify some troubles that had arisen there, a strange misfortune befel him and all the royal family; Margaret, queen of Navarre, Jane, wife to his brother Philip, and Blanch of Burgundy, who had espoused prince Charles, were all charged with adultery. The first and last of these princesses were on a strict trial found guilty, and imprisoned in the castle of Galliard, where not long after the queen of Navarre was strangled by her husband's orders, now become king of France by his father's death. He then married the princess Clemence of Hungary, and died after a very short and troublesome reign, the 5th of June 1316, at the castle of Vincennes, as is said of poison. At his decease he left one daughter, Donna Joanna, by his first queen, and his new-married princess big with child, a circumstance which threw the

A.D. 1307.

[o] Favin, P. Daniel, Mayerne Turquet. [p] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, Ferreras. P. Daniel Histoire de France.

affairs

Digitized by Google

affairs of both kingdoms into some confusion[q]. At length Philip, surnamed the Long, brother to the deceased king, was declared regent of France and Navarre, till the king, in case the queen should be delivered of a son, attained the age of fourteen. The child was actually a male, baptized by the name of John; but as he lived only a week, his name was never inserted in the lists, either of the kings of France or Navarre, though he had an unquestionable title to both, and one would have thought should have been proclaimed upon his birth[r].

The reign of Philip II. of Navarre.

Philip the Long, so called from his extraordinary stature, assumed the regal title immediately upon the death of his nephew, and made all the haste he could to be crowned. But notwithstanding this expedition, Eudes duke of Burgundy, uncle to Donna Joanna, the daughter of Lewis Hutin, declared publicly that her right to Navarre was inconteſtable, and that he held her claim to the crown of France to be as good[s]. In this particularly he was supported by the count of Nevers, the dauphin of Viennois, and, which is very extraordinary, by Charles the Fair, the king's only brother. Their intrigues did not hinder his coronation, and his right was afterwards solemnly confirmed by an assembly of the nobility and clergy[t]. However, to appease the malcontents he gave his eldest sister in marriage to the duke of Burgundy, with the county of the same title; another sister he bestowed on the dauphin, and conferred various favours on the rest, which had so good an effect that he assumed the title also of king of Navarre, to the apparent prejudice of his niece, but without the least contradiction from the duke of Burgundy. He did not long enjoy the regal dignity. As to the kingdom of Navarre, he added to the viceroy a royal council, that his power might be the more restrained, and that a greater number of ears might be open to justice. His only son Lewis died in his cradle; and he himself deceased on the 3d of January, 1322.

Charles the Fair assumes the title of king of Navarre, to the prejudice of his niece.

Charles the Fair succeeded his brother, and assumed the title of Navarre as well as France, though the young queen was already married to Philip count de Evereux, son to Lewis count de Evereux, brother to Philip le Bel, who espoused the queen of Navarre; but in truth she was still a child, and therefore it was said that Charles only

[q] Mezeray Histoire de France, Favin. [r] P. Daniel.
[s] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mezeray, Mayerne Turquet. [t] P. Daniel.

assumed

Digitized by Google

assumed the title, as his brother had done, in quality of guardian to his niece[u]. He had as little inclination as his predeceſſor to viſit that country, where the nobility on the frontiers took great liberties, and made frequent excurſions into the territories of Caſtile and Arragon. Theſe provoked their neighbours to make repriſals, for which in return the people of Navarre were not at all ſlow in taking revenge. In one of theſe expeditions they received a ſevere check at Baltibar, wherein the beſt part of their troops were cut off by the inhabitants of Guipuſcoa[w]. On the ſide of Arragon they were more ſucceſsful, inſomuch that the king of that country complained to king Charles in France, who promiſed redreſs, and ſent orders for that purpoſe into Navarre, which were but indifferently obeyed. It ſeems the nobility had no great opinion of the uprightneſs of his intention; for when Alonſo Robora, his viceroy, demanded an oath of allegiance, they abſolutely refuſed it, inſiſting that in Navarre, though they obeyed their princes wherever they were, yet they never ſwore to any but in their preſence. The diſorders that had broke out in the former reign, increaſed extremely under this; inſomuch that all things had a ſtrong tendency to anarchy and confuſion, at the time of this monarch's death, which happened the 1ſt of February, 1328, when he had juſt entered the ſeventh year of reign[x]. At the time of his demiſe he left his queen, the ſiſter of the count de Evereux, big with child, upon which Philip de Valois, ſon of Charles de Valois, and grandſon of Philip the Hardy, in quality of firſt prince of the blood, was declared regent of France, not without ſome diſtaſte to the reſt, of whom there were about thirty.

Donna Joanna II. declared by the ſtates queen of Navarre, and regents appointed in her name.

The death of king Charles was no ſooner known in Navarre, than the common people laid hold of this as a favourable occaſion to wreak their ſpleen on a race of men whom they hated beyond meaſure, and who it is not improbable might have given too much cauſe for their hate. Theſe were the Jews, of whom vaſt numbers were ſettled in Navarre, ſince it fell under the dominion of France, and more eſpecially after their expulſion out of that kingdom, towards the cloſe of the reign of Philip the Long. Theſe the commons of Navarre accuſed of oppreſſion and extortion; and falling firſt upon thoſe of infamous characters, extended their inſolence and rapine by degrees, till they

[u] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [w] Favin. [x] Mezeray, P. Daniel.

plundered

plundered and murdered, as some historians relate, not fewer than ten thousand [z]. In order to appease these tumults, the viceroy and his council summoned the clergy and nobility to assemble at Pont a la Royne, where they took order indeed for suppressing these disturbances; but instead of putting an end to their sessions, the states adjourned to Pampeluna, where they undertook to examine and decide the disputes that had arisen about the succession of the crown [a]. The daughters of Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, put in their claims, on account of their father's dying, as they affirmed, possessed of the crown of Navarre, a plea which was but little regarded. But Edward III. of England had a strong party. His pretensions arose from his being the son of Isabel, the daughter of Philip the Fair, by Joanna queen of Navarre. At length, after much debate and mature deliberation, the states took upon them to declare that the right was in Joanna, daughter to Lewis Hutin, the son of Philip the Fair, by Joanna queen of Navarre [b]. Philip de Valois, in the same assembly, which decided in favour of his right against Edward III. disclaimed all pretensions to Navarre, which he acknowleged to belong to Philip count of Evreux, his brother-in-law, in right of his consort [c]. But the states of Navarre proclaimed her queen immediately, appointing Don Juan Corboran de Lehet, and Don Juan Martinez de Medrano, lord of Arroniz, to administer public affairs in her name, with the title of regents. A solemn embassy was also sent to Rome, in the name of the queen, which was extremely well received. As for the counties of Champagne and Brie, both the French and Spanish historians say, that Philip de Valois gave his brother-in-law, Philip de Evreux, Angoulême, Molain, and Longueville for them [d]. A.D. 1328.

The king and queen of Navarre go into their own dominions, and are crowned.

The states of Navarre, in pursuance of what they had already done, sent to invite their sovereign queen Joanna and her consort Philip de Evreux to Pampeluna, which invitation, with the consent of the French king, they accepted, and upon their arrival were received with all possible marks of joy, as well as respect [f]. When these transports were a little over, the states acquainted Philip III. and Joanna II. so they were now styled, that it was with unfeigned

[z] Ferreras. [a] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana. [b] Mayerne Turquet. [c] P. Daniel Histoire de France. [d] Favin Histoire de Navarre. [f] Favin, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

pleasure

pleasure and satisfaction they beheld their lawful sovereigns in the capital of their dominions; but that it was fit they should be informed, that as for many years past there had been scarce any face of government, by which their subjects were not only grievous sufferers, but also the form, and even the essence of their ancient constitution in danger of being lost, they took it therefore to be for their honour and interest, as they were sure it was their duty to restore both; that they had sufficiently shewn a spirit of justice and loyalty in asserting their rights, and bringing them to the peaceable possession of their dignity; but having done this, they were now bound to discharge their trust to the people, which they could no otherwise perform than by presenting them a bill of rights, to the due observance of which they were to swear at the time of their inauguration, beseeching them to believe, that as their freedom consisted in living according to the known laws of Navarre, so the prerogative and succession of the crown being described and ascertained by those laws, they were ready to support and defend both [g]. The king and queen accepted this paper very graciously; and having signified their approbation of it, were solemnly crowned in the cathedral of Pampeluna, on the 5th of March, with the universal applause of their faithful subjects [h]. A.D. 1329.

The king returns into France, and after some time goes back into Navarre.

King Philip being invited by his brother-in-law to accompany him in his wars in Flanders, left the queen at Pampeluna; and having given great proofs of valour in the famous battle of Cassel, returned into his own dominions [i]. He had not been long at home before he clearly perceived that the power of Don Alonso of Castile was so great, that war could not be undertaken against him with any probability of success; and that, on the other hand, the disordered state of their own dominions required such regulations, as could never be carried into execution but in time of profound peace. These reasons determined the king and queen first to complete the one, and then to attempt the other, which resolution of their's, as it was wisely taken, so it was worthily performed. Their ambassadors acquainted the king of Castile, that as their dominions had not for many years enjoyed the presence of a sovereign, they were not unacquainted that some extravagancies had been committed, more especially by their youth, upon the frontiers; that being now in Navarre, they determined to put an end

[g] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. [h] Ferreras. [i] Favin, P. Daniel, Ferreras.

to

to ſuch practices, to live in ſtrict friendſhip with all their neighbours, and to reſpect, in a particular degree, the king of Caſtile. Don Alonſo knew the motives and the ſcope of this embaſſy, which fell exactly in with his views. He anſwered, therefore, that he rejoiced ſincerely to ſee the lawful ſovereigns of Navarre in quiet poſſeſſion of their dominions; that he was well pleaſed to find they entertained notions ſo juſt of their own affairs; that he accepted their kind offers, and would maintain the peace between the two crowns with the utmoſt punctuality [k]. This great affair being thus adjuſted, their majeſties made a thorough reform throughout their dominions; placed natives in all poſts of honour and profit, civil and military; and eſtabliſhed a new parliament to redreſs grievances, and to render juſtice in all cauſes, and to all perſons [l]. A.D.1331.

By the indiſcretion of the viceroy Henry de Solis, there happens a war between Caſtile and Navarre.

It was not long after this tranſaction that either the affairs or the inclinations of the king and queen led them back to the court of France, leaving Henry de Solibert, or as he is more generally called Henry de Solis, their viceroy in Navarre, but with a power more limited than that of former viceroys. He judged the moſt effectual method of extending this, was to fall in with the paſſions of the nation. It was with this view that he ſet on foot a negociation for the marriage of the infanta Joanna of Navarre, with the infant Don Pedro of Arragon, in order, with the aſſiſtance of that crown, to fall upon the dominions of Caſtile, where he had long had a cloſe correſpondence with the malcontents. In the courſe of this negociation Don Pedro altered his mind, and made choice of the younger ſiſter Donna Maria, a match which was ſoon after concluded, and ratified by an aſſembly of the ſtates. This alliance had no ſooner taken effect than the viceroy and his new ally began to aſſemble an army, for the invaſion of Caſtile. Don Alonſo endeavoured to prevent this, by informing Henry de Solis, that if his ſubjects had done any wrong to thoſe of Navarre, he was ready to make ſatisfaction. The viceroy was ſo bent upon the war, that he knew not what would content him; and beſides, he thought he had taken his meaſures ſo well, that victory and conqueſt muſt of neceſſity attend his arms. In conjunction, therefore, with the troops of Arragon, he made an irruption into Caſtile, where, chiefly through his own temerity and indiſcretion, he was defeat- A.D.1335.

[k] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [l] Favin Hiſtoire de Navarre.

ed,

Digitized by Google

ed, as we have shewn in the history of that kingdom: however, Gaston count de Foix, embarking in this quarrel, the fortune of war might have changed, if the court of France had not interfered; first, in obliging the count de Foix to return into his own dominions; and next, in prevailing on the king of Navarre to consent to a negociation [m]. The reason of this moderate and just behaviour in the French monarch, was the distress of his affairs through the war with England. By this interposition, therefore, a kind of congress was established at Pampeluna, under the mediation of the archbishop of Rheims; their majesties of Navarre having also sent a new viceroy, Salazin de Anglera, with full powers to conclude a peace, which was soon after signed, upon terms very honourable for them.

Don Philip III. dies of an indisposition, caught at the siege of Algezira in Andalusia.

In some time after, the peace was concluded between Arragon and Castile, Don Pedro, now seated on the throne of the first mentioned kingdom, consummated the marriage concluded some years before with the infanta Maria of Navarre. As soon as the affairs of France permitted him to retire with decency, king Philip resolved to return into his own dominions, together with the queen his consort, where their presence was become highly necessary [n]. These disorders were scarce redressed before the news of the siege of Algezira, carried on by Don Alonso of Castile against the Moors, alarmed in a manner all Christendom. We have described it particularly elsewhere, and shall therefore say nothing of it here, but what is strictly connected with our subject. The king of Navarre piqued himself so much on the character of an accomplished Christian knight, that he resolved to present himself before the walls of Algezira. He sent provisions and his equipage by sea; and with a small corps of choice troops, marched by land into Andalusia. He had all the honours paid him in his passage that would have been paid to Don Alonso himself; and on his arrival in the camp, was treated with all possible marks of respect [o]. His conduct and his valour are highly commended by Spanish historians; but through some irregularity in his diet, he was seized with a malignant fever, which obliged him to retire; and his malady increasing, he died at Xeres, in his return home, on the 26th of September, 1343,

[m] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [n] Ibid. Mariana, Ferreras. [o] Favin Histoire de France.

in

in the sixteenth year of his reign. His body was carried to Pampeluna by his troops, having all possible honours shewn it in its passage, and was there interred in a manner suitable to his rank [p]. His memory was highly revered in Spain.

Death of queen Joanna II.

The queen Donna Joanna governed the kingdom of Navarre, after her husband's decease, with equal dignity and discretion. She made choice of the wisest and ablest of her subjects, to whom she gave places in her council, and regulated all her actions by their advice. Her affection to France induced her to send a body of good troops to the assistance of king Philip, in whose service they acquired great reputation [q]. The martial spirit of the nation, however, gave her some trouble; for the inhabitants of Tudela and Corella having made an inroad into Castile, on account of some differences they had with the people of Alfaro, the inhabitants of the marches of Castile assembled to revenge this breach of the peace; but the king Don Alonso, out of pure regard to the queen, restrained them, and took upon himself to make them satisfaction: but what happened once on the side of Castile fell out often on that of Arragon, and yet Don Pedro seldom troubled her with complaints. He knew that it was against the queen's intentions, and that she had done all she could to prevent it; and he knew that a war would only increase the evil, which, by strengthening his frontiers, and such other methods as prudence directed, he laboured to remove: besides, he knew the queen had a great influence in the court of France, which she was always ready to exert on his behalf. The death of Bona of Luxemburgh, the wife of John duke of Normandy, eldest son to the French king, gave that monarch an opportunity of shewing his high respect for this princess, since he immediately thought of a marriage between her daughter Donna Blanca, or Blanch, and the heir apparent of his crown. At his request, therefore, the queen conducted her to court, where the king, who was but lately become a widower, was so much struck with her beauty and merit, that he married her himself, notwithstanding the inequality of their age. The queen of Navarre did not long enjoy this felicity, for the marriage was solemnized in the month of August, and Donna Joanna died at Conflans on the 6th of October following,

A.D. 1346.

A.D. 1348.

[p] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet, Favin Histoire de Navarre. [q] Baluz in Vit. Clemen. VI.

Digitized by Google

in the twenty-third year of her reign, and was buried in the monastery of St. Dennis, near the body of king Lewis Hutin her father, of whom she looked on herself as the sole heiress.

Charles the Wicked ascends the throne of Navarre; his character and conduct at that juncture.

Charles le Meauvais, or, as the Spanish writers style him, Don Carlos the Wicked, succeeded his mother; and having attended her into France, in order to be present at his sister's marriage, received there the deputies of the states, who came to invite him home. This young prince was then in the eighteenth year of his age, had been brought up chiefly in the court of France, and was one of the most accomplished persons of his time[r]. He was courteous, well-bred, eloquent in a supreme degree, easy in his address, popular without losing his dignity; qualities which attracted the admiration of all Europe before he ascended the throne; and which he afterwards abused in such a manner, as to be the object of their detestation[s]. He received the addresses of his subjects very graciously, and promised, that as soon as he had adjusted some affairs of great consequence to his family in France, he would return to Navarre. He did so; and after making the usual concessions, and taking the accustomed oaths, he was crowned with great solemnity in the cathedral
A.D.1350. church of Pampeluna, on the 27th of June[t]. There broke out, not long after, a rebellion, under pretence of a violation of privileges; in which it is said the king was not at all to blame; but having dissipated these mutineers, he punished many of them with such severity on the Pont de Meluce, which is less than a mile from Pampeluna, that it alarmed his subjects, and gave them an ill impression of a reign, the first page in the annals of which was marked with blood[u]. But the king troubled his head little with what was said: he followed on all occasions his own opinion; and though he changed this very often, yet it was commonly without reason, and always without advice.

Treats with Don Pedro of Castile, and afterwards with Don Pedro of Arragon, and has interviews with both.

Don Pedro the Cruel had just mounted the throne of Castile. In point of age there was no great inequality, and in point of temper these princes were but too like each other. Don Carlos, who was really a politician, believed it to be for his interest to have a personal acquaintance with the princes who were his neighbours: he took

[r] P. Moret, Mezeray, P. Daniel. [s] Mezeray, Garibay, Mayerne Turquet. [t] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras. [u] Favin Histoire de Navarre.

therefore

Digitized by Google

therefore the first fair occasion of making a tour to Burgos; and the Spanish writers say, that there never was any interview more magnificent, or better conducted [w]. The two kings were as yet unstained in their characters; young, gay, and splendid in their courts; extremely well pleased, and perfectly complaisant one to the other, so that the alliances between the two courts was speedily concluded: and they parted, as they met, with equal satisfaction on both sides. This interview did not at all please Don Pedro, king of Arragon, who hated Don Pedro of Castile, and was jealous of Don Carlos. He sent, therefore, two lords of great distinction to the court of Pampeluna, to renew the treaty between the crowns of Arragon and Navarre; to offer him a princess of the house of Sicily; to desire him to hinder the marriage of the king of Castile with queen Blanch; and to request an interview. Don Carlos renewed the treaty; excused himself on the subject of the marriage, as being desirous to match in France; assured him, that his fears as to his sister were ill grounded, since the dowagers of that crown did not contract second marriages; and consented to the interview, which took place about Midsummer at Monblane, where, after several conferences, the monarchs parted with mutual disgust [x]. He spent the autumn in Languedoc, where he had the title of his lieutenant from the French king John, and where he acted with almost absolute authority [y].

It was now time for him to make his appearance at the French court, where he had great views. He began with demanding the counties of Champagne and Brie, and formed pretensions also upon the duchy of Burgundy. The king was not much inclined to give him satisfaction; but to sooth and soften him, if possible, he gave him his sister the princess Joanna [z]. As this was one of the points Don Carlos had in view, the match was very acceptable; but it was scarce celebrated before he set up new demands; for the truce being expired with England, he thought king John durst deny him nothing. He complained that Angoulême had suffered so much during the war, that he drew nothing from it. King John thereupon gave him the towns of Mante and Meulan in exchange, with which he was very well pleased, as it strengthened his interest in Normany, where he was desirous of making himself con-

A.D. 1353.

He goes to the French court, espouses the princess Joanna, and becomes, notwithstanding, a malcontent.

[w] Zurita Annal. Arragon. Garibay, Zurita Annal. Arragon. Favin Histoire de Navarre. [x] Garibay, Zurita Annal. Arragon. [y] Histoire de Languedoc. [z] P. Daniel, Ferreras.

Digitized by Google

fiderable: but it happened unluckily, that the king beſtowed the county of Angouléme upon the conſtable Charles of Spain, who was his favourite. This Charles was the ſon of Don Alonſo de la Cerda, and the king of Navarre hated him mortally. This gift of a county that had been his, inflamed him to ſuch a degree, that hearing the conſtable, who ſuſpected nothing, was at Aigle in Normandy, he went thither with his brother Philip, and a ſmall retinue of determined men, ſurrounded the inn where the conſtable was, and cauſed him to be murdered in his bed. In order to avoid the puniſhment due for this murther, his next aim was to raiſe a rebellion. He fortified ſeveral places in Normandy; wrote circular letters to juſtify what he had done to moſt of the great cities in France; and entered into a correſpondence with John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, ſon to Edward III. King John found himſelf at this time in great perplexity; his dignity and his diſpoſition inclined him to ſeverity; but he found it equally dangerous to declare his reſentments, or to diſſemble them: yet, upon mature deliberation, the laſt ſeemed moſt expedient; the two queens-dowagers of France, one the aunt, and the other the ſiſter of the king of Navarre, interpoſing powerfully on his behalf [a].

A formal, but inſincere reconciliation between the two kings, through the mediation of the dowagers.

A negociation being ſet on foot, the king of Navarre made very high demands in ſatisfaction for his pretenſions to Champagne and Brie; and king John, who had already taken his reſolution to content him if poſſible, after a little altercation, conſented to them all, provided the king of Navarre came and demanded pardon in perſon for his offence; to which condition he yielded: but on the other hand he inſiſted upon having the king's ſon, the duke of Anjou, as a hoſtage for his ſafety [b]. Things being thus ſettled, the king held his ſolemn bed of juſtice, where the king of Navarre appeared, excuſed himſelf for the death of the conſtable, which he acknowleged to have been done by his orders, but upon juſt motives, as at a proper time he promiſed to ſhew; he expreſſed great ſorrow for the offence given to the king; and deſired that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to pardon him. King John ordered the conſtable of Bourbon to arreſt him, and carry him priſoner out of the court. The two dowagers, his aunt and ſiſter, then threw themſelves at the king's feet, to implore his grace: after ſome time the conſtable was ordered to pro-

[a] Favin Hiſtoire de Navarre, P. Daniel, Mayerne Turquet.
[b] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mezeray.

duce

Digitized by Google

duce his prisoner; and the king having granted him his pardon, according to what had been stipulated, he was set at liberty; but, as the reader will easily believe, the two kings were far from being reconciled. Charles retired into Normandy, where he fortified most of the towns in his possession, and put strong garrisons into such as were capable of making the best defence. He then went secretly A.D.1354. to Avignon, where conferences were held for a peace between the crowns of France and England; and having had several private interviews with the duke of Lancaster, he withdrew with all possible secrecy into Navarre, with a resolution to carry into execution, in a proper season, the measures he had concerted.

He contrives new schemes, to the prejudice of king John, and seduces his son the dauphin from his duty.

These proceedings being made known to king John, he marched immediately with a considerable army into Normandy, and seized the best part of the estates which the king of Navarre held in that country; but Evreux, Pont-au-demer, Cherbourg, Avranches, Mortain, and Gavre, were too strong, and their garrisons too numerous to be reduced. The king of Navarre demanded a safe-conduct, and offered to clear himself of all that was laid to his charge. King John granted it; but, instead of coming in the manner he expected, he landed at Cherbourg in the month of August, with a body of troops. However, he entered into a new negociation; and upon the promise of a hundred thousand crowns, professed that he was fully satisfied, and that he meant not to set up any farther claim or pretence [c]. In A.D.1355. the month of September, he went to Paris, saw the king, and gave him in person the same assurances, which he either believed, or seemed to believe, so that they parted in all appearance good friends. But, in the beginning of the next year, the king of Navarre acted a new part; and setting up for a patriot, endeavoured to hinder the king from levying taxes and impositions, though by authority of the states of France. This presumption offended the king but very slightly, in comparison of an intrigue which he had been some time carrying on, and which was now discovered. He had seduced the dauphin Charles, then about eighteen; and by that pestilent eloquence, of which he was master, persuaded him that he was extremely ill used in not having a government. He advised him, therefore, to retire to the court of his uncle the emperor Charles IV. promised to accompany him thither; and laid

[c] Favin, P. Daniel. [d] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

Digitized by Google

down a method of proceeding, by which the king's perſon was to be ſeized; after which, he was to be dealt with as they thought expedient. The king pardoned his ſon, and gave him the duchy of Normandy; upon which he gave a hint to the king of Navarre, that they were ſuſpected, and all things were buried in oblivion for the preſent, that is, in appearance; for the dauphin ſeemed to be deterred from acting by the king's ſuſpicions, but to perſiſt in his ſentiments [e].

The dauphin betrays him into his father's hands, who puniſhes his confederates, and puts the king of Navarre in priſon.

This young prince, to make ſome amends for his offence, or rather in conſequence of that diſpoſition which led him into it, contrived, in conjunction with his father, to ſeize the king of Navarre, with whom he ſtill lived in all poſſible intimacy. That the blow might be the more effectually ſtruck, they would precipitate nothing. At length the dauphin invited the king of Navarre, and ſome of the principal perſons of his party to dine with him, on the 5th of April, in the caſtle of Rouen, where they were ſurpriſed, juſt as they were ſitting down to table, by the king in perſon, having with him his brother the duke of Orleans, his ſon the count de Anjou, ſome other great lords, and a handful of reſolute men [f]. The king cauſed the count de Harcourt, the lords of Gravelle and Maubue, and Oliver Doublet, to be beheaded in a field adjacent: the next day the king of Navarre was carried priſoner to the caſtle of Gaillard, and transferred from thence to the chatelet at Paris. His ſchemes, however, were ſo well contrived, that what king John hoped would have put an end to them all, ſerved rather to promote them [g]. His brother Philip put himſelf at the head of the troops; Jeffry Harcourt raiſed a great party in Normandy, to revenge the death of his brother; the duke of Lancaſter quickly landed with a reinforcement from England; and Lewis, the king of Navarre's third brother, went into that kingdom to take the beſt meaſures he could to ſpread confuſion on all ſides, and, if poſſible, to engage the king of Arragon to break with France, and to make an irruption into the provinces adjacent to his dominions. It is true that a part of theſe ſchemes failed; but it is alſo true, that the greateſt part of them took effect, inſomuch that Don Carlos was more at eaſe in his priſon, notwithſtand-

[e] MS. Proces du Roy de Navarre. [f] Favin, Hiſtorique & Chronique de Jean Froiſſart, cap. clvi. Mezeray. [g] Mariana, L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

ing

ing he was threatened with a proceſs againſt him for treaſon, than the king, whoſe priſoner he was, and who became himſelf a priſoner next year, by the loſs of the battle of Poictiers to the Engliſh.

Charles of Navarre had been removed, that he might be more ſafely kept, to the caſtle of Arleux in Cambreſis; and after king John was taken priſoner, and all France in confuſion, his brother Don Philip reſolved to make ſome bold attempt for ſetting him at liberty. With this view Don Roderic Urtiz, Don Corbaran Lehet, Don Ferdinand Ayanz, and Don Carlos d'Artieda, four valiant knights, accompanied by a few reſolute men, and conducted by John the brother of Monſieur de Pequignez, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed, went to the fortreſs in the diſguiſe of colliers, ſcaled the walls, and carried him to Amiens, though not without ſuſpicion of colluſion in the governor. He was there met by his brother Philip, and both began to raiſe forces. In the mean time the people of Paris, having differed with the dauphin, who had aſſumed the government of the kingdom, with the title of lieutenant, invited the king of Navarre thither, and treated him with great reſpect. It was upon this occaſion he made his famous harangue to about ten thouſand perſons of all ranks in an open ſquare. He choſe for his text theſe words, *Juſtus Dominus et juſtitiam dilexit*; i. e. "The Lord is juſt, and in juſtice is his delight." He began with the zeal and affection which every man ought to have for his country and the public good: he glanced on the fierceneſs and haughtineſs of the king's temper, mentioned the iniquitous death of the count d'Eu, conſtable of France, beheaded on falſe ſuſpicions by the artifice of Juan de la Cerda, who was rewarded with his place; juſtified the manner in which he cauſed that man to be put to death; exclaimed againſt the heavy taxes that had been laid upon the kingdom; inſiſted that his greateſt crime was endeavouring to prevent them; deplored the miſchiefs ariſing from a diſputed title; hinted that his own was better than either of the competitors; expatiated on the ſufferings he had gone through in eighteen months confinement; and concluded with aſſuring them, that they were pleaſant to him in compariſon of his ſorrow for the diſtreſſes of France [h]. The people wept all the time he was ſpeaking; and his party grew ſo ſtrong, that the dauphin was obliged to promiſe him full ſatisfac-

His eſcape from the caſtle of Arleux, entry into Paris, and peace with the dauphin.

[h] Hiſtoire & Chronique de Jean Froiſſart, Contin. Nangii, Annales de France.

Digitized by Google

tion. He gave upon this occasion a new specimen of his art: he did not set his demand very high; but he insisted, that the memory of those who had suffered when he was taken prisoner should be restored, their families reinstated, and a general amnesty granted to all who had assisted him before or since[i]. After public testimonies of reconciliation with the dauphin, he left Paris, and went to Rouen; A.D. 1357. where, upon Innocent's day, he went accompanied by the clergy, nobility, and people, and standing on foot under the gibbet, caused the bodies of his three friends to be taken down, and interred with the utmost solemnity; and not only assisted himself at the ceremony, but made a funeral oration in their praise, which was often interrupted by the seeming violence of his grief[k]. This had all the effect he could desire upon the Normans, who attached themselves to him as if they had been his subjects.

Brings France by his intrigues to the brink of ruin, and then is content to save it by a peace.

The conditions with the king of Navarre, as they were made by force, were but indifferently performed; the places that were to have been yielded to him in Normandy refused to open their gates in obedience to the dauphin's orders, their governors pretending they were placed there by the king[l]. The war upon this refusal broke out afresh. Having obtained some assistance from the English, he began to waste the country on one side, which his brother Don Philip did the like on the other. At this time the dauphin was at Paris, where he had called an assembly of the states; but having some way disobliged the people, they invited the king of Navarre thither, and turned the dauphin out. But his carrying with him some of his English auxiliaries gave colour for a rumour, that he intended to put the capital into their hands; upon which the people in his turn forced him out, and recalled the dauphin; an affront which provoked him to such a degree that he declared, he would never acknowlege the princes of the house of Valois; that he looked upon himself to have a better title to the crown than they, and would make his claim good by force of arms. When he published this design, he made no question of recovering Paris by the help of Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants, and others of his adherents; but at the time they were opening the gates, they were attacked and slain; nevertheless he continued the war. He paid his troops so liberally, be-

[i] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet. [k] Contin. Nangii, Annales de France, Mezeray. [l] Jean Froissart.

haved

Digitized by Google

haved towards them so courteously, and gave them in all respects so great encouragement, that he had soon a very numerous army, with which he blocked up the dauphin in Paris, and brought him to such distress as forced him to offer any terms. The French historians acknowlege, that upon this occasion the king of Navarre behaved with great generosity. When their respective plenipotentiaries were on the point of breaking off the conferences, he desired an interview with the dauphin at Pontoise, where he told him in few words, that the kingdom must be undone by the continuance of the war, and that by rendering him his inheritance in Normandy the peace should be made. His brother Don Philip was so much offended at this offer, that he retired to the English; but the king adhered to his promise, raised the blockade, and appeared sincerely reconciled [m]. A.D 1359.

He left his only son Don Carlos, who was born at Mantes, to be educated by his sister, who was queen-dowager of France, and returned into his own hereditary dominions of Navarre, where he found all things in very good order, through the care of his brother Don Lewis, who, with the title of lieutenant-general of the realm, had managed public affairs with great mildness and moderation [n]. Don Pedro of Castile sent his ambassadors to compliment his brother of Navarre, to assure him of his friendship, and to desire an interview with him, which was very acceptable to Charles, who had now fresh schemes in his head; the death of the young duke of Burgundy having opened a passage for him to that valuable succession, and to which he had in truth a very plausible title, in support of which the friendship of the king of Castile might be of some consequence. In the spring he went to Soria, to that conference which Don Pedro had so earnestly pressed; and there, after he had been magnificently entertained, Don Pedro informed him of his design to enter Arragon by surprize, and demanded his assistance. Don Carlos was chagrined at this proposition, which he did not expect; but he was too well acquainted with the character of Don Pedro to make any scruple of promising all that he demanded, so that they parted good friends; and Don Carlos did the next year appear on the fromtiers of Arragon with an army, that he might seem to perform this pro-

Has an interview with Don Pedro the Cruel of Castile, who forces him into a war with Arragon.

[m] Jean Froissart, Mezeray, P. Daniel. [n] Chronica del Rey Don Pedro, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

mise.

Digitized by Google

A D. 1362. miſe. But though he took the caſtles of Sos and Salvaterra, and threatened Jacca with a ſiege, it is very poſſible the king of Arragon had reaſon to believe that he had not much to fear from him.

Enters into a confederacy with Don Pedro of Arragon, and Henry count of Traſtemara, againſt Don Pedro of Caſtile.

Don Pedro king of Arragon, perceiving clearly that the ſafety of his dominions muſt depend on his withdrawing the king of Navarre from the party of Caſtile, propoſed an interview, which the other accepted, but with a great deal of caution, as remembering the hazard he had ran the year before. In this interview it was agreed, that the king of Arragon ſhould ſupport the monarch of Navarre againſt France; a point which with all his art he had never before been able to gain: it was alſo ſettled, that the prince Don Juan of Arragon ſhould eſpouſe the infanta Donna Joanna, ſiſter to the king of Navarre: but the great point of all was the dethroning Don Pedro, and the dividing his dominions between the new confedrates, which, as far as it could be done in a conference, was alſo concluded [o]. It was, however, found neceſſary to have another meeting, to which Henry count of Traſtemara, brother to Don Pedro, was to be admitted; and the place agreed upon for this purpoſe was the caſtle of Sos; but the count would have it put into the hands of Don Juan Ramirez, before he would conſent to truſt his perſon there.

He concludes a new peace with France, executes his treaty with Arragon, and ſucceeds.

King John being dead in England, and his ſon Charles ſeated on the throne of France, the king of Navarre, notwithſtanding the great deſign he had entered into nearer home, reſolved to renew the war, which he did, as well by an open declaration, as by ſending orders to the troops of Navarre in Normandy to begin hoſtilities without delay [p]. The new king had annexed to his crown Burgundy, to which Charles of Navarre had as good or better title. Not ſatisfied with this acceſſion, he had likewiſe united to his domain the counties of Champagne and Brie, without troubling himſelf about the pretenſions of the king of Navarre. Charles ſent Bertrand du Gueſclin to command his forces in Normandy; and the king of Navarre ſent thither John de Grailli captal, that is lord of Buch, with a reinforcement, to command his troops; but he was defeated at the Cocherel, on the 16th of May, and taken priſoner. The king, notwithſtanding this check, ſent his brother Don Lewis with a new army into Auvergne, where he committed terrible diſorders, and gave out that

[o] Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Zurita Annal. Arragon, Ferreras.
[p] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Jean Froiſſart, Mezeray.

he

Digitized by Google

he would unite himself again more closely with the English than ever, in order to be revenged for the injuries he had received [q]; for Don Carlos insisted that some places were taken from him by surprize before he declared war; that several adhered to him during the troubles at Paris, contrary to the amnesty that had been granted them; and whatever his faults were, this prince was remarkably firm to such as had risked their safety in his cause. The captal de Buch, who was extremely well treated by the French court, discovered that there was a secret negociation on the carpet with the king of Arragon; of which Don Carlos having notice, he was so much alarmed that he sent the queen of Navarre, though big with child, to Paris, to conclude, by the advice of the captal de Buch, a solid peace with her brother; and after much altercation it was accordingly concluded and signed on the 6th of March [r]. By this treaty the safety of his friends, and the release of the captal de Buch, were first stipulated; in the next place the county of Evreux, and all that he still held in Normandy, were confirmed to him; and in full satisfaction of his pretensions, as well on the duchy of Burgundy as the counties of Champagne and Brie, he had Montpellier with its dependencies. He not only ratified this treaty, but likewise sent the French monarch a heart curiously wrought in gold, as a testimony of the cordiality of their reconciliation [s]. The peace was proclaimed at Paris on the 20th of June, which made way for the expedition of the disbanded troops that oppressed France, under the command of Bertrand du Guesclin against Don Pedro of Castile, in which the crowns of France, Arragon, and Navarre concurred, and as he was deserted by his own subjects, it was without difficulty executed [t]. A.D.1365.

Enters into contrary engagements with the two kings Don Pedro and Don Henry, and would steal advantage from both.

The revolution in favour of Henry of Trastemara was in various respects favourable to the king of Navarre; for the court of France, taking a great share in its success, executed their promises with unusual punctuality, so that the town of Montpellier was delivered to the captal de Buch, for the use of this monarch. The queen, lately delivered at Evreux of the infant Don Pedro, was sent home with rich presents, and carried with her her eldest son. The subsidies for provisions were exactly paid; and besides these, various restitutions were to be made [u]. But when

[q] Jean Froissart, Contin. Nangii, Mezeray. [r] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. [s] Histoire de C. du Guesclin. [t] Pedro Lopez, de Ayala, Ferreras. [u] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. Daniel, Ferreras.

Pedro

Pedro the Cruel, having obtained the protection of Edward the Black Prince, threatened to avenge by the sword the wrongs he had received. This circumstance alarmed the king in possession, who, discerning clearly that his safety depended on the conduct or the king of Navarre, A.D. 1367. invited him to a conference, where a treaty was concluded between them, in which Henry promised to make a cession of Logrogno, and paid him, as a great historian says, sixty thousand pistoles in gold [w], upon the king of Navarre's undertaking to defend the passes into his country. The archbishops of Toledo and Saragossa, with the count of Ribagorca, and several other persons of distinction, were witnesses to this treaty [x]. Don Pedro and the prince of Wales were no sooner acquainted with it than they likewise entered into a negociation with the king of Navarre, and promised him not only Logrogno but Victoria; upon which he concluded a treaty with them. All the world imagined that he could execute but one of these two treaties; but the monarch of Navarre flattered himself, notwithstanding the engagements were contradictory, that he should be able to execute both. With this view, when he heard the army of the prince of Wales had begun their march, he sent for Oliver de Mauny, the cousin of Bertrand du Guesclin, for whom he held the fortress of Borja; and having promised him the government of Cherbourg in Normandy, and the sum of three thousand franks, if he managed the design dextrously, directed him to lie in wait with a small party, and to take him prisoner as he rode a hunting, a service which Oliver performed. While the king was thus prisoner at Borja, Don Pedro and the prince of Wales passed through Navarre with their army, and were well supplied with provisions, After the battle of Najara, in which Henry was defeated, and by which Don Pedro was restored, the king, whose purpose was now answered, desired Oliver de Mauny to set him at liberty; to which request he answered, with all his heart, provided he had a large ransom paid him in ready money. To this condition, without seeming at all offended, the king yielded; and leaving his son the infant Don Pedro with the garrison, carried Oliver and his brother with him to Tudela, where they were to be paid the money; but they were no sooner within the place than he commanded the gates to be secured, and ordered them, if

[w] Zurita Annal. Arragon. de Navarre, Mariana, Ferreras.

[x] L'Histoire du Royaume

they

Digitized by Google

they valued their lives, to send for his son. Oliver submitted; but his brother, making some resistance, was killed. However, the garrison of Borja absolutely refused to deliver the child; but the king of Navarre, having demanded the assistance of the king of Arragon, on the frontiers of whose dominions it lay, he, to preserve a good understanding with a neighbour, who, in this perilous juncture, was able to do him much good or much hurt, forced the garrison of Borja to part with the child; so that in this base and artificial contrivance he very effectually carried his point [y].

After Don Henry recovered the kingdom of Castile, a war breaks out between him and the king of Navarre.

The French were so much displeased with the king of Navarre's conduct, that they seized upon the town of Montpellier and its dependencies. Henry count of Trastemara was to the full as eager to make a new attempt as his competitor had been: and as it was evident that things would be again left to the decision of the sword, new negociations were set on foot, and the kings of Arragon and Navarre treated with both the kings of Castile at once, and made pretty near the same demands upon each: those of the king of Navarre were, that the prince for whom he acted should make an absolute cession to him of the provinces of Guipuscoa and Alava, with all their fortresses and dependencies; Alfaro, Tifero, Tudegen, Calahorra, Navarette, Logrogno, Trifino, Najera, Briones, Haro, and in a word all Rioja, as far as the mountains of Oca. The count Don Henry made his passage into Castile through the kingdom of Arragon, and was well received wherever he came. Victoria, Salvaterra, Logrogno, and other places, were equally pressed by the troops of Don Henry on the one side, and those of the king of Navarre on the other. Don Pedro sent the inhabitants orders to surrender rather to the count of Trastemara than to the king of Navarre; which directions, however, they did not think it expedient to obey; but to free themselves from danger, received the king of Navarre's garrisons [z]. Don Henry was scarce seated on the throne of Castile before he discovered plainly that he meant not to comply with the treaties he had made with Arragon, and that he was disposed to take a severe revenge upon the king of Navarre; in both which designs he was vigorously supported if not excited by France [a]. For this reason, therefore, the kings of Na- A.D. 1368.

[y] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras, Pedro de Lopez de Ayala. [z] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Mariana. [a] Histoire de C. de Guesclin, Jean Froissart.

varre

varre and Arragon entered into a defensive alliance; and the former continued his negociation with the English, in breach, say some writers, of this alliance with France, in revenge say others, for the loss of Montpellier.

Treaty between Edward III. as king of England and France, with Don Carlos of Navarre.

Through the prudent or artificial conduct of Charles the Fifth, France had in a great measure, though not totally, recovered the miseries of that long war, by which she had been oppressed; and now he began to undermine the power of his neighbours. By his alliance with the new king of Castile, he availed himself of the great naval power of that crown against the English, and of his numerous and victorious armies against the kings of Arragon and Navarre. At the same time he encouraged the great lords, who were feudatories to the prince of Wales in Aquitaine, to stand upon their privileges, and to oppose him in every thing, while the nobility in Normandy shewed a like spirit from the like hopes of support. The king of Navarre saw through these designs perfectly; and, by the advice of Eustace d'Auberticour, a knight of great reputation, resolved to unite himself more closely than ever to Edward the Third of England, as the only prince whose alliance could defend him from the mischiefs that he feared. In consequence of this resolution he went in person to the court of king Edward, though with great secresy, and there laid the plan of a definitive treaty, which was afterwards signed at Clarendon, and ratified at London. By this treaty the two kings were to act, not only against those of Castile and France, but also, if necessary, against the king of Arragon, who it was known had begun to negociate with these princes. On the part of Edward, it was stipulated, that as soon as it was in his power he should put the king of Navarre in possession of the duchy of Burgundy; of the counties of Brie, Champagne, Mante-Meulan, and Longueville; of the town and barony of Montpellier; of the county of Mans; and of other places upon which he had just pretensions. Edward farther agreed, that, in consideration of the losses he might sustain from the superior power of the king of Castile, he would yield him Saveur-le-Vicomte in Normandy; and also Briquebec and Coutances, as soon as they should be taken. He farther agreed to give him the viscounty of Limoges, and all its dependencies, together with the county of Angoulême; and to advance him four hundred thousand crowns in specie to begin the war. On the other hand, the king of Navarre undertook to do homage to Edward as king of England, for all the places yielded to him within the principality of Guienne; and to do him likewise homage as king of France,

Digitized by Google

France, for the counties of Brie and Champagne; and he was likewise to put into king Edward's hands Nogent-le-Roi, Nonancourt, Anet, and Ivri. In consequence of these engagements, and indeed before the treaty was concluded, Don Carlos passed into Normandy, with a view to carry it into execution; but he did not find either the troops or the money that he expected, so that he was under a necessity of observing a kind of neutrality [b]. A.D.1370.

His treaties, disputes, and compromises, under the mediation of pope Gregory XI. with the crown of France.

While the king was thus employed, Don Henry of Castile, in consequence of his engagements with the crown of France, and with a view of recovering the places the king of Navarre had taken during the late troubles, made an irruption into his dominions, took several places of less consequence, and besieged Logrogno and Victoria, to deliver which the queen-regent, Donna Joanna, by the interposition of the pope's legate, entered into an agreement with that king to put the two places into the hands of a nobleman, who was to hold them in the name and on the behalf of the pope, till the disputes between the two crowns should be terminated by a negociation [c]. On the other hand, the king of Navarre being informed of this agreement, and perceiving that the advantages he expected from his alliance with England very doubtful, he consented to an interview that was proposed with the French monarch at Vernon, where, after several conferences, in which the two kings behaved towards each other with all apparent marks of friendship and good will, a peace was concluded, by which Motpellier was restored to the king of Navarre, who, having now nothing farther to do in Normandy, made a tour to Paris; and leaving there the two young princes his sons to be educated, returned by way of Avignon into his hereditary dominions [d]. The French historians charge the king of Navarre with persevering in his intrigues, notwithstanding the peace [e]; but it appears, from very authentic evidence, that the causes of these misunderstandings were the proceedings of the French court, who, on the declension of the English power, began to question Don Carlos's right to the barony and town of Montpellier. These new differences were left to the arbitration of pope Gregory the Eleventh, who adjudged the possession to the king Don Carlos for four A.D.1371.

[b] Jean Froissart. Annales de France, Histoire de C. du Guesclin. [c] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, Ferreras. [d] P. Daniel, L'Hist. du Royaume de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet. [e] Du Tillet Chroniques des Rois de France, Mezeray.

years;

Digitized by Google

years; at the end of which space he was to accept an equivalent, and the seigniory was from thence forward to be united to the crown of France: in consequence of which arbitration the king of Navarre went thither in person, made his public entry on the 20th of March, confirmed the people's privileges, received their oaths of homage and fealty, and set out from thence on the 22d of July [f], for Pampeluna, where he was received by his subjects with great joy, as hoping he would redress many grievances, under which they had laboured, during his absence, from the bishop of Pampeluna and the dean of Tudela, in whose hands he intrusted the government, and whom he called
A.D.1372. to a severe account. The bishop indeed fled to Avignon; but the dean was arrested, and all his effects were confiscated.

A.D.1373. The king of Castile, notwithstanding the treaty of pacification made with the queen of Navarre, having compromised his disputes with Arragon and Portugal, marched all his forces to the frontiers of Navarre, and demanded Victoria and Logrogno to be surrendered. Don Carlos, who had not either troops to defend, or allies to support him, desired the affair might be left to the arbitration of cardinal Guy, the pope's legate, to which proposition the king of Castile assented, desiring the cardinal might repair to his camp, which he accordingly did, and the king of Navarre with him [g]. There the two kings and the legate eat at the same table; and after several conferences peace was made upon these terms: that the towns should be delivered to the king of Castile, but that he should pay a considerable sum of money to the king of Navarre for the expence he had been at in fortifying them; and to put an end once for all to the differences between the two crowns, the infant Don Carlos of Navarre, when of age, should espouse the infanta Donna Leonora of Castile, and receive with her a very large portion in ready money. The two kings, having signed the treaty, and given reciprocal security to each other for the due performance of it, separated; but the cardinal legate, being sick, remained and died there; upon which a rumour prevailed that he was poisoned by the king of Navarre's order; into which report the pope, having caused a very strict enquiry to be made, declared it to be absolutely false, and void of all founda-

Henry of Castile invades Navarre; Don Carlos concludes a peace with him, and endeavours to draw him into his party, and into a league with England.

[f] Histoire de Languedoc, Chronique de Navarre, Ferreras.
[g] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Ferreras.

tion.

Digitized by Google

tion [h]. The queen of Navarre had been sent by the king, in the month of March, to take upon her the government of his French dominions. She resided all the summer at Montpellier; and departing from thence in September, went to Evreux in Normandy, where she died on the 3d of November; and her body, being transported to Paris, was interred near that of her father, in the monastery of St. Dennis [i]. About the time of the queen's death Don Carlos made a journey to Madrid, where he represented to the king of Castile all the injuries that he had received from France, and the just reasons he had to fear they would allow him to keep nothing they could take from him. At the same time he magnified the power of England, and the wisdom and courage of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, whose claim to Castile, in right of his wife Donna Philippa, he suggested to Don Henry, might be compromised for a sum of money, provided he entered into the general alliance against France, which would determine the king of Arragon to the same measure. Don Henry answered, that he owed his crown to the assistance of France, and would not therefore enter into any alliance to her prejudice; but in regard to compounding with the duke of Lancaster for his pretensions, it was a step to which he was by no means averse. He is also said to have explained his system to Don Carlos, and pressed him exceedingly to close with France [k].

The infant Don Carlos of Navarre espouses the infanta Leonora of Castile.

A peace being at length concluded between the kings of Castile and Arragon, the former having appointed Soria, on the frontiers of Castile, for the place where the ceremony was to be performed of the marriage of his heir-apparent to the princess of Arragon, summoned the king of Navarre to the performance of his contract, on behalf of the infant Don Carlos, who came accordingly the first to the proposed interview, where he was treated with all possible respect and kindness; and, having received five thousand pistoles as a marriage portion with the infanta, king Henry paid at the same time twenty thousand more, in full satisfaction for the repairs made to the places which had been rendered to him by the last treaty [l]. Next year A.D. 1375. Don Carlos, king of Navarre, caused Don Rodrigo Urriz, one of the principal lords of his court, to be arrested, upon an information that he had embarked in a design of be-

[h] Rainald. [i] Mayerne Turquet. [k] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [l] Zurita Annal. Arragon, Chronique de Navarre.

Digitized by Google

traying Tudela and Caparroso to the king of Castile. Upon enquiry, it appeared that this nobleman was about to marry and retire into the dominions of that prince; and on this, and other circumstances, he was secretly put to death [m]. Some writers have condemned, and others justified, the conduct of the king of Navarre.

The king of Navarre is accused of intending to poison the French king, and his estates seized.

At the time of the queen of Navarre's death, the infant Don Pedro and the infanta Donna Maria were left in Normandy, whither they had accompanied their mother. The king of Navarre sent his eldest son to fetch them, and withal to pay his duty to his uncle at Paris, and to acquaint him with his marriage. There was, however, a secret meaning in this journey, which regarded a treaty he had made with the king of England, in relation to his dominions and his pretensions in France. The king of Castile was, it seems, acquainted with the whole affair, which he opposed; but though Don Carlos frequently altered his resolutions, yet he did it rarely by the advice of his friends. The young prince of Navarre, amongst other persons of distinction, carried with him James de la Rue, his father's chamberlain; Peter du Tertre, his secretary; and the baron Ortubias. These, in their passage through France, were arrested; and the prince complaining of this insult, and desiring an audience of his uncle, was likewise seized [n]. The chamberlain being put to the torture, confessed that the king of Navarre had a project of causing the king to be poisoned, and with this view had corrupted one of his physicians. Peter du Tertre, being also tortured, discovered the treaty with the king of England, which seems to have been no other than that before mentioned; but he positively denied having any knowlege of the design laid to poison the king [o]. Upon the reading their confessions in parliament, the chamberlain was condemned to be hanged, and broke upon the wheel, a sentence which was executed; the secretary was also condemned to be beheaded, and, as some say, suffered; but others assert, that after a year's imprisonment he was set at liberty [p].

A.D.1377.

A.D.1378. The French king immediately sent a great body of forces into Normandy, under the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, and the constable, where they reduced, without difficulty, all the places belonging to the king of Navarre,

[m] Favin, Ayala, Mayerne Turquet. [n] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, Chronique de St. Denis. [o] P. Daniel, Proces MS. du Roy de Navarre. [p] Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

Cherbourg,

Digitized by Google

Cherbourg only accepted; and these fortresses were dismantled as soon as they were taken. The infant Don Pedro, and the infanta Donna Maria, were also made prisoners; and the town of Montpellier, with its dependencies, was likewise reduced; so that Don Carlos was completely stripped of his estates in France, and this too in a manner that left him no hopes of seeing them restored.

Some doubts in regard to the guilt of the king of Navarre, but none as to the seizing his lands.

The king of Navarre avowed his having made a treaty with the crown of England, by which he gave up all his possessions in Normandy for equivalents in Guienne, which lying nearer his own dominions, were more convenient, and like to be more easily kept. It may be also observed, that if he had corrupted one of the French king's physicians, it was a strange step to send his eldest son and his principal ministers into France, where they might have been probably sacrificed if his plot had taken effect. There was another circumstance still stranger, which was, that the governors of the principal places in Normandy likewise accompanied the prince, were taken with him, and it was by this expedient those places fell so easily into the hands of the French. It is certain, and inconteſtible, that they were great gainers by these events, and that there are many circumstances very inconsistent in their own relations of this matter, which are perfectly well calculated to blast the character of the king of Navarre, and to cover this extraordinary proceeding of depriving him of his children and dominions at once [q]. We must also observe, that the French writers positively assert the king of Navarre had caused their monarch to be poisoned, while he bore only the title of dauphin; that the emperor's physician saved his life by opening, or rather keeping open, a fistula in his arm; and that after consuming for twenty years, by the effects of this venomous drug, he died of it at last [r]. Stories of this kind were more easily believed in those days than they have been since. Whether true or false, they had a great effect in rendering the king of Navarre odious, and in qualifying the violent proceedings by which he was deprived of great countries, to which he had very plausible titles. Indeed, he had a specious title to the crown itself, the declaration of which was the principal cause of all his misfortunes, since it hindered the English monarch from supporting him powerfully, because he made the like claim, and left the kings of the house of

[q] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, Ferreras. [r] Chronique de St. Dennis, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

Digitized by Google

Valois no other way of maintaining their own poſſeſſion, than by depriving him of all means to maintain a claim, which, in the perſon of his mother, ſome of the peers of that kingdom had judged to be better than their own. Such was his principal crime, and ſuch the puniſhment attending it.

A new war between the kings of Caſtile and Navarre, which, however, is quickly terminated.

A.D. 1379.

Theſe extremities did not force the king of Navarre to an abſolute ſubmiſſion. On the contrary, he renewed his treaty with Richard II. and procured, through the friendſhip of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, a conſiderable body of Engliſh troops, who ſerved him very gallantly in his war againſt Caſtile: but, notwithſtanding this aſſiſtance, he found himſelf utterly incapable of ſupporting that war, and therefore applied by his miniſters to Don Henry, in order to know upon what terms he might expect peace. Theſe miniſters were well received; and it was intimated to them, that notwithſtanding the great advantages gained by the arms of Caſtile, the king deſired nothing more than that he would detach himſelf entirely from the Engliſh, and ſequeſter ſome of his principal fortreſſes by way of ſecurity, for his performing duly what ſhould be ſtipulated in the intended treaty. The king of Navarre repreſented, that in the diſtreſſed circumſtances of his affairs he was willing to accept of theſe terms, and to quit allies to whom he could now be of no uſe, and who were but of very little uſe to him; but there was one obſtacle he knew not how to get over, which was, that he was indebted to the Engliſh troops a large ſum, which it was abſolutely out of his power to pay. The king of Caſtile, deſirous of completing his own ſcheme, or touched with compaſſion for this unfortunate prince, promiſed to advance him twenty thouſand piſtoles as ſoon as the peace was ſigned, a promiſe which he accordingly performed; and the Engliſh ſuccours returned into Guienne[s]. After the concluſion and ratification of this treaty, the king of Caſtile invited his brother of Navarre to his headquarters, for at the time of this tranſaction he was in the field with a numerous army. Don Carlos accepted the invitation, and was received by the Caſtilian monarch with all poſſible marks of kindneſs and eſteem, a circumſtance which ſurely agrees not over well with the ſtory of his attempt on the perſon of Charles V. of France[t]. Theſe kings, after remaining ſome time together, parted in great

[s] Ayala, L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre. [t] Favin, Ayala, Mayerne Turquet.

friend-

Digitized by Google

friendſhip; and immediately after Don Henry died, with ſtrong ſuſpicion of poiſon. It fell out very happily for the king of Navarre that it was ſaid to be diſcovered. This wicked fact was perpetrated by the orders of the king of Granada; for otherwiſe, in all probability, it would have been placed to his account, notwithſtanding it was viſibly againſt his intereſt, as he had now all things to hope, and nothing to fear on the part of that powerful prince. His ſon and ſucceſſor Don Juan, as ſoon as decency would permit, notified to him his acceſſion, aſſured him of his friendſhip, and promiſed to give him marks of it, by interpoſing his good offices with the court of France, where king Charles V. his old antagoniſt, was alſo dead; and in the minority of his ſon things were exceedingly altered [u].

An inſurrection ſuppreſſed.

In conſequence of that long ſeries of misfortunes to which this prince had been expoſed, and of the temper alſo of the times, ſome of his nobility began to take great liberties with him, and aimed at mending their own fortunes at his expence, and that of the public. With ſomething of this kind, and even with ſome intention againſt the king's perſon, the baron of Agramont charged the baron of Aſſian, who denied it, and challenged the other to ſingle combat, according to the received doctrine of thoſe times, that private men, as well as princes, might appeal to God by arms: but as this nobleman was allied to the beſt families in Navarre, they interpoſed with the king, and deſired that ſome other end might be put to this matter, according to his diſcretion; upon which the king committed the baron of Aſſian to the caſtle of Tafalla, and ſent the baron of Agramont priſoner to St. Jean Pie de Port, till either this matter could be thoroughly looked into, or their private quarrels ſome way adjuſted. The garriſon of Tafalla were Picards, whom the baron de Aſſian won ſo much to his ſervice, that they not only ſet him at liberty, but revolted, and put him in poſſeſſion of the place. In all probability, they had flattered themſelves with the hopes either of a general revolt, or of a foreign aſſiſtance: but their expectations were diſappointed; for the inhabitants of the adjacent country immediately inveſted the place, and the king refuſing to liſten to any terms, cauſed the place to be carried by ſtorm, and the garriſon to be put to the ſword, except the baron de Aſſian, who was taken and beheaded. The baron de Agra-

[u] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, P. Daniel, Ferreras, Mezeray, Mayerne Turquet.

Digitized by Google

A D. 1381. mont was ſoon after ſet at liberty [w]. There is ſomething of ſeverity, but nothing of injuſtice in this proceeding, which alſo ſhews that the king was in the main reſpected and obeyed by his ſubjects. Indeed the hiſtorians of Navarre ſay, that being a great patron of learning and learned men, he had the clergy much at his devotion; and yet, whatever his own vices were, he would ſuffer none in them, that the dignity of their order might not be leſſened in the eyes of the people. In this particular, no doubt, he acted diſcreetly; for a vicious, and conſequently a contemptible clergy, could have been of no uſe.

The infant Don Carlos releaſed.

About this time the young king of France was ſo kind to the infant Don Carlos of Navarre, that he reſtored to him the lordſhip of Montpelier, and allowed him to receive the revenues of all his father's eſtates in France; and it is certain that the infant, with the conſent of the duke of Berry, the king's uncle, took poſſeſſion of Montpellier on the 1ſt of November; but it is alſo as certain, that before the year came about again, this barony was ſeized into the king's hands, and annexed to the crown; but upon what motives this ſtep was taken, does not ſo clearly appear [x]. The Spaniſh hiſtorians, and thoſe of Navarre, agree that Don Juan, king of Caſtile, being extremely preſſed by the king of Navarre, and by his own ſiſter Donna Leonora, to intercede with Charles VI. for the diſcharge of the infant Don Carlos, he accordingly interpoſed by his ambaſſadors, and at length obtained it; upon which the infant and his conſort, after his return home, went into Caſtile to viſit the king their brother, and to teſtify the juſt ſenſe they had of this interpoſition on the behalf of Don Carlos [y].

King of Navarre charged afreſh with forming deſigns againſt the lives of the French king and his uncles.

The French hiſtorians relate, though not very conſiſtently, that the king of Navarre, being extremely irritated againſt the French court, had recourſe to his old art; and finding, as he apprehended, an inſtrument very fit for his purpoſe, diſpatched him by the way of Bayonne to Paris, with inſtructions to poiſon not only the king, but alſo his brother Lewis, count of Valois, afterwards duke of Orleans; the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, and ſeveral other great lords. This man, having furniſhed himſelf with a ſufficient quantity of arſenic at Bayonne, came to the French court with a full reſolution of executing the orders he had received in their utmoſt extent; but being happily detected, he was put into priſon, and, having

[w] Chronique de Navarre.
[x] Hiſtoire de Langue doc
[y] Garibay, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

continued

Digitized by Google

continued there upwards of a year, was convicted and publicly executed, as he well deſerved [z]. Upon this detection, a proſecution was commenced againſt the king of Navarre, as count of Evreux, before the parliament; and after being ſummoned to appear, he was, for contumacy, and for various enormous crimes committed againſt the king, but for the honour of the family, without any ſpecific declaration of thoſe crimes, declared attainted, and convicted of high treaſon: but though this charge is ſo particularly ſet forth, and that from the very proceſs, yet it is ſubject to various objections, which are not eaſily to be ſolved; and it is very probably owing to this circumſtance, that in ſome ancient, and in ſome modern hiſtories, the whole affair, though of ſo remarkable a nature, is buried in oblivion [a].

The king Don Juan of Caſtile having very ſtrong pretenſions upon Portugal, in right of his conſort, the only daughter and heireſs of the deceaſed king, and being determined to ſupport thoſe pretenſions by force of arms, his brother-in-law, the infant Don Carlos of Navarre, out of gratitude as well as affection, thought himſelf obliged to march to his aſſiſtance with a conſiderable body of forces. He joined the army of Caſtile at the ſiege of Liſbon, and was received with all poſſible teſtimonies of eſteem by the king, and of joy and ſatisfaction by the whole army. Next year he made an inroad into Portugal, under that monarch's orders, but was not in the fatal battle of Aljubarrota; ſo that he had an opportunity of ſaving ſeveral ſmall corps of the Caſtilian army, who in their eſcape from that diſaſter would otherwiſe have been ſurrounded and cut to pieces by the Portugueſe [b]. He went afterwards to Seville, to conſole that prince under his misfortunes; and having accompanied him to Valladolid, where he held an aſſembly of the ſtates, the infant Don Carlos returned from thence into his father's dominions [c]. About this time his ſiſter Donna Joanna eſpouſed John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, which was an alliance, in all reſpects, very favourable to the family, and contributed not a little to its ſupport. The news of the duke of Lancaſter's ſailing to Portugal, with a numerous fleet, and a powerful army on board, with a view not only to ſupport the

A.D. 1384.

The infant Don Carlos goes to the aſſiſtance of his brother-in-law the king of Caſtile.

A.D. 1385.

[z] P. Daniel, Proces MS. du Roy de Navarre. [a] Du Tillet Chroniques des Rois de France, Nouville Hiſtoire de France, par M. le Gendre Mezeray. [b] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ayala. [c] Garibay, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

Digitized by Google

master of Avis, who had now taken the title of king of Portugal, but to assert his own right to Castile, so much alarmed the king Don Juan, that he applied to the pope, to Charles the Sixth of France, and his other allies, for assistance; upon which the infant Don Carlos of Navarre put himself once more at the head of his father's forces, marched to the relief of his brother-in-law, and remained with the king of Castile all this year.

A.D. 1386.

Death of the king of Navarre.

We are assured by the historians of Navarre, that the king Don Carlos was become miserably infirm through a leprosy, or some other grievous distemper, brought upon him by his debauches, which disabled him from appearing in public, and inclined him to bend all his thoughts towards preparing himself for his last hour; for notwithstanding the detestable character given him by the French writers, he certainly affected to be thought religious, and did every thing that might contribute to impose upon the world in that particular [d]. While the king was thus in some measure confined, one Andrew de Torellas, a person of mean rank, excited a sedition in Pampeluna, under colour that the city was not sufficiently supplied with corn, and the public revenue but indifferently managed: but the king, feeble and infirm as he was, exerted himself in such a manner, that the tumult was quickly suppressed, Andrew Torellas apprehended and hanged, and some of his principal associates were severely punished [e]. This was the last effort of his authority; for soon after he fell into a low and languishing state, and having prepared himself for death, with all the exterior marks of a sincere repentance, breathed his last on the first day of the new year, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the thirty-eighth of his reign, and was buried in the cathedral church of Pampeluna, with the usual ceremonies.

Strange stories invented about it.

Historians are as much divided about the manner of his death, as in regard to the principal events of his life. The common story which we find usually inserted in the French chronicles is this: the king, having in a great measure dissipated and extinguished the natural heat of his body, by the vices to which he was addicted, was wont to be wrapped up in large sheets, or sear-cloths, dipped in aqua vitæ, and powdered all over with sulphur, in which being sewed up as usual, one of his pages, instead of cutting the thread with a pair of scissars, went to burn it with

[d] Ferreras. [e] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet.

a wax-

a wax-candle, by which the wrapper's about the king's body took fire, and before it could be extinguiſhed his bowels were ſo burnt, that, after lying three days in excruciating torment, he expired [f]. In a very ancient hiſtory, compoſed when theſe things were freſh in memory, there is preſerved a letter from the biſhop of Acqs, who was prime miniſter to this prince, written to his ſiſter queen Blanch, dowager of Philip de Valois; in which he acquaints her, that the king his maſter died of a moſt painful and tormenting diſeaſe, in which he gave the ſtrongeſt marks of ſincere penitence, and ſupported the miſery he endured with invincible patience, and the moſt perfect reſignation to the will of God [g].

Acceſſion of Don Carlos III. the Noble.

Don Carlos the Third, at the time of his father's demiſe, was with the queen his conſort and their children at Penafiel in Caſtile, with her brother the king Don Juan. He immediately prepared for his departure to his own dominions, where his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary. The Caſtilian monarch, to ſhew how grateful a ſenſe he had of the friendſhip ſhewn, and aſſiſtance given him by this prince, not only remitted the caſtles and fortreſſes which had been ſequeſtered for the debt due to his father, but alſo forgave that debt, and the ſum of two thouſand pounds ſterling, which he had engaged himſelf to pay, as a ranſom for an Engliſh nobleman, who was priſoner in Caſtile. He was received on his arrival at Pampeluna with all poſſible marks of joy and ſatisfaction, and with much ſolemnity proclaimed on the 28th of January; but for various reaſons his coronation was deferred [h]. He was at this time about twenty-five years of age, poſſeſſing, as the Spaniſh writers ſay, all the great qualities of his father; and as the French writers own, without any tincture of his defects. In a word, if we may depend upon any thing in the hiſtories of thoſe times, we may conclude that this young king was a moſt accompliſhed prince; as the ſtrongeſt proof of which we may allege that he was ſtyled Charles the Noble by his neighbours, and Don Carlos the Liberal by his own ſubjects. The firſt public act of his reign was acknowledging Clement the Seventh, who reſided at Avignon, for the true pope, notwithſtanding the claim of Urban the Sixth, who had fixed his reſidence at Rome [i]. This was contrary to his father's maxim,

[f] Annales de France. [g] Chronique de St. Dennis.
[h] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, Ferreras. [i] Garibay, Mayerne Turquet.

who,

Digitized by Google

who, though he had always ſhewn a great reſpect for the church, kept an exact neutrality, and would acknowlege neither, alleging very prudently that it did not become a layman, though a king, to decide who was the ſucceſſor of St. Peter; but till this could be determined by a proper authority, he affirmed the ſupremacy in all cauſes to be in him. His ſon, indeed, did it with this reſtriction, that his acknowlegement was ſubject to the deciſion of a general council. This, however, was a very ſtrong meaſure, as it plainly proved to the world, that he had embraced a new ſyſtem, and was gone over to the French ſide, ſince the Engliſh and their allies were zealous partizans of pope Urban.

His care to live on good terms with his neighbours, and to compromiſe amicably all diſputes.

He took care to notify his acceſſion, and to ſend ambaſſadors to the principal powers in Europe, particularly to thoſe of France and England [k]. He demanded from the former the reſtitution of the eſtates belonging to his family; but in mild and modeſt terms, ſo as to ſhew at once that he was determined not to depart from his claims, and that he was by no means averſe to the receiving a ſuitable ſatisfaction. He repreſented to the latter, that ſeveral places in Normandy belonged to him, and that he made no doubt of their being reſtored. He had a conference with Don Juan king of Arragon, in reference to a marriage between their families, and the maintenance of a ſtrict correſpondence between the two crowns, as the ſureſt means of ſupporting the ſplendor and independency of both [l]. He regulated the march of the French ſuccours, under the duke of Bourbon, to Logrogno, where they received the ſubſidies that had been ſtipulated, and the orders of the king of Caſtile to advance no farther. He contributed not a little to the treaty of pacification between that monarch and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter; and when it was in ſome degree ſettled he had an interview with his brother-in-law, to regulate with him the meaſures that in ſo critical a conjuncture were fitteſt to be taken: While his mind was thus intent on theſe great objects of government, he was alarmed by the indiſpoſition of the queen, and the more ſo when ſhe intimated to him that ſhe had no hopes of recovery but from returning to and remaining ſome time in her native country. He reſolved to comply with her deſires; and having conducted her and the princeſſes his daughters to Navarete,

A.D. 1388.

[k] Favin, L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras. [l] Zurita Annal. Arragon, Mayerne Turquet.

where

Digitized by Google

where he had another conference with the king of Castile, he left them behind and returned to his own capital of Pampeluna [m].

The situation of affairs in Europe was at this time so embarrassed, that Don Carlos saw plainly his endeavours to obtain the restitution of his estates ought to be reserved for a more favourable opportunity. He applied himself, therefore, with great industry to rectify whatever might be amiss in the civil œconomy of his own dominions. He reviewed the grants of his ancestors; he examined into the state of the principal cities and great towns; he had an eye on the affairs of the church: but he acted with such moderation in all things, and shewed so strong an inclination to render all ranks of people easy, that the reformation which would have been attended with murmurs at least, if not with an insurrection, under any other prince, not only passed quietly under him, but even rendered him more beloved. However, the clergy and nobility pressed him very much on the head of his coronation, which they would not have suffered another king to have delayed so long, because hitherto he had taken no oath to maintain the immunities of the church, the privileges of the nobility, and the liberties of the people [n]. The king sent his ambassadors to the court of Castile to desire his consort might return, that they might be crowned together. Donna Leonora would by no means consent to this proposal; she insisted upon her brother's protection; complained that she was very ill used in Navarre, where the people were wanting in their respects to her, or at least to her attendants; that the revenue assigned her was ill paid; and that her distemper was owing to certain dangerous drugs given her by a Jew physician, whom the king had refused to disgrace. Don Carlos, being informed of this charge, acquainted the king of Castile, that his subjects indeed were not accustomed to act so submissively towards their sovereigns as in Castile; that his dominions were very much impoverished during his father's reign, but that his finances were now in good order; and that as to the affair of the Jew physician, he was willing to submit the examination of it to such as the king of Castile should appoint; when it would appear, as indeed it did, that the queen and not the doctor was to blame, who prescribed what was proper enough for the queen's indisposition, if

Fruitless endeavours to prevail on his queen Leonora to return out of Castile.

[m] Garibay. [n] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet.

it

Digitized by Google

it had been such as she gave out; but it was only a fiction, she had only herself to blame [o]. The truth of the matter was, the queen was mightily pleased with the honours paid her in Castile, and with the splendor of that court; and therefore insisted that her husband should engage the pope and the king of France, to guaranty her being well used: Don Carlos answered, that the French king should never interfere in his affairs; and having sent for his two eldest daughters, he proceeded to the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed with great solemnity in the cathedral at Pampeluna on the 25th of July.

A.D. 1390.

Obtains the restitution of Cherbourg from the English, but fails in his application to the court of France.

The death of king John of Castile, and the accession of his son Don Henry, a minor, created a great change in the face of affairs at that court, where Donna Leonora, queen of Navarre, in quality of aunt to the reigning prince, entered deeply into state intrigues; and, as we have shewn in its proper place, contributed greatly to pacify those factious heats that would otherwise have thrown all things into confusion. It was in vain, therefore, that the king Don Carlos solicited her return, and represented to her how injurious her absence was to him, how displeasing to his subjects, and how destructive to their family. But Donna Leonora loved pomp and power; and, while her faction prevailed, was sure of preserving both; whereas, in Navarre, the king lived in great familiarity with his nobility, and administered public affairs by the sole advice of his council [p]. His eyes were continually turned on the vast possessions which had been torn from his family in France; and, in order to make some effort for their recovery, he sent Don Carlos de Beaumont, standard-bearer of Navarre, and Don Martin Henriquez de Lacarra, his ambassadors, to Richard the Second of England, in order to obtain the restitution of Cherbourg, and some other places which the king held by no other title than that of his grandfather's troops being admitted into them, as the auxiliaries of the deceased king of Navarre. This point being strenuously insisted upon by the ambassadors, and several great lords of the court of England knowing the thing to be really as they stated it, a resolution was at last taken to do him that justice which he required; and accordingly Cherbourg and the rest of the places were actually restored [q]. Upon this, he renewed his application

A.D. 1393.

[o] Garibay, Mariana. Mayerne Turquet. Mariana.

[p] Favin, Chronique de Navarre,

[q] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre,

to

to the French court, repreſenting, that it would be very hard to treat a prince of the blood royal worſe than ſtrangers had done; but the diſorders in France were ſo great, and thoſe in power were ſo little pleaſed at ſeeing Don Martin Henriquez de Lacarra eſtabliſhed in the government of Cherbourg, that he found himſelf obliged to poſtpone his expectations on that ſide, till the ſtate of their affairs ſhould wear another aſpect.

Donna Leonora returns to Navarre.

He was more ſucceſsful in his negociation with the king of Arragon, who amicably regulated the frontiers of their reſpective dominions, and entered into all his views with regard to a perpetual defenſive alliance between the two crowns. But his applications to perſuade his queen to return were as ineffectual as ever; neither could ſhe be perſuaded to ſend her two younger daughters back into Navarre, though her nephew king, Henry III. joined his ſolicitations to thoſe of the king her huſband; for, upon his taking the government into his own hands, he found it requiſite to recall ſome, and to reduce all the penſions that were paid out of the public revenue; and as his aunt's was not excepted, this affair had created a miſunderſtanding between them. By degrees theſe differences roſe higher; for the queen, taking part with the malecontents, and preſuming ſo far as to refuſe the king entrance into Roa, which was one of the places aſſigned for her ſubſiſtence, he came before it with a body of troops: upon which the inhabitants, who had no ſhare at all in the quarrel, opened their gates; the queen was conſtrained to ſubmit; and, though received with much ſeeming favour and complaiſance, yet the king told her plainly, that as Don Carlos had offered all that ſhe could poſſibly demand, ſhe muſt abſolutely think of returning with the princeſſes her daughters, and content herſelf with acting the queen in her own dominions. Yet that every thing might be tranſacted in a manner ſuitable to the rank of the parties concerned, the king with his whole court attended the queen to Alfaro; and Don Carlos, having ſent the archbiſhop of Saragoſſa, with the principal lords of his kingdom, to Tudela to receive her, ſhe was accordingly conducted thither, and ſoon after met by the king himſelf, who received her with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy and ſatisfaction, which, with the improved ſtate of the country, reconciled her entirely to Navarre; and the ſenſe ſhe had that a new retreat into Caſtile was impracticable, made her ſo affable and obliging to her ſubjects, that ſhe met with every teſtimony of reſ-

pect

Digitized by Google

A.D. 1396. pect and submission she could desire [r], Next year the king held an assembly of the states at Pampeluna, in which the succession to the crown was regulated in favour of his daughters, in the order of their respective births, to prevent any disputes if the king should die without male issue [s].

He makes a journey into France.

The cathedral at Pampeluna, had, for some years, lain in ruins, with the sight of which the citizens, and indeed all the inhabitants of Navarre, were very deeply affected; but the expence of rebuilding it was so high, that however well-inclined, their circumstances rendered them unable to undertake it. The king, after mature deliberation, assigned the fortieth part of his revenues for this service, which agreeably surprised the people, and rendered them less uneasy at his departure for France, upon the very eve of which he did this pious and generous action [t]. The queen was not long after delivered of a son, who at his baptism received his father's name; and this was another very acceptable event. But in France the king found his ambassadors had represented things to him very truly; for though Charles the Sixth had some lucid intervals, yet being then entirely in the hands of his ministers, who represented his affairs to him in what light they pleased, the king of Navarre chose to return home without doing any thing, rather than make any bargain with those who held their authority by so uncertain a tenure, as the will of a distracted prince [u]. After he came back to Pampeluna, he obliged the clergy, nobility, and people, to take an oath of fidelity to his son Don Carlos, as heir-apparent to the kingdom, though he was at that time scarce a year

A.D. 1399. old. Next year he renewed the treaties subsisting with the crown of Arragon, upon the accession of Don Martin; and interposed his good offices for composing the disputes subsisting between that monarch and Archambaud de Grailli, count de Foix, an aim which was at length effected, much to the satisfaction of both parties [w]. This negociation produced another of yet greater consequence; for the king married his eldest daughter Donna Joanna to

A.D. 1402. John de Grailli, son of the count of Foix. In a short time after he married his third daughter, the princess Blanch, to Don Martin king of Sicily, son to the king of

[r] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [s] Ferreras, Favin, Chronique de Navarre. [t] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet. [u] P. Daniel, Ferreras, [w] Zurita Annal. Arragon.

Arragon;

Digitized by Google

Arragon; but very soon after this marriage took effect, the infant Don Carlos died, as also his youngest brother Don Louis; upon which Donna Joanna was acknowleged presumptive heir of Navarre.

The king, desirous of having his claims settled in France, and being invited thither by the princes of the blood, resolved to make another tour into that kingdom. He declared the queen regent in his absence, and at the same time made his testament, that as far as in him lay he might remove all sources of intestine troubles, in case he should not live to return. On his arrival at Paris he found things in great disorder, the king's health rather more unsettled than ever, and a war with England in a manner inevitable. This dismal prospect induced him to use all his interest, in order to conclude a treaty without loss of time, which was accordingly signed on the 4th of June, and to which his brother Don Pedro, count of Mortain, acceded. By this agreement he relinquished all his pretensions to the counties of Champagne, Brie, and Evreux, as also to the rest of the places which his ancestors had held in Normandy; and also gave up Cherbourg, in consideration of the town and district of Nemours, which was erected into a duchy in his favour, together with an annual pension of twelve thousand livres, and the farther sum of two hundred thousand crowns, by way of indemnification for the revenues of which he had been deprived [x]. This was a poor compensation for such vast estates; but there is great reason to doubt whether, in the situation of their affairs, he could have obtained even these from the princes who governed France, if he had not rendered services to some, and made presents to others, that some end might be made of a controversy that had subsisted so long, and had cost both parties so dear [y]. The troubles which broke out on the death of Philip the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, obliged him to remain in France longer than he intended; and it was in virtue of his decree, in conjunction with the king of Sicily his son-in-law, and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, dated the 17th of October, that the pacification took place between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy. At length, having contributed all in his power to restore the public peace, and having concluded a marriage for his fourth by birth,

Goes thither a second time, and adjusts all his claims for a slender equivalent.

A.D. 1404.

A.D. 1405.

[x] P. Daniel, Chronique de Navarre, Ferreras. [y] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Du Tillet Chroniques des Rois de France, Mariana.

but

but his third surviving daughter, with Jacques de Bourbon, count de la Marche, one of the most accomplished princes of that age, he set out on his return into his own dominions [z], leaving an high opinion of him in the French court.

Pursues his true interests at his return.

At the request of Don Martin, king of Arragon, Don Carlos passed through Catalonia, and was received by him at Lerida, with all possible marks of affection and respect. From thence the two monarchs went together to Saragossa, and after a short stay there, they parted perfectly well satisfied with each other, and Don Carlos returned to Pampeluna, where his subjects received him with the most sincere transports of joy and affection. In the beginning of the month of September arrived Jacques de Bourbon, count of Marche and of Castro, attended by a great train of French lords and gentlemen; and there his marriage with Donna Beatrix of Navarre was celebrated with the utmost magnificence [a]. As Don Carlos brought with him a great mass of money from France, he began to consider with himself what course was best for him to take, in order to distribute it amongst his subjects; and, after mature deliberation, he determined to build two palaces, one at Olita, and the other at Tafalla, each in a very pleasant situation, and at no more than a league's distance. By this project the money was very speedily dispersed into the hands of the industrious, and artists of every kind were encouraged and employed [b]; for with all the qualities of a hero and a statesman, Don Carlos had likewise the talents and the taste of a splendid and magnificent prince, corrected by a due regard to œconomy, and directed, as all his measures were, to the general welfare of his subjects. Pampeluna had been more than once on the very brink of destruction, from its being divided into three parts, each under a distinct government; from whence, for the most part, there were in this city three factions, hating and thwarting each other as much as lay in their power. Former monarchs had seen and deplored this evil; but durst not attempt the removal of it, for fear of uniting against themselves those who never could agree in any other measure. Don Carlos proposed and accomplished it at once, in consequence of his never having shewn the least partiality for any of them, and by his offering to their acceptance a new constitution, favourable to them all. He knew that faction was the bane

[z] Mayerne Turquet. [a] Chronique de Navarre, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras. [b] Favin, Mayerne Turquet.

of

of all limited governments, and therefore removed all supports of it to the utmost of his power.

Obliged to make a new tour to France.

The war between the crown of Castile and the Moors of Granada gave the king of Navarre an opportunity of sending some of the most accomplished knights in his court to the assistance of his neighbour, under the command of the count De la Marche, his son-in-law, who carried with him into Andalusia a chosen corps of illustrious cavaliers. It is not likely that Don Carlos ever thought of making another journey into France; but the barbarous assassination of the duke of Orleans, by the order of John duke of Burgundy, excited such convulsions in the court and kingdom, that the queen and the rest of the princes of the blood sent a pressing invitation to the king of Navarre to come and assist them with his advice, as well as to add weight to their authority by his presence. He could not well refuse this request; and therefore, leaving the queen again regent, he went to Paris, where he was received with the utmost kindness and respect, and where he exerted his utmost abilities in support of the unfortunate Charles the Sixth, and his family. He was very instrumental in bringing about the two pacifications of Chartres and Bicestre; and in this last, when it was stipulated that all the princes of the blood should remain at a proper distance from the court, his brother Peter, count Mortain, was excepted [c]. One reason, probably, why such respect was paid to Don Carlos and Don Pedro in France, might be from their close alliance with England, where Henry the Fourth had married Donna Joanna, duchess-dowager of Britanny, their sister; yet they did not avail themselves at all of that alliance, otherwise than to promote the peace and safety of the kingdom. At length Don Carlos, understanding that his daughter Donna Blanch, queen of Sicily, was besieged by some seditious barons in a castle in that kingdom, he returned speedily into his own dominions, but so as to take Barcelona in his way; where he found an assembly of the states sitting, who paid him great honours, and promised to exert themselves powerfully on the behalf of his daughter [d]. He conferred also with Don Martin king of Arragon, their sovereign, who even then was apprehensive of troubles in his dominions, and to whom he promised powerful succours if ever they should be demanded, which promise he very honourably perform-

[c] Contin. Nangii, P. Daniel, Le Gendre. [d] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Zurita Annal. Arragon, Ferreras.

Digitized by Google

ed. After his return to Pampeluna, the duke of Benavente, who had been long a ſtate priſoner in Caſtile, made his eſcape, and took ſhelter in his dominions, where the king cauſed him to be arreſted; but directed that he ſhould be treated at the ſame time with great lenity and reſpect. This great man had been of queen Leonora's faction, a circumſtance which might induce him to hope the countenance of the court of Navarre; but Don Carlos, well acquainted with his turbulent behaviour, would not trouble the peace of his dominions for the ſake of ſuch a perſon[e]. He promiſed, therefore, that Don Frederic, duke of Benavente, ſhould be forthcoming, and delivered up to the king of Caſtile; which promiſe, however, was not performed till three years afterwards, and then upon certain aſſurances that he ſhould not be harſhly uſed, or queſtioned for this eſcape.

The death of queen Leonora.

It was in a great meaſure owing to his care that the neighbouring kingdom of Arragon was preſerved in ſome tolerable degree quiet during the interregnum, which happened on the death of the king Don Martin; and it was due to his friendly aſſiſtance, that the infant Don Ferdinand of Caſtile, came ſo peaceably as he did to the crown. Indeed, the attention and reſpect of Don Carlos was ſo great, not only to the affairs of his own country, but to thoſe of all the kingdoms round him; and his juſtice and moderation were ſo apparent, that though he interfered in many, if not moſt of their quarrels, yet he took part in none, but, by his good offices and authority, compoſed them all[f]. The long peace he had procured to Navarre, and the many amiable qualities of this prince, had ſo enriched, improved, and peopled his dominions, that he was far more powerful, and had a much more extenſive influence than any of his predeceſſors. One great and ſingular inſtance of his excellent temper was the harmony in which he lived with queen Leonora, notwithſtanding the reluctance ſhe had ſhewn in returning to him from the court of Caſtile; and this happy union continued to the time of her death, which fell out on the 27th of February, in 1415, at the new palace of Olita, from whence her corpſe was carried to Pampeluna, and there interred in the choir of the cathedral with all poſſible demonſtrations of ſorrow in the king and the nation in general[g]. Many

[e] Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [f] Favin, L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre. [g] Mariana, Ferreras.

expected,

Digitized by Google

expected, as he had no sons, the king would not have continued long a widower; but he was so good a father, and thought the succession so well settled, that it does not appear he thought of a second marriage.

Relieves the count de Foix.

John de Grailli, count de Foix, who had married the eldest daughter of the king Don Carlos, was at this time a widower, and without issue; a circumstance which rendered him very desirous of marrying her sister Donna Blanch, queen-dowager of Sicily. It might possibly be with this view, that in making his pilgrimage to Compostella, he took Olita in his way, and spent some time there with the king of Navarre, with whom he judged this business of the marriage to be so far advanced, that he had procured a dispensation from the pope; but while he was intent on his devotions at the tomb of St. James, his neighbour, the count de Armagnac invaded his dominions, and laid them waste with fire and sword [h]. He no sooner received advice of this outrage than he returned with all speed into Navarre, and solicited the king for his assistance, who generously assembled a body of forces, which, under the command of his natural son, Godfrey count de Cortes, he sent to the relief of the count. Having afterwards drawn together a superior army, he marched in person to join the count de Foix, and with him marched into the county of Armagnac, where, by way of reprisals, they committed great devastations [i]. One great reason of this measure was to prevent excursions of this kind in the neighbourhood of his dominions; and indeed the readiness with which he afforded succours to his allies, and the efficacy of those succours when afforded, contributed not a little to his spending the best part of his reign in peace. In the present case, this correction had so good an effect, that John count of Armagnac entered immediately into a negociation, and some years after married Donna Isabella, one of the king of Navarre's daughters, with whom he had a fortune of one hundred thousand crowns, which in those days was looked upon as an immense sum. A.D. 1418.

Donna Blanch espouses Don Juan of Castile.

In all disputes between the king Don Juan of Castile, and the king and infants of Arragon, who were also princes of his own house, the king of Navarre observed an exact neutrality, and interposed no otherwise than by his good offices. He acted with the like circumspection when the emperor Sigismund made a tour to Perpignan, sending

[h] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana, Chronique de Navarre. [i] Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

Digitized by Google

thither his son Godfrey, count of Cortes to compliment him; but would not enter into his scheme of settling the papacy farther than as it should prove consistent with the decree of a general council, being very attentive to prevent, as far as possible, any ecclesiastical or civil disputes from arising amongst his subjects. It was with this view that he acted with so great caution in the marriage of the queen of Sicily, who was to be his heiress; and whom he disposed of at length to the infant Don Juan of Arragon, the son of Don Ferdinand, and the brother of Don Alonso, kings of Arragon. By the contract of marriage this princess had four hundred and twenty thousand crowns by way of dowry; and it was farther stipulated, that in case her husband survived her, he should enjoy the crown during his life. These points being settled, and a dispensation obtained from pope Martin the Fifth, the infant Don Juan sent Don Diego Gomez de Sandoval, and the bishop of Calahorra, with his full powers to conclude the marriage; which was accordingly celebrated at Olita, on the
A.D.1419. 5th of November, to the entire satisfaction of the courts of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre [k].

The death of Don Carlos the Noble.

This great affair being discussed, Don Carlos began to indulge the natural bent of his inclination to magnificence, and the cultivation of the arts of peace; in which he succeeded so much the better, as all the kingdoms round him were in a state of confusion; so that men of abilities in all professions retired into Navarre, and became the ornaments of a court where politeness may be said to reign. On the 29th of May the queen Donna Blanch was delivered at Arevalo of a son, who was named Carlos in honour of his grandfather, and whose sponsors were Don Juan king of Castile, and at his request Don Alvaro de Luna [l], who was so intoxicated with this honour, that he was unacquainted with moderation ever after. As soon as the young prince was weaned, the good old monarch sent for him to court. Having erected that seigniory into a principality, he declared him prince of Viana, and heir of Navarre, with great solemnity, and by a law published the 20th of January, invested the heir appa-
A.D.1423. rent of the crown of Navarre with that title, and with the lands annexed to it for ever [m]. About five months after he obliged the states of the kingdom to acknowlege the

[k] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Zurita Annal. Arragon, Fernan Perez de Guzman, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [l] Chronique de Navarre. [m] P. Moret.

young

Digitized by Google

young Don Carlos in that quality. He had the satisfaction on the 9th of June, in the year following, to see his daughter delivered of the infanta Donna Blanch; but he was not so fortunate as he expected in his endeavours to prevent a rupture between the crowns of Arragon and Castile, which did not hinder him from pursuing, with indefatigable diligence, so good a design. On Saturday the 8th of September, 1425, he was seized with a fainting fit, in his palace at Olita, which was followed by an apoplexy that removed him from this life [n]. His daughter Donna Blanch was then with him, and caused his body to be buried in the cathedral church of Pampeluna, with all possible solemnity [o]. He was, says Ferreras, a prince equally illustrious by the nobleness of his sentiments and of his actions, and enjoyed the true felicity of a great king, that of being tenderly beloved by his subjects. He died in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his reign; and by his own order his body was interred by that of his deceased queen Leonora. His daughter, the queen Donna Blanch, after three days mourning, sent the royal standard of Navarre to the camp of the king of Arragon, where it was displayed for the infant Don Juan her husband.

SECT. V.

From the Accession of Don Juan and Donna Blanch of Navarre and Arragon, to the Union of the Crowns of France and Navarre, in the Person of Henry of Bourbon.

THE very beginning of the new reign was disturbed with suspicions. The nobility and clergy were not well pleased with sending the royal standard out of the kingdom, or with being constrained to acknowlege a foreign prince for their sovereign, before he had sworn to respect their privileges, and to maintain the liberties of the people, who speedily caught the same spirit of uneasiness; and when a nation is once generally indisposed, they are seldom, and with great difficulty, recovered. Queen Blanch quickly perceived this discontent, and

Accession of Donna Blanch and Don Juan of Castile to the kingdom of Navarre.

[n] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Favin, Mayerne Turquet. [o] Zurita Annal. Arragon. Chronique de Navarre.

Digitized by Google

therefore preſſed the king, as ſoon as the peace was made with Caſtile, to make a tour to Navarre, which he did; but he neither ſtaid long, nor took much pains to render himſelf agreeable [p]. He had great eſtates in Caſtile, where he himſelf and his brother enjoyed vaſt power; and, in conſequence of their cabals, held the king as it were in leading-ſtrings. In Arragon he met with the ſame kind of reſpect, being the brother and preſumptive heir of one of the moſt generous kings that ever reigned, himſelf very brave, much attached to his countrymen, and procuring them great eſtabliſhments in Caſtile, ſometimes by intereſt, and ſometimes by force [q]. He went, therefore, but by ſtarts into Navarre, where, finding himſelf more reſtrained, and his authority bounded by limits which he would not give himſelf the trouble to underſtand, he conceived a notion that he was great as a prince and little as a king, a conſideration which rendered him ſo cool and inattentive to their concerns, that it was near four years before he was crowned. At length this ceremony was
A.D. 1429. performed on the 15th of May, at Pampeluna, when he and his conſort took the uſual oaths; and, according to a cuſtom that had prevailed from the time of the Goths, the king and queen were expoſed to the public view of their ſubjects, each of them ſeated on a buckler, ſupported by the deputies from the principal towns in their dominions [r].

The death of the queen Donna Blanch.

The king of Arragon and his brother, in conjunction with the malecontents of Caſtile, having renewed the war againſt the monarch of that country, he in revenge commanded the people of Biſcay, and the adjacent provinces, to make irruptions into Navarre, where they committed terrible devaſtations. He likewiſe declared the king of Navarre, his brother the infant Don Henry, and their adherents, rebels; confiſcated all their eſtates; and, as the ſureſt way to reduce them, diſtributed thoſe eſtates amongſt the moſt potent of the nobility in Caſtile, a meaſure which had its effect, and at the ſame time mortified the people of Navarre extremely [s]. The conventions and treaties made from time to time between the princes of Arragon and Don Juan of Caſtile, ſubſiſted no longer than either their own or the intereſts of their reſpective

[p] Zurita Annal. Arragon, Garibay, L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre. [q] Favin, Chronique de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet, Zurita. [r] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras. [s] Fernan. Perez de Guzman, Mariana.

favourites

favourites directed. It was in pursuance of this maxim that the king of Navarre contracted his younger daughter Donna Leonora to Gaston de Foix; and we have an indubitable mark of the declension of this kingdom, in the fortune he gave her, which was fifty thousand crowns. A.D.1433.

The desire of aggrandizing his family induced the king of Navarre to accompany his brother into Italy, where he was taken prisoner in an engagement at sea, to the great grief of the queen his consort, and the astonishment of his subjects [t]. He was released either at the close of that, or the beginning of the next year, when he returned into Spain, with his head filled with new projects; in seeking to execute which, he exhausted the forces and the treasure of Navarre and Arragon. A.D.1435.

The hopes of his subjects in the first mentioned kingdom rested entirely on his son Don Carlos, prince of Viana; and it was to gratify their desires that he negotiated and concluded a marriage for him with the princess Anne, daughter to the duke of Cleves, and niece to the duke of Burgundy [u]. A.D. 1439.

He had before engaged his eldest daughter Donna Blanch to Don Henry, prince of Asturias; and being summoned to complete this marriage, he carried her with the queen his consort, and the greatest part of the nobility, to Valladolid, where, on the 15th of September, she was married to the infant Don Henry [w], with such pomp and rejoicings as till then had not been seen in Spain; notwithstanding which, this alliance began and ended in sorrow, Don Henry proving impotent, a circumstance which the strict honour and modesty of that princess induced her to conceal, till his own folly and fury exposed it. The ceremony was scarce over, before, through the intrigues of the king of Navarre, the prince put himself at the head of a party against his father; and the sense of these misfortunes, joined to the foresight of the consequences that were like to attend them, broke the heart of queen Blanch, who had remained in Castile from the time of the marriage, and who left all to her son Don Carlos; but with an express command not to assume the title of king, without the leave of his father. She deceased at Santa Maria de Nieva, April the 3d, 1441, in the sixteenth year of her reign, leaving her son about the age of twenty-one, and her daughter Donna Blanch about seventeen [x].

[t] Chronique de Navarre, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [u] Fatin, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Zurita. [w] Fernan. Perez de Guzman, [x] Alonso de Palencia.

Digitized by Google

The death of the princess of Viana.

The king, after the decease of his consort, though he retained that title, yet left the affairs of Navarre to be administered by the prince of Viana, who was very justly considered as the most amiable person of his rank in that age. He had a fine person, excellent parts, and having been educated by those great men, whom the virtues of his grandfather had invited to his court, he had a thorough tincture of all polite literature. He disapproved his father's measures in fomenting the troubles of Castile, more especially after his marriage with Donna Joanna, daughter of Don Frederic Enriquez, constable of Castile, purely with a view to unite him and the rest of the malecontent lords more closely to his party. He also disliked the seducing the prince of Asturias, his brother-in-law, from the duty he owed to the king his father; and it was upon these principles that when the king Don Juan of Navarre had caused some inroads to be made on the side of Navarre into Castile, chiefly by the Gascons in his pay, by whom some places were taken, the prince Don Carlos caused them immediately to be restored. He opposed, from the same motive, though he had a singular regard for the governor, his father's marching to the relief of the castle of Mauleon de Soule, in which he acted as an auxiliary to the crown of England against the French, being desirous, if it had been possible, to maintain a strict tranquility in Navarre, which he perceived to be the secret his grandfather used to render his dominions rich and flourishing, while a contrary conduct weakened and impoverished those of his neighbours. The king his father did not relish his advice; but on the contrary, instigated by his mother-in-law, began to look with an eye of suspicion on all his actions. About this time, that is on the 6th of April, died his consort the princess Anne of Cleves, at the castle of Olita, from whence her corpse was transferred to Pampeluna, and buried in the cathedral with all suitable ceremony, the king being present[y].

A.D. 1448.

Disputes between the king and his son.

The king of Navarre, partly from his own aversion to the king of Castile, and partly through the instigation of his queen, continued to practise every method possible to disturb the peace of that country, and to augment the misunderstandings in the royal family, which in the end, turned every way to his own disadvantage. His sisters, the queen-dowager of Portugal and the reigning queen

[y] Favin, Zurita, Chronique de Navarre, Ferreras.

Digitized by Google

of Caſtile, were removed by poiſon, his brother Don Henry was ſlain in the field, himſelf defeated after being amuſed with a fallacious treaty: his ſon-in-law, the prince of Aſturias, was taken entirely out of his hands, and reconciled to the king his father by the conſtable Don Alvaro de Luna, who ſo far merited his maſter's favour, as that by theſe expedients he delivered him from his difficulties, and put it in his power to revenge the injuries he had received from the king of Navarre, by ſending his ſon the prince of Aſturias to invade his dominions, and following him with a ſuperior army. Mariana and other Spaniſh hiſtorians ſuggeſt that this war was undertaken by the crown of Caſtile, in ſupport of Don Carlos, prince of Viana, againſt his father: whereas, in truth, their differences were ſo far from cauſing the commencement of the war, that they ſprang only out of the concluſion of it. The prince of Aſturias inclined at firſt to beſiege Viana; but finding that place well provided, he amuſed himſelf with taking ſome towns of leſs importance, till, upon joining his father, they concluded to inveſt Eſtella. If the prince of Viana had been a wicked man, and a thorough politician, he would certainly have remained quiet at Pampeluna; more eſpecially if he had maintained any intelligence with the Caſtilians, ſince the queen his mother-in-law was in the place, and if taken muſt have fallen into their hands: but he, as ſoon as the news reached them, demanded a ſafe-conduct, went to the camp of the king of Caſtile, and having concluded with him a treaty of neutrality for Navarre, engaged him and the prince his ſon to raiſe the ſiege, and to retire into their own dominions. The king of Navarre's refuſing to ratify this treaty, and with a body of troops from Arragon committing on the ſide of Navarre hoſtilities againſt Caſtile, occaſioned the breach between them, the prince of Viana thinking himſelf obliged to adhere to that treaty which his father diſapproved [z].

The prince defeated and taken priſoner.

But the great ſource of the war was the ſtate of the kingdom itſelf. Wealth, eaſe, and luxury had revived and nouriſhed that ſpirit of faction always too common in that country. The Beaumonts, at the head of whom was the conſtable of Navarre, adhered to Don Carlos: they perſuaded him that he had an immediate right to the kingdom; that it was his duty to maintain and exerciſe this right for the preſervation of his ſubjects, ſince the activi-

[z] Mariana, Zurita, Mayerne Turquet.

Digitized by Google

ty and intrigues of his father would otherwise exhaust and ruin it. The Gramonts, on the other hand, who had at their head the marquis de Cortes, a bastard of the royal blood, made their court to the king, by assuring him that he had a clear right to the crown during his natural life; that his measures were perfectly prudent, and would certainly be attended with success, if not counteracted by his son; and that the people of Navarre in general were very desirous of espousing his quarrel against Castile. Don Juan and Don Carlos were both princes of good qualities and shining abilities, and yet both imposed upon and misled by the insinuations of persons much inferior to them in all respects. This misunderstanding brought on a battle, in which the king's life was in the utmost danger; and at the close of which the prince of Viana was taken
A.D. 1452. prisoner by the king's natural son Don Alonso [a], who, notwithstanding, had a great affection for him; and Mariana assures us the prince was so sensible of it, and so much afraid of his mother-in-law's sinister designs, that he would take no food during the time of his confinement but from his brother [b], which precaution, well or ill founded, rendered her universally detested.

Released, but never truly reconciled.

The king Don Juan took great pains to secure the person of his son, sending him first to the castle of Tafalla, then to the fortress of Mallen, and from thence to that of Monroy [c]. These precautions served only to heighten suspicions, and to increase the jealousies of his subjects. The states of Navarre were the open partizans of the prince: his uncle the king of Arragon interposed in his behalf; and the states of that kingdom interceded for him with great warmth [d]. In Castile the prince of Asturias, who had long maltreated his wife, the king of Navarre's daughter, now to shew his hatred of him, procured a divorce, and sent home the princess Blanch, who being as ill treated by her mother-in-law as the prince Don Carlos, served to heighten the ill opinion the world entertained of that queen, which was but too strong before. At length Don
A.D. 1453. Juan, to satisfy the desires of all Spain, admitted of a treaty, by which his own revenues were to be restored to Don Carlos, those of the kingdom to be divided between them, and the prince restored to his liberty; which last article was executed after many delays, and with such re-

[a] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Zurita Annal. Arragon, Chronique de Navarre. [b] Historie Generale de Hispana.
[c] Mayerne Turquet. [d] Zurita Annal. Arragon.

luctancy

luctancy as ſhewed that the peace would not continue long. It would require ſome time and ſpace to point out the pretences on which the troubles of Navarre were renewed. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe to ſay, that they were no better than pretences; and that the ſeverity of the father on one ſide, the ambition of the ſon on the other, and the determined opinion of both that they were in the right, were the real motives which fruſtrated all negociations for a ſolid peace, and rendered them after every conference leſs diſpoſed to a reconciliation than they were before it. Beſides, the prince Don Carlos relied upon the affections of the people, who were in reality much attached to him, upon the good-will of the king of Caſtile, though in truth that proceeded only from hatred to his father, and the hopes that the ſtates of Arragon and Catalonia would interpoſe in his favour. On the other hand, the king Don Juan piqued himſelf upon his authority and experience; his military ſkill, as indeed he was a great captain; and his ability in managing political intrigues, in which he always took, and often followed the advice of his queen, who was a princeſs of great addreſs. A.D. 1454.

Progreſs of theſe diſputes.

At length the civil war broke out again in Navarre, where it had never been thoroughly compoſed. Thoſe of the prince's party began it by ſurpriſing St. Jean de Pie de Port, the king being then at a diſtance, a circumſtance which gave him an opportunity of ſubduing the beſt part of Navarre, the princeſs Blanch giving her brother all the aſſiſtance ſhe could [e]. Theſe hoſtilities provoked Don Juan to ſuch a degree, that, loſing all ſenſe of paternal tenderneſs, he eſtabliſhed ſuch a commiſſion as declared, upon the evidence he produced to them, that both the prince Don Carlos and the infanta Donna Blanch were guilty of high-treaſon, and incapable of ſucceeding. This ſtep once taken, he diſinherited both in the moſt ſolemn manner; and declared his younger daughter, and in her right the count de Foix, to whom ſhe was married, his heirs, appointing him general of his forces, and directing him to reduce Navarre [f]. To ſecure ſucceſs to this plan, he entered into a treaty with the French king Charles the Seventh, and procured his approbation of his conduct towards his ſon, which, perhaps, he might not have done if Charles had not been at this time upon very bad terms

[e] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Abarca, Mayerne Turquet. [f] Zurita, Chronique de Navarre.

with

Digitized by Google

with the dauphin, his heir apparent [g]. Next spring the count de Foix, having joined a corps of French and Arragonese troops to his own, entered Navarre, and by dint of superior force, defeated and dissipated the troops of Don Carlos; so that having put sufficient garrisons into Pampeluna, and other fortresses, which he committed to the principal lords of his party, and having recommended them to the protection of the king of Castile, he resolved to make a tour himself into France, and pass from thence into Italy. It is somewhat uncertain whether he had an audience of Charles the Seventh or not; but there is no doubt that he continued his journey to Rome, where he was treated with great kindness and respect by the pope; from whence he proceeded to Naples, in order to pay his respects to his uncle [h]. While he was thus employed, the king his father summoned the deputies of all the towns he held in Navarre to meet at Estella, where they confirmed the disposition the king had made, and declared his daughter Donna Leonora heiress of the kingdom [i]. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Pampeluna, and the other places in the interest of Don Carlos, proclaimed him king; which measure he did not at all approve, as not having force to support it. In this state of things, Don Alonso king of Arragon interposed, and prevented the count de Foix from subduing the kingdom, by engaging Don Juan to leave his concerns to the determination of his brother, as the prince of Viana had already done; on which Don Alonso declared all the proceedings against the prince and the infanta null and void [k]. It is very probable that through the prudence and probity of this monarch these disputes might have been composed; but before he was able to effect this aim, Don Alonso himself died, not in the most perfect terms of friendship with his nephew, on account of the offers that had been made him of the crown of Naples, by some malecontent lords, to the prejudice of his natural son Don Ferdinand, for whom he had the highest tenderness. On this account it was that he intimated to his nephew, that it would be prudent for him to retire into Sicily, where he remained some time, much to the mortification of his father, to whom that kingdom devolved, with the rest of the dominions of Arragon, from an apprehension

A.D. 1457.

[g] P. Daniel, Mezeray, Ferreras. [h] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Garibay, Mayerne Turquet. [i] Zurita Annal. Arragon. [k] Abarca.

that

Digitized by Google

that he would ſeize it as an equivalent for Navarre, of which he had declared Donna Leonora, counteſs of Foix, vice-queen, to the no ſmall diſſatisfaction of his ſubjects. But the prince freed him from theſe perplexities, by aſſuring him that he was ready to go into any part of his dominions he pleaſed, and reſide there as a private perſon for the future. A reſolution that would have been highly advantageous to both parties could either have been ſincere.

The deplorable death of the prince.

We have related elſewhere the manner and motives of his return into his father's dominions, and the tranſactions that followed thereupon; the two negociations for his marriage with a princeſs of Portugal, and the infanta Donna Iſabella of Caſtile; his being arreſted, after all the exterior marks of a thorough reconciliation with his father at Lerida; his being reſtored to his liberty by the inſurrection of the Catalans in his favour; the ceſſion of that principality, which his father was obliged to make; and his death within a ſhort ſpace after, on the 23d of December, in the year of our Lord 1461, and in the forty-firſt year of his age, whether of melancholy or of poiſon is very uncertain. He left behind him three natural children, two ſons and a daughter; the eldeſt, Don Philip, applied himſelf to arms, and was preferred and careſſed by his uncle Don Ferdinand, afterwards ſurnamed the Catholic; the younger, Don Juan Alonſo, became an eccleſiaſtic. As for the daughter, Donna Agnes de Navarre, ſhe eſpouſed the duke de Medina Cœli, who in her right would have laid claim to the kingdom of Navarre, pretending that the deceaſed prince had eſpouſed her mother; an aſſertion which, however, is not at all probable, ſince it is very certain the prince by his laſt teſtament called to the ſucceſſion of Navarre his ſiſter Donna Blanch, to whom of right it belonged [1]. His death was far from extinguiſhing the diſturbances that had been raiſed on his account. In Catalonia the people ſeemed diſpoſed to obey any ſovereign but their own in Navarre. The Caſtilians, under pretence of revenging the death of Don Carlos, committed horrid devaſtations; and the count de Foix, and his Gaſcons, who pretended to be in arms for Don Juan, did as much miſchief as they could to all whom they ſtyled rebels. Thus the country was depopulated and deſtroyed on every ſide; ſo that moſt of the improvements made by Don Carlos the Noble were buried

[1] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Zurita Annal. Arragon, Abarca.

in

Digitized by Google

in their own ruins. Don Juan, who had received this crown in its greateſt luſtre, and when the territories belonging to it were in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate, ſaw it now in the moſt low and languiſhing condition. He had even the mortification to hear his ſubjects almoſt univerſally aſcribe his misfortunes and their own to his ambitious and unquiet diſpoſition; to the unjuſt treatment his ſon had met with; and above all, to the intrigues of his queen, who was ſaid to have poiſoned her ſon-in-law; to have been ſtruck with a cancer as a judgment from heaven; and to have confeſſed this crime upon her death-bed, at which the king was ſo much ſhocked that he inſtantly quitted the room, and could never be prevailed upon to viſit her afterwards [m].

And of his ſiſter Donna Blanch.

But Don Carlos was not the only victim of theſe intrigues. The king Don Juan, finding himſelf ſo embarraſſed on all ſides, reſolved to deliver up the unfortunate Donna Blanch, his eldeſt daughter, into the power of her younger ſiſter; and under pretence of marrying her to Charles duke of Berry, he carried her by force over the Pyrenees. In her paſſage ſhe wrote a pathetic letter to Don Henry, king of Caſtile [n]. She afterwards made a ſolemn proteſt, that in caſe ſhe ſhould be obliged to renounce her juſt right to the ſucceſſion in favour of her ſiſter, or of her brother Don Ferdinand, ſuch renunciation ſhould be null and void, as being directly oppoſite to her intention, and extorted from her by violence. Some few days after ſhe made a full and a free ceſſion of all her rights to the kingdom of Navarre, in favour of Henry king of Caſtile, and his heirs, in conſideration of that conſtant protection which he had at all times afforded to her deceaſed brother and herſelf. After ſhe was delivered up ſhe was ſent to the caſtle of Orthes in Bearn, and there kept in cloſe cuſtody as a priſoner of ſtate by thoſe who ought to have conſidered her as their ſovereign. This wicked proceeding being attended with the moſt diſagreeable events, the king, either forced by the exigency of his affairs, or beginning to have a true ſenſe of the cruel uſage of his daughter, concluded a new treaty with the Beaumonts, who had always adhered to her and her brother's intereſt. He reſtored them to their eſtates and dignities, and undertook that his daughter Donna Blanch ſhould return into Navarre, and that the whole affair of the ſucceſſion ſhould

A.D. 1462.

[m] Chronique de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet, Zurita. [n] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Alonſo de Palencia, Mariana.

be

Digitized by Google

be regulated in an assembly of the states, to which settlement the count of Foix was to give his consent. But to prevent the effects of this treaty, the countess of Foix caused her sister to be poisoned in the place of her confinement, where she expired December the 2d, 1464.

New troubles in Navarre.

By this melancholy event the treaty before mentioned was entirely defeated, and things still remained in a very unsettled condition in this kingdom, while the rest of the dominions of Don Juan laboured under all the miseries of a civil war. However, Don Juan still kept the title, and in some measure the possession. At length the count de Foix, with the assistance of the Beaumonts, endeavoured to make himself master of Navarre by force of arms; but the Gramonts taking up arms on the behalf of the king, and receiving seasonable succours from him, soon brought the count to listen to an accommodation [o]. His son Don Gaston de Foix, for whose sake all these struggles were made, and who had married the princess Magdalen, sister to the king of France, went about this time to Bourdeaux, in order to assist at the mariage of the duke of Berry, where, in a tournament, the splinter of a lance struck him in the eye, of which accident he quickly died [p]. He left behind him a son, Francis Phœbus, and a daughter whose name was Catherine. The same year A.D. 1469. Donna Leonora, countess of Foix, held an assembly of the states at Tafalla, where a quarrel arose between the constable of Navarre and the bishop of Pampeluna, whose great familiarity with the countess had excited some indecent reports. The bishop, to prevent things from coming to extremity, retired to a convent; but the countess, importuning him to make her a visit, and sending some persons of distinction to accompany him, he was so imprudent as to venture out of his retreat, and was by the constable killed in his passage, an assassination which threw the whole kingdom into disorder, notwithstanding the author of this murder retired immediately into Arragon [q]; from whence, however, it was not long before he returned again in triumph.

Death of the count de Foix.

The countess Leonora had a very high spirit, and would willingly have shewn it by punishing severely such as had contemned her authority. Finding it impracticable to execute her desires by force, she pressed the king her father to put an end to these disorders, by consenting that

[o] Abarca, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Garibay. [p] Alonso de Palencia, Ferreras. [q] Mayerne Turquet.

the

the government should be entirely regulated at the will of the states, supposing that if she was once invested with the executive power, her designs might be easily accomplished. King Juan, who was exceedingly embarrassed at this time by the Catalans, supported by the French, accepted readily of this expedient; and the states being assembled at Olita, a regulation was settled, which consisted of thirteen articles; the title and the administration, when present, being reserved to the old king, and in his absence invested in the countess Leonora, who is styled heiress of Navarre, and infanta of Arragon and Sicily[r]. Provision was likewise made for the pacification and gradual extinction of those feuds which had so long distracted the kingdom. By degrees things might have been reduced into good order, but the countess Leonora was too much in haste; and having drawn the marshal of Navarre to her party, she attempted to surprise Pampeluna, which had been always in the hands of the Beaumonts, but in which the marshal of Navarre had some correspondence. The scheme succeeded so far, that the marshal found admittance with fifty or sixty young gentlemen of family, but they discovered themselves too soon, and the inhabitants taking arms, they were reduced in the place to which they fled for shelter, and, contrary to the capitulation they had made, were massacred to a man[s]. This incident added fresh fuel to the countess's resentment, who began to raise forces with great diligence; and pressing her husband to come and assume the command, he passed the Pyrenees with a considerable force; but what the event of this irruption might have been we cannot say, since the count died of a fever before he undertook any thing, and was buried in the church of Orthes in Bearn, in the month of August, 1472[t]. The unexpected death of her husband so much disturbed Donna Leonora's projects, that she was unable to do any thing this year, a circumstance which gave the faction of the Beaumonts time to fortify all the places that were in their hands; and this opportunity they took care not to lose.

And of the king Don Juan.

The countess, still bent on establishing her authority, and punishing those who had last offended her, turned herself on every side, and solicited succours from every quarter; but this manner of proceeding, instead of quiet-

[r] Garibay, Ferreras, Zurita. [s] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet. [t] Mariana.

ing

ing, increaſed the diſtractions of Navarre, and made the weakneſs of the government ſtill more apparent. At length, when ſhe had few places remaining, when all her power depended upon a military force, which ſhe was unable to pay, and which had ſo waſted the country that it could not pay herſelf, and that her revenue was come to nothing, ſhe applied to her father king John of Arragon, and her brother Don Ferdinand of Caſtile, who interpoſed to no great purpoſe; but who at length had a meeting with her at Vittoria, on purpoſe to diſcuſs theſe matters thoroughly. There Don Ferdinand inſiſted, that the only poſſible method of putting an end to theſe quarrels was to reconcile the parties, and grant an indemnity to all, which had always been the opinion of his father, and which at length prevailed. The counteſs Donna Leonora was very little ſatisfied with this interview, notwithſtanding her own adminiſtration was ſupported, and the ſucceſſion of her children ſecured [u]. She knew the count de Lerin had married Donna Leonora of Arragon, her natural ſiſter. She apprehended that the Beaumonts had demanded and obtained the protection of Don Ferdinand; and that, in conſequence of this pacification, her views would be for ever defeated, her favourites remain unrewarded, and thoſe who had oppoſed her unpuniſhed, which was a reflection ſhe could not bear. The violence of her temper, and her inability to conceal it, as it cauſed, ſo it increaſed her misfortunes; for the diſtaſte ſhe ſhewed to her brother hindered her receiving any longer the penſion paid her from the treaſury of Caſtile, ſo that ſhe was obliged to ſell part of her jewels to ſubſiſt the houſhold, rather than the court, ſhe kept in the caſtle of Tafalla. In this ſituation her affairs ſtood, when her father, worn out with years and infirmities, breathed his laſt at Barcelona, on Tueſday the 19th of January, 1479 [w]. His circumſtances were yet worſe than her's, ſince the very moveables of his palace were ſold to diſcharge the expences of his funeral, which were far from being conſiderable. In the midſt of this poverty he directed many foundations, and other works of coſt, by his will, which were punctually performed by his ſon Don Ferdinand the Catholic, to whom he left all the reſt of his dominions, except the kingdom of Navarre, which indeed was not his

[u] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Hernando de Pulgar, Garibay, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

[w] Zurita Annal. Arragon.

Digitized by Google

to leave, and which had suffered more under his reign than under the feeblest of its monarchs.

Short reign of queen Leonora.

Leonora, countess of Foix, was immediately proclaimed queen, on the certain advice of her father's death. It was an event she had long and earnestly expected, and which she flattered herself would have put an end to all the inconveniences to which she had been for so many years exposed. But it came too late; for chagrin had made so great an impression, that this pompous title produced no effect. She had scarce time to know she was a queen before that disease which her grief had produced, removed her out of this life after a reign of twenty-two days [x]. She expired on the 10th of February, and by her will recommended the care of her grand-children to their father's relations; that is, in effect, to the crown of France, without mentioning her brother Don Ferdinand. This princess had a numerous posterity, of whom it is necessary to speak, as it will throw light on various parts of our history. Of these there were four sons and five daughters. Don Gaston bore the title of prince of Viana, slain at a tournament, as we have before mentioned, as some say by the hand of Charles duke of Berry, in honour of whose marriage it was celebrated. John de Foix, lord of Narbonne, which his father purchased for him. He left two children, the famous Gaston de Foix, who was killed at the battle of Ravenna, where he was generalissimo of the army of Lewis the Twelfth; and Germana de Foix, who became the consort of Ferdinand the Catholic. Peter de Foix, the third son of this princess, was an ecclesiastic, and honoured by pope Sixtus the Fourth with the purple. James, the youngest, bore the title of count de Cortes, distinguished himself in the profession of arms, and was esteemed one of the bravest men, and one of the greatest captains of his age. The princess Mary espoused William marquis of Montferrat. Joanna married John count of Armagnac. Margaret became the consort of Francis the Second, duke of Bretagne, by whom she had two daughters, Anne and Isabel; the former shared the bed of Charles the Eighth and Lewis the Twelfth, kings of France. The princess Catherine married Gaston de Foix, count of Candale, by whom she had two sons and a daughter, Anne, who married Ladislaus, king of Hungary; the youngest, Leonora, who was promised to the duke de Medina Cœli, but died

A. D. 1479.

[x] Zurita Annal. Arragon, Garibay, Abarca, Chronique de Navarre, Mariana.

unmarried.

Digitized by Google

unmarried. It has been remarked, that there were four queens of this house, cousin-germans to each other, living at a time; viz. Catherine of Navarre, Germana of Castile and Arragon, Anne of France, and Anne of Bohemia and Hungary; but this at a juncture when it was far from being happy.

Francis Phœbus king of Navarre.

Francis Phœbus, count of Foix, lord of Bearn, and of various other places, was immediately acknowleged sovereign of Navarre, upon the decease of his grandmother [y]. He had just entered into the twelfth year of his age; and as he had received the name of Phœbus from his exquisite beauty, so he might be said to deserve it no less for the qualities of his mind, since all writers agree that he was the most capable and best educated prince of that age, his mother the princess Magdalen of France having been extremely attentive to whatever concerned his health, and his uncle the cardinal having caused him to be constantly instructed in his presence; but notwithstanding the clearness of his right, and the lustre of his birth, as being nephew to the monarch of France, and grand-nephew to the king of Castile and Arragon, he had nothing more than the title of king of Navarre, the Beaumonts and the Gramonts being in full possession of all the places of any strength or consequence in that country, except those in the hands of king Ferdinand, who held them by no better title. But this monarch coming to Saragossa, in order to receive the homage of his hereditary subjects, the cardinal of Foix and his brother prince James went thither to confer with him, and to intreat his interposition for calming those troubles that had so long distracted a kingdom in which he had so great an interest. The king received them with great civility, and treated them with much candour. He observed, that severity could only render things worse; that where all were equally to blame, and none could well be punished, a general pardon was the safest and the speediest means of reducing things to order; that, having published this, they would do well to go into Navarre, and try to the utmost what fair means would do, promising to give them all the countenance he could, and if this failed, to assist them with his forces [z]. They went accordingly into Navarre, and held an assembly of the states, where they met with a better reception than they expected. The deputies from the cities and

y L'Histoire de Royaume de Navarre, Garibay, Mayerne Turquet. z Hernando de Pulgar, Zurita, Abarca.

Digitized by Google

towns told them plainly, that the source of their misfortunes was the absence of their sovereigns, which rendered some men very considerable, who were otherwise of no great account; that even now the friends of mutiny and faction were but few; and that though the great lords with-held the cities from each other, yet none of them could with-hold them from the king, as to whose title there was no question. Upon this declaration the two princes returned, and demanded once more the sentiments of Don Ferdinand, who approved entirely the advice given them by the states, adding, the young king ought to bring with him a good force to act with spirit, but to speak with mildness. All things were quickly regulated after their return to Bearn; from whence the young king, in company with his mother, his uncles, and a small but well appointed army, entered his hereditary dominions. It is said, and very probably with truth, that the count de Lerin was far from being well pleased at his arrival; however he went to meet him, and found him so well accompanied, that he held it expedient to deliver up Pampeluna, which he did with great expressions of loyalty; and the king having made his public entry into it on the 3d, was crowned on the 6th of November, with the universal acclamation of all his subjects [a].

A.D. 1481.

Happy and beloved at his accession.

As soon as this ceremony was performed, he visited all the considerable places in the kingdom, accompanied by such a force as hindered any difficulty of his obtaining possession. He likewise made a strict enquiry into the government, and how the laws were carried into execution: all which offices he performed with a gravity so much superior to his age, that the great lords were astonished, and people received him as a king sent from heaven. This conduct was very unusual in a minority, the king acting in person, while all the grants and other instruments ran in the name of his mother, who styled herself Magdalen, sister and daughter of France, princess of Viana, and tutoress to her well-beloved son Francis Phœbus, by the grace of God king of Navarre. This bright scene was but of short duration. This excellent young monarch was under the eye of two of the most artful and subtle monarchs that perhaps ever reigned, Lewis the Eleventh of France and Don Ferdinand the Catholic. Family and inclination bound his mother blindly to the former; whereas his interest, and consequently her's, should have

[a] Zurita, Annal. Arragon, Mariana, Ferreras.

swayed

ſwayed them to the latter. Don Ferdinand propoſed to him, or rather to his mother, the marriage of Donna Joanna, who was afterwards the heireſs of all his dominions, and at the ſame time propoſed to contract the princeſs Catharine to his ſon the infant Don Juan. If this had taken effect Navarre would have been abſolutely ſecure, and the young king might have availed himſelf of the wiſdom and power of their catholic majeſties, and of the proſperity which they derived from both. On the other hand, the French monarch propoſed a match with the unfortunate Donna Joanna, daughter to Henry the Impotent, king of Caſtile, then in Portugal, which muſt have been attended with a long war, to which the force of Navarre was by no means equal; though the young king, by threatening death to any who attempted to revive the factions of Beaumont and Gramont, and the like puniſhment for the ſounding a trumpet, or exciting a tumult, had brought his dominions into a ſurpriſing degree of order and obedience [b].

Sudden and ſuſpected death.

The principal nobility of Navarre, and more eſpecially the count de Lerin, who it was found abſolutely neceſſary to confirm in the office of conſtable, which he had taken upon himſelf, preſſed the marriage with great warmth, probably from a motive of intereſt; but, from whatever motive it was, they offered unanſwerable reaſons in its favour. On the other hand, the French ambaſſador, and all of his faction, amuſed the princeſs-regent with the viſionary hopes of raiſing her ſon to the throne of Caſtile, by a confederacy then upon the carpet between Lewis the Eleventh of France, the king of Portugal, and other princes. To rid herſelf therefore, of theſe importunities, or perhaps that ſhe might have the young king and his ſiſter more immediately in her power, ſhe reſolved to carry them back into Bearn, though diſſuaded from this ſtep by all the old and wiſe counſellors of Navarre. Immediately after their return to Pau, the uſual reſidence of the court, the king began to decline; and, on the 30th of January, 1483, breathed his laſt, and was buried in the cathedral church of Leſcar. All hiſtorians agree, that there were very ſtrong ſuſpicions of poiſon; and ſome relate, that being much addicted to muſic, the young king complained, that he was never well after putting a new flute to his mouth; yet the phyſicians could determine no-

A.D. 1483.

[b] Hernando de Pulgar, Chronique de Navarre, l'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre, Garibay. Zurita, Abarca.

Digitized by Google

thing as to his disease, which consisted altogether in an inward wasting, without any exterior symptoms; but what contributed most to the report was, that he said often to those about him, "My kingdom is not of this world." He was sincerely regretted by his subjects, and with great reason; for as they had the most pleasing expectations from his genius, capacity, and strong sense of justice, so they foresaw very clearly that by his death their former troubles would be revived; in which expectation they were far from being mistaken; for the count de Lerin had no sooner informed their catholic majesties of this melancholy event, than Don Juan de Ribeyra was sent with a strong corps of troops to support the count, who had repossessed himself of Pampeluna and other places [c].

Catharine queen of Navarre.

Donna Catharine de Foix was immediately declared queen of Navarre, upon the decease of her brother; but the princess Magdalen her mother quickly found that the perplexities which she before thought intolerable were now increased. Doctor Maldenado was sent from their catholic majesties to condole with her on the death of her son, and to press the marriage of her daughter with the infant Don Juan, heir-apparent of their catholic majesties, as the only means to extinguish the factions which were again revived in Navarre; and to protect the young queen against the viscount de Narbonne, who pretended to be the heir male of the family of Foix [d]. The princess, determined to support the interests of France at the expence of her daughter as well as her son; after professing a deep sense of the honour done her, told him that Navarre was a country which must be governed by men; that this consideration compelled her to think of marrying her daughter without delay, and would not suffer her to have any thoughts of their catholic majesties heir, who was but an infant. The Spanish minister, who was both an able and an honest man, told her plainly what he thought of her measures, and of her reasoning; remarked the change of affairs in France by the death of her brother; the certainty of keeping all things quiet till the prince of Asturias was of age, if she consented to the marriage; and the great risk she must run in disposing of the queen her daughter without the consent of the states of Navarre, purely to gratify the court of France, who, though they

[c] Zurita Annal. Arragon, Garibay, Mariana, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. [d] Hernando de Pulgar, Mayerne Turquet.

might

might promise, would find it difficult to grant her sufficient assistance.

All this reasoning had no effect on the princess Magdalen, any more than the viscount of Narbonne's entering by force into the county of Foix, of which he reduced the greatest part. It only taught her to see the necessity of marrying the young queen without delay, a notion which operated upon her so strongly, that, at the instance of the court of France, she concluded a marriage for that young princess in the month of January, with Jean d'Albert, son to Alan d'Albert, count de Perigord, Limoges, Dreux, &c. and, notwithstanding the town of Tudela declared they would put themselves under the protection of their catholic majesties, in case she married her daughter without the consent of the states, it was celebrated at Orthes on the 14th of June following [e], and the lord of Abenas, uncle to the new married prince, was declared viceroy of Navarre, where the faction of the Gramonts professed themselves extremely loyal to their queen. By their assistance he governed so much of that country as acknowleged the queen's authority, with much prudence and moderation: the rest the count de Lerin governed with almost as great authority as if he had been king, under the protection of their catholic majesties, who justified this behaviour chiefly from political motives, alleging that Navarre was the gate of Spain; and that in common prudence they were bound to keep it shut against the French, who with-held from them the county of Rousillon, and were disposed to let no opportunity slip of giving them trouble [f]. It was not long before Jean d'Albert and his consort found themselves under a necessity of seeking the friendship of Don Ferdinand. Their affairs on both sides the Pyrenees were so miserably distressed, and during the nonage of Charles VIII. the government was so little disposed in their favour, or rather shewed such a visible partiality for the male line of the house of Foix, that, how unwillingly soever, they were constrained to apply themselves to the catholic king, who might have found many pretences, either to complete the conquest of their kingdom, or have abandoned it to the ambition of a few great lords; who, dividing it as their influence and alliance directed, would have held it under his protection.

Jean d'Albert king in her right.

A.D. 1484.

[e] Zurita Annal. Arragon, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Garibay. [f] Hernando de Pulgar, Chronique de Navarre, Mariana.

Digitized by Google

Don Ferdinand received these applications very civilly, and kindly assured them he was by no means desirous of giving any countenance to their enemies, or of depriving them of their dominions; that, on the contrary, he would do for them whatever they could reasonably desire, as having nothing more at heart than to see them peaceably in possession of their hereditary dominions, and freed from all the difficulties to which their family had been so long exposed. In a small time after they renewed their addresses, by Alan d'Albert, father-in-law to the queen, who was at this time in arms against the French king, and who came to Valencia to demand succours for himself and his confederates, the duke of Bretagne and the duke of Orleans, and protection for his son. Don Ferdinand told him, that he was about to undertake the war of Granada, which hindered him from doing all he asked; but that he was ready to assist him to the utmost of his
A.D. 1488. power. To shew he was in earnest, he directed a squadron to be fitted out in Biscay for his service; ordered Don Juan de Ribeyra to restore all the places he had taken in Navarre, and at the same time declared that kingdom under his protection[g]; a declaration which was of very great consequence at this juncture.

Differences with Don Ferdinand. The kingdom of Navarre, though secured from foreign invasions by this compromise with Castile, was not entirely free from domestic discord; the factions that had torn it so long raging still, though not with so great violence as in times past. At length the queen and her consort were prevailed upon, by the earnest sollicitation of the states, to pass the mountains and fix their residence at Pampeluna, where they were received with great pomp, proclaimed, and, after taking the usual oaths, crowned king
A.D. 1494. and queen of Navarre, on the 10th of January, in the presence of many prelates and great lords, and of Don Juan and Don Pedro de Silva, their catholic majesties ambassadors[h]. In the month of April they sent the baron de Lautrec, and other deputies, to renew the alliance made with the king of Castile; by which the king and queen of Navarre promised to keep the entrances of Navarre in such a manner that no troops should be able to pass, and not to give any assistance whatever to the enemies of his catholic majesty. On the other hand, Don Ferdinand took them for his true friends and allies, and

[g] Garibray, Zurita Annales Arragon, Mayerne Turquet.
[h] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Ferreras.

swore,

Digitized by Google

swore, in the presence of the ambassadors, that no injury should be offered to their subjects, either in the kingdom of Navarre or lordship of Bearn [i]. Next year the war breaking out between the crowns of France and Castile, the queen of Navarre went to Alfaro on the frontiers, where she had an interview with their catholic majesties, where these promises were on both sides renewed. In virtue of this agreement, the kingdom of Navarre did not suffer in the least during the course of that war; and after the peace the harmony between the crowns seemed to subsist in the same cordial manner [k]: however, some persons having suggested to the king and queen, that this neutrality had been of so great consequence to their catholic majesties that they had reason to expect some ample gratification, they were prevailed upon to send two ecclesiastics ambassadors into Castile, to demand all the lordships and estates that had been possessed by the king Don Juan, as infant of Castile, should be restored to them. Don Fernand heard this demand very calmly, and returned them for answer, that those estates had been justly forfeited, and long ago united to the crown [l], and afterwards granted to other subjects, so that the restitution was impossible; but that if it had been otherwise, he himself and not they was intitled to all the estates in Castile belonging to that prince. This rash measure, and their forcing the count de Lerin to quit Navarre, occasioned such a misunderstanding, as induced the king Jean d'Albert, who perceived he had pushed this matter too far, to make a step on the other side, which was still more extraordinary; for he went in person to Seville, to assure Don Ferdinand that notwithstanding his reconciliation to the French court, his intentions were entirely upright with regard to the crown of Castile. The catholic king treated him with great magnificence [m]; endeavoured to reconcile him to his brother-in-law the count de Lerin, or, in case that was impracticable, offered to give that nobleman, whom he had created marquis of Huesca, an equivalent for his lands in Andalusia, and a large sum to the king of Navarre to consent to this bargain. At his first arrival this prince had lodgings assigned him in the royal palace; and, to prevent giving him umbrage, the count de Lerin was forbid to enter it; yet

[i] Hernando de Pulgar, Chronique de Navarre. [k] Garibay, Mariana. [l] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Zurita, Mayerne Turquet. [m] Garibray, Hernando de Pulgar.

knowing

Digitized by Google

knowing him to be a very wise man, the king of Navarre upon this proposition desired he might take his advice. At this interview the constable count de Lerin told him, that lands and fortresses could have no price; for that whatever sum he received would in time be spent, while the places remaining to the crown of Castile would
A.D. 1500. prove a perpetual curb to him and his successors. The king not only took his advice, but received him into favour; invited him to return into Navarre, which invitation not long after he accepted of, the peace being renewed[n]: but their broils broke out again, and ended, as might have been easily foreseen, in the ruin of both parties.

Renewed unseasonably by the king of Navarre.

About four years after this transaction, the king and queen of Navarre sent the governor of Pampeluna into Castile, to renew their pretensions to the estates of their ancestor, as having been settled by the marriage-contract with queen Blanch, on the issue of that marriage. Don Ferdinand gave them a general answer; and, as a proof of his regard for their interest, offered them his grand-daughter Donna Isabella for their son Henry, prince of Viana, an offer which they accepted with joy; but from which they afterwards disengaged themselves[o]. When the archduke Philip took the title of king of Castile, the king of Navarre entered into an alliance with him, and upon his demise opposed to the utmost the recalling Don Ferdinand to the regency. When he discovered this effort to be ineffectual, he solicited the emperor Maximilian to bring Don Carlos into Spain, and offered him a passage with his army through his dominions[p]. To shew how much he was in earnest, and to render himself entirely master at home, he raised an army; and, after a brisk war, having dispossessed the count de Lerin of every fortress he had in the kingdom, he drove him to take shelter in Arragon. After this success, he began to fortify his frontiers, to increase the number of his forces, and to enter into negociations with Lewis XII. of France, that he might not only be in a condition to defend himself, but also become formidable to his neighbours, believing that the fatigues and infirmities of Don Ferdinand, and the many arduous affairs he had upon his hands, would hinder his giving him any disturbance. He was the more confirmed in this opi-

[n] Mariana, Chronique de Navarre. [o] Zurita Annal. Arragon, Ferreras. [p] Garibay, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Mariana.

nion,

Digitized by Google

nion, by reaſon that his old antagoniſt Lewis de Beaumont, count de Lerin, conſtable of the kingdom, was dead in Arragon, and his counteſs alſo, who was ſiſter to Don Ferdinand [q]: but he did not conſider that the ſon of the conſtable, and many other perſons of diſtinction, who adhered to the faction of the Beaúmonts, were received and carreſſed by the catholic king. He alſo promiſed himſelf much from that affability and familiarity with which he lived, in reſpect to the nobility and perſons of diſtinction at Pampeluna, which produced indeed, ſo long as fortune ſeemed to favour him, an appearance of general and deep affection; but in reality, as his queen told him, leſſened him ſo much in their opinion, that they looked upon him rather as plain Jean d'Albert, than as king of Navarre.

Who is by him diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions in the ſpace of a few days.

The ſucceſs of Don Ferdinand's arms in Italy, his alliance with England, and the obligation he had thereby laid himſelf under of transferring the war into France, all pointed to the great deſign which he had been long meditating, of conquering, or in plain terms, uſurping the kingdom of Navarre, for which he made all the neceſſary preparations, almoſt without ſuſpicion. As ſoon as this was accompliſhed, he acquainted the king of Navarre, that, intending to paſs through his dominions with an army into France, he expected that Eſtella, St. Jean Pie de Port, and ſome other places, ſhould be put into his hands [r]; which propoſition the king rejected, but endeavoured ſeveral times to enter into a negociation on milder terms, in which Don Ferdinand ſoothed him till his general Don Frederic de Toledo, duke of Alba, in the month of July, entered his dominions with a numerous army, A.D.1512. well provided with all things, advancing directly towards Pampeluna. The king being informed that Lewis de Beaumont, ſon to the old conſtable, commanded the vanguard, and perceiving that he had a ſtrong party among the inhabitants, altered the reſolution he had formed of defending that place to the laſt extremity, determining to quit Navarre, and retire into France, with which ſcheme, though very unwillingly, queen Catharine was forced to comply [s]. Pampeluna, and ſeveral other ſtrong places, opened their gates; and, upon a promiſe that their privileges ſhould be preſerved, ſubmitted. The king being informed of this event, ſent to the duke of Alba to demand

[q] P. Daniel, Mezeray, Mayerne Turquet. [r] Garibay, Mariana. [s] Zurita Annal. Arragon, P. Daniel, Mezeray.

con-

conditions. His answer was, that upon delivering up his kingdom till Don Ferdinand should think fit to restore it, and sending the prince of Viana as a hostage, he might make his peace. The king rejected the terms, in which he was certainly right; but Don Ferdinand sending a minister to confer with him, he arrested and delivered him up to the French, a step which was apparently wrong: he quickly saw it, and procured him to be set at liberty; but then it was too late, and Don Ferdinand took occasion from thence to refuse to treat with him at all [t]. His queen is also said to have told him, that if she had been John, and he Catharine, they would have lived and died king and queen of Navarre: the unfortunate are always upbraided!

An unsuccessful attempt by king John.

On the other hand, the French, amazed at this sudden conquest, suspected, or pretended to suspect, that the king of Navarre acted in concert with the Spaniards, and had betrayed his country instead of losing it; a suspicion which obliged that unfortunate king to go to Paris, where, having convinced king Lewis that his only crime consisted in his confidence in the justice of his catholic majesty, and the loyalty of his own subjects, the French army that was then assembling on the frontiers was ordered to proceed, and the duke de Valois, afterwards king Francis I. was directed to place king John again upon his throne [u]. That monarch himself, with a body of six thousand of his own troops, forced a passage through the vallies, and entered Navarre, where a great part of the country revolted in his favour, and he actually laid siege to Pampeluna, though at length he was constrained to raise it [w]. The advanced season of the year, want of provisions, the superior capacity of the duke of Alba, the misunderstandings between the dukes of Bourbon and Longueville, and king Ferdinand's sending a fresh army into Navarre, under the command of the duke de Najara, were the causes that obliged king John to retreat, and not any want either of courage or capacity in him, for he gave great marks of both in the course of this campaign. Next year he was in a great measure left to himself, the French finding it requisite for their affairs to make a truce: as a mark of their punctuality and good faith, they ordered the forces that king John had raised in their territories to disband,

[t] Pet. Martyr Angler. Antonio de Nebrixa. Royaume de Navarre, P. Daniel, Mezeray. Arragon, Garibay, Mariana.

[u] L'Histoire du

[w] Zurita Annal.

by

Digitized by Google

by which means he loſt the fortreſs of Moya, the only place of conſequence that held out for him in his dominions; and the death of Lewis XII. which happened on the firſt day of the next year, hindered him from being able to make any conſiderable effort: yet he made the beſt preparations for it in his power. He held ſome correſpondences in Navarre, though the far greater part of the nobility had been flattered, or forced to yield obedience to Don Ferdinand the Catholic, and his daughter Donna Joanna, upon promiſe that the rights of the kingdom ſhould be ſecured, and their particular privileges preſerved.

The annexing Navarre to Caſtile.

One of the laſt actions of the catholic monarch's life was, to engage the ſtates of Caſtile to annex or incorporate Navarre, ſo as to remain for ever indiviſible from their crown, without the ſpecification of any, ſave the ancient rights. He pretended, however, various titles, and applied them variouſly as his occaſions required. Sometimes he derived his title from his wife Germana de Foix, which title muſt have been of very quick growth, ſince it aroſe from the death of her brother Gaſton de Foix, duke of Nemours, ſlain in the month of April, the invaſion being made in the month of July. But the truth was, that Catharine queen of Navarre had very large eſtates in Catalonia; theſe king Ferdinand ſeized, and gave to his wife Germana, who, as he ſaid, was the ſole heireſs of the houſe of Foix; but if it was true that ſhe could be heireſs to her brother Don Gaſton, then that rule would hold with reſpect to the queen of Navarre; and her brother Francis Phœbus, and Catharine, ſole heireſs of the houſe of Foix, upon Ferdinand's own ſhewing. Sometimes the pope's ſentence[x], by which John and Catharine were deprived of their dominions, was pleaded for a juſt ground of conqueſt; but then this bull of deprivation was never ſeen, and if it ever exiſted, was granted after the conqueſt was made; but the truth is, that Ferdinand had two irreſiſtable titles, a long head, and a long ſword; and if juſtice will not admit of theſe, then the ſeizing and keeping the kingdom of Navarre is a plain and flagrant uſurpation; and indeed in that light it has been generally and juſtly conſidered.

Death of the king and queen in exile.

After the death of Don Ferdinand the Catholic, the unfortunate king of Navarre made another attempt; but the marſhal of Navarre, who was at the head of it, was ſurpriſed, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction were

[x] Antonio Nebrixa, Garibay, Zurita, Mariana.

taken

Digitized by Google

taken priſoners; and this defeat is ſaid to have afflicted the king ſo much, that he died chiefly of chagrin, in the month of June, 1516[y]. His queen ſurvived him about eight months; but the exact time of her death does not appear. They had in all fourteen children, of which it will be neceſſary only to mention four. Henry ſucceeded them in all their claims, as well as in their eſtates; Charles died in Italy, a youth; Anne eſpouſed the count of Candale; and Iſabel became the conſort of the count de Rohan, in Bretagne. Both directed that their bodies ſhould be depoſited only in the cathedral of Leſcar, in order to their being afterwards removed to Pampeluna, when it ſhould be recovered by their poſterity, to whom, notwithſtanding their misfortunes, they left a great patrimony, compoſed of the eſtates belonging to the two ancient families of Foix and Albert, what was left of the equivalents given for the counties of Champagne and Brie, and ſome fragments of the realm of Navarre[z].

Henry II. king of Navarre.

Henry II. king of Navarre, as he is ſtyled, was about fourteen, when, upon the death of his mother, he aſſumed that title, under the protection of Francis I. who, by the concluſion of the treaty of Nojon with the archduke Charles, apprehended he had laid a good foundation for the reſtitution of that realm to the houſe of Albert; but after Charles became king of Spain, and was ſolicited to the performance of it by a ſolemn embaſſy from king Francis, he returned only general anſwers, which ſerved to keep the French in ſuſpence, and himſelf in ſecurity[a]. We have ſhewn in the hiſtory of that regency, which took place on the death of Don Ferdinand, what method was taken for the preſervation of Navarre, and upon what motives all the famous fortreſſes in that kingdom were diſmantled and demoliſhed, excepting Pampeluna, and one or two more. This was certainly a very wiſe courſe for preventing inſurrections in a country where every town, and almoſt every village, was divided into factions; but it laid the kingdom open to foreign invaſions, more eſpecially in the ſituation things were in; and they had a prince at the back of the Pyrenees, who, in the opinion of all the world, had a juſt claim to the crown. When, therefore, the kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon were perplexed by the inſurrection of the commons, Andrew de Foix, lord of Eſparre, having made

[y] Pet. Martyr Angler. Prudencio de Sandoval. [z] L'Hiſtoire du Royaume de Navarre. [a] P. Daniel, Mezeray.

himſelf

Digitized by Google

himself master of St. Jean de Pie de Port, entered Navarre with a French army. Finding the people well affected towards their natural sovereign, he advanced directly to Pampeluna, which opened its gates, and in the space of a very few days the best part of the kingdom was recovered, and the army of the lord de Esparre augmented in such a manner, that he ventured to invest Logrogno [b]. But the duke of Najara, the Spanish viceroy, having by this time received reinforcements of old troops from different parts of the kingdom, obliged the French to raise the siege. They continued their retreat into the neighbourhood of Pampeluna, where, upon some intelligence of a disorder in the Spanish army, the French general took a resolution to fight; and though he behaved with great courage, and was well seconded by his troops, yet A.D. 1521. the superiority of numbers carried it, and his army being entirely defeated, and himself, as some writers say, taken prisoner, Pampeluna, and the rest of Navarre was recovered in as short a time as it was lost, and the hopes of king Henry were entirely disappointed [c]. He attended king Francis into Italy, and was taken prisoner with him at the battle of Pavia, but found means to make his escape [d]. He espoused the year following the princess Margaret, widow of Charles count of Alençon, only sister of Francis I. by whom he became the father of the princess Joanna, who in his life-time espoused Anthony Bourbon, duke of Vendosme. King Henry survived to the year 1555, and then deceased in his palace of Pau, in Bearn, in the fifty-third year of his age. The emperor Charles V. had tried every method to obtain from him a resignation of his title to Navarre, but without effect, though he did him the justice to own he merited that title as well as any prince of that age.

Joanna d'Albert, and in her right Anthony duke of Vendosme, assumed the titles of king and queen of Navarre. As for the king he was esteemed a gentle and a good prince; and the queen was justly admired for her strong parts and masculine understanding, as well as for her steadiness in support of the Protestant religion. The king was wounded at the siege of Rouen, and died at Andely on the Seine, in his way to Paris, November the 17th, 1562, in the forty-fifth year of his age [e]. The queen sur- *Joanna queen of Navarre.*

[b] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Du Tillet, Le Gendre. [c] L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. Daniel, Pet. Martyr Angler, Prudencio de Sandoval, Pet. Mexia. [d] Ochoa, Ulloa, Sandoval, Dupleix. [e] P. Daniel, Mayerne Turquet.

vived

vived him almoſt ten years; and is generally ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned by the artifice of the queen-mother of France, at the marriage of her ſon, June the 9th, 1572, in the forty-fourth year of her age [f]. They had five children, three ſons and two daughters; but of theſe only two ſurvived, Henry and Catharine, which laſt became ducheſs of Lorrain, often ſolicited to become a Catholic, which it is ſaid ſhe ſometimes promiſed; but died a zealous Proteſtant at laſt (B).

Henry

[f] Dupleix, Mezeray.

(B) Anthony, duke of Vendoſme, was the heir-general of the houſe of Bourbon, and had great eſtates of his own, which might probably contribute to the firſt umbrage taken at court. The French king, Henry the Second, was very unwilling, on the death of his father-in-law, to permit him to go to Bearn. He thought there ought not to be two ſovereigns in one country; and propoſed, therefore, the exchange of all that he had acquired by his marriage with the heireſs of Navarre, for other lands in France; and when he could not ſucceed in this ſcheme, he ſhewed his reſentment by ſeparating Languedoc from the government of Guienne, which his father Henry d'Albert had enjoyed (1). This Anthony of Bourbon was of ſo amorous a complexion, that it occaſioned many quarrels, between him and his queen, from whom, notwithſtanding, he would never be divorced (2). Joan of Albert was in all reſpects a very extraordinary woman. Her father would have married her to Philip the Second, in the life-time of the emperor Charles the Fifth; but the French monarch, Francis the Firſt, her uncle, would not ſuffer it: on the contrary, he actually contracted, and even celebrated the marriage, July 15th, 1540, between her and William duke of Cleves, whom the emperor Charles the Fifth had deprived of his dominions, and with whom he made his peace, by deſerting this princeſs. Upon this Francis married her to the duke of Vendoſme, firſt prince of the blood of France (3). She was at firſt averſe to what was called the new doctrines; but became afterwards a moſt zealous Proteſtant. After the death of her huſband, and of his queen Elizabeth, Philip the Second renewed his propoſitions of marriage; to which the queen prudently anſwered, that ſhe thought herſelf ſufficiently honoured by his eſteem. With all her good qualities ſhe had one great defect, for ſhe was

(1) Cayet Chronologique Navennaire. (2) Davila Hiſtoria della Guerra Civili. (3) Hiſtoire des derniers Troubles de France ſous les Regnes d'Henry III. & Henry IV. par Pierre Matthieu.

inſup-

Digitized by Google

Henry the Third of Navarre, was born at Pau, December the 13th, 1553. He was ſtyled in his mother's lifetime the prince of Bearn. He eſpouſed the princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to Charles the Ninth, and Henry the Third, ſucceſſively kings of France; and by the demiſe of the duke of Anjou became preſumptive heir to the crown of France; to which he ſucceeded on the murder of the laſt mentioned prince, on the 2d of Auguſt, 1589, and united thereby the titles of France and Navarre. *Henry III. of Navarre, IV. of France.*

Before we conclude this ſection it may not be amiſs to make a few remarks, which we flatter ourſelves will not be diſagreeable to our readers. Charles the Fifth, as we before obſerved, engaged by treaty to reſtore this kingdom, and was ſo little pleaſed with his title, that amongſt other hardſhips put upon the French monarch Francis the Firſt, one was, that he ſhould oblige his brother-in-law Henry, to renounce in favour of Charles. That device failing, he recommeded it to Philip the Second to marry if poſſible the princeſs Joan, or to reſtore the kingdom; but Philip the Second having, as he ſaid, been ſo occupied during his whole reign as not to have time to examine this queſtion maturely, devolved that care upon Philip the Third, who, it may be, thought his anceſtors poſſeſſing it, ſufficient right. In proceſs of time this has been ſettled by a ſuperior power, ſince not only Navarre but all the dominions of Spain are at this day in the poſſeſſion of a deſcendant from the houſe of Albert. But with reſpect to the people of Navarre, it is extremely worthy of notice, that they have preſerved their laws and liberties entire; and though the king of Spain ſends a vicéroy, while the French king keeps the title, yet they are alike benefited in point of revenue, not a ſingle crown paſſing out of Navarre, except it may be what a viceroy can ſave, whoſe ſalary is but ſix thouſand pieces of eight; and the whole revenue amounts but to forty thouſand, which is about a piece of eight for every family. *Preſent ſtate of this kingdom.*

inſupportably haughty; and to this the hatred of queen Mary de Medicis has been attributed by ſuch as allege ſhe was poiſoned by her direction, though that is a fact poſitively denied by authors. She was the ſeventh heireſs and queen of Navarre in her own right.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. LXVIII.

The History of France, from the Reign of Clovis to that of Lewis the Fifteenth.

SECT. I.

The first or Merovingian Race of Kings to their Extinction.

Connection of this with the former part of this work, and the history of the Franks to Clovis.

THE rise or origin of all nations is naturally obscure; that of the Franks is particularly so: all that can be said of it is founded chiefly in conjecture [a]. What can be said worth considering, upon this perplexed subject, the reader has seen in the former part of this work. There, likewise, may be found what has been transmitted to posterity, concerning their four first kings, under whom they contested the dominion of Gaul with the Romans, who were then possessed of it, viz. Pharamond, Clodio, Mærovius, and Childeric. It is very doubtful, whether the third of these princes was not of quite another family from his predecessor. The first line of the kings of the Franks in Gallia were from him styled Merovingian, a circumstance which looks as if he was the founder of a new family at least, if not of the monarchy. This honour indeed has, by some learned men, been bestowed on his son, while other learned critics ascribe it wholly to Clovis. It is for this reason, that the reign of Clovis is also to be found in the former part of this work; so that we might enter on this section with the division of his dominions amongst his four sons; but as we must be frequently referring to what passed under the reign of their father, we are persuaded it will be more for the reader's ease, to enter upon our task by a very succinct recapitulation of his history.

Clodoveus, as he is called by Gregory of Tours, Clovis, as he is usually styled, or Louis, for it is the same name differently written, succeeded his father Childeric,

[a] Preface Pere Daniel sur l'Historique de France. Histoire & Geographie ancienne & moderne, par M. D'Audiffret, tom. ii. p. 13. Nouvelle Histoire de France, par M. Louis le Gendre, p. 4. 5.

Digitized by Google

at the age of fifteen. The first five years of his government, for any thing we know, were spent in peace; but, at the expiration of that time, he had perfected all his preparations for attacking the Romans in Gaul. They were then governed by Syagrius, whom the Franks, at least, styled their king, and he had fixed his residence at Soissons. Sigibert, one of the chiefs or kings of the Franks, made himself master of Cologne, where it is probable that Clovis passed the Rhine, and, through the forest of Ardennes, marched directly towards Soissons. Syagrius, having a numerous army under his command, gave him battle, in which Chararic, one of the chiefs of the Franks, nearly related to Clovis, is said to have kept his troops entire, till he saw the Romans begin to break, then he charged them with great vivacity in their retreat; so that being totally defeated and dispersed, Syagrius fled to Toulouse, and put himself under the protection of Alaric, king of the Visigoths [b]; who, apprehensive of the spirit and success of Clovis, some time after delivered him up; and the monarch of the Franks, keeping him some time in prison, where, by giving him false hopes, he wrought upon him to facilitate his conquest, when he was of no farther use in that respect, caused him to be privately beheaded [c]. This event was followed by the entire reduction of his dominions, which put an end to the power of the Romans in Gaul, and left the Franks in full possession of all the countries between the Rhine and the Loire. The power which Clovis had gained by the sword, he laboured to establish by a mild and equitable government, in which his subjects of all nations might find their account; and, at this time, as some very able judges believe, he caused the salique law to be made public [d] (A).

Clovis defeats Syagrius, puts an end to the Roman power in Gaul, and substitutes his own.

A. D 486.

A. D. 489.

While

[b] Gregor. Turon. lib. ii. c. 27. Epitome & Chronicon, lib. ii. Francorum, lib. iii.

[c] Fredegarii Scholastici

[d] Hadriani Valesii Gesta

(A) The Franks, before their irruption into Gaul, inhabited a part of Germany, which, in the old geographical tables, is from thence denominated Francia; and, by some authors, is called Old France, and, by others, the Germanic France, to distinguish it from the country which now bears the same name. The Franks were composed of several tribes, each having its particular chief. Thus, at the same time that Clovis was king of the Salians, Sigebert reigned in the same quality over the Ripuarians, and other princes over other tribes. Each of these tribes had their particular customs,

Digitized by Google

A. D. 492. While Clovis was thus employed, Basin, king of Thuringia, attacked the country of the Franks on the other side the

which being collected and reduced to writing, formed the code of their laws; and hence it is most probable, that what is styled the Salique Law received that name from being the code of the customs that prevailed amongst the Salians. What we have now is not strictly speaking the Salique Law, because it is not the entire code, but an abstract of it. There are two editions; the first printed from a manuscript in the abbey of Fulde, by the care of John Basil, herald, in 1557; and the other later, as comprehending the alterations and additions made by several kings; but they agree very well in the main, and shew very clearly, that they were the customs which prevailed amongst a barbarous and warlike people, in order to keep some kind of interior order, and to prevent their turning their swords, at every turn, against each other. This abstract is divided into seventy-one titles, heads, or articles, penned in miserable Latin, full of barbarous words, borrowed from different languages. They prescribed punishment for murder, theft, injuries, and all the various kinds of violence, to which such fierce and rude nations are commonly addicted. There is not so much as a single word of priests, sacrifices, or any thing that respects religion, either Christian or Pagan. It is not easy, or rather it is impossible, to fix their origin: some attribute them to Pharamond, others believe them still more ancient; however, it seems to be generally agreed, that Clovis published them in the state they now stand in, or rather gave his sanction to that code from which this abstract is made. They are become chiefly famous from a few lines in the sixty-second title, which we will give the reader as they stand there: "De Terra vero Salica nulla portio hæreditatis transit in mulierem, sed hoc virilis sexus acquirit hoc est filii in ipsa hæreditate succedunt." i. e. "In respect to Salic Lands, no part of it shall ever be inherited by a woman, but being acquired by the males, males only shall be capable of the succession". It has been urged, that this law disabled the daughters from inheriting the crown of France; in which, if there be any truth, it must be by construction. The Salians, as we before observed, were only one tribe or clan of the Franks. When they were fixed in their conquests, the king rewarded eminent services by a grant of lands, subject to military aids. These lands thus granted, were the lands mentioned in the law, and such an estate was styled, *Terra Salica*, *Terre Salique*, or land held according to the Salic customs: these estates were opposed to another kind of estates, which were styled allodial, and might be acquired by descent, by marriage, or by purchase. It is to these estates that the article

the Rhine, and treated the people with extreme cruelty; of which Clovis was no sooner informed than he marched against him with a great force, defeated his army, and reduced his subjects to submit to become his tributaries [e].

Espouses Clotildis, becomes a Christian, receives the ensigns of magistracy, and defeats Alaric.

The situation of his dominions, and the circumstances of his affairs, obliged him to have an ambassador almost constantly in the court of Gondebaud, king of Burgundy; and this custom brought to his knowlege the fame of his niece, who, in point of beauty, virtue, and other accomplishments, was esteemed the most illustrious princess of that age, whom, not without difficulty, he obtained [f]. St. Gregory of Tours names her Chrotildis, but by modern writers she is called Clotilde, or Clotildis, and was a zealous Christian. Her endeavours to convert the king were not at first very successful; on the contrary, the death of her eldest son Ingomer, soon after he was baptized, made an untoward impression on the mind of Clovis, which was heightened by the dangerous sickness of Clodomir his second son, soon after he was initiated into the Christian faith, from which however he recovered [g]. The Allemans, a numerous and potent nation, passing the Rhine, suddenly wasted the country about Cologne in a most barbarous manner. Sigibert demanded the assistance of Clovis, who marched with a great army to his relief, and, as soon as he had joined his forces, gave the enemy battle at a place called Tolbiac, where, Clovis made a vow, that, if Providence granted him the victory, he would become a Christian. His prayers being heard, the king caused himself to be instructed in the faith, and was,

A. D. 493.

A. D. 496.

[e] Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 27.
[f] Hincmar in Vit. S. Remig.
[g] Gregor. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 28. Du Bos Histoire Critique, p. 365.

cle which we have just cited properly belongs, as appears from the very title *de Alode, de l'Aleu*, or of *Allodials*. This law consists of six short paragraphs, five of which regard the succession to such estates, and in them the females are to the full as much favoured as the males, and then comes the sixth paragraph by way of exception. "But in respect to Salic land, no part of it shall ever be inherited by a woman, but being acquired by the males, males only shall be capable of the succession" (1).

(1) Dissertation sur l'Origine des Loix Saliques, par Vertot. Histoire critique de l'Etablissment de la Monarchie Françoise, par l'Abbé Du Bos.

Digitized by Google

at length, baptized by St. Remy, bishop of Rheims, a circumstance which gave great satisfaction to the Gauls, and at Rome, as most of the princes in Europe were at that time Arians [b]. As for the miracles said to have attended this ceremony, we find no hints of them in the more ancient authors (B). Some time after, Clovis reduced Armorica, or Britanny, and afterwards made war against the Burgundians, in which he had for his ally
A. D. 500. Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths [i]; Alaric taking umbrage at the great power of Clovis, and finding a disposition in his own subjects, who were Catholics, to revolt to him, engaged in a war, the fate of which was decided by a general battle in the plains of Vouillé, near Poitiers, where his forces were totally defeated, and himself killed
A. D. 509. in the field [k]. His ambition led Clovis to push his success a little too far; in consequence of which the Franks were defeated before Arles, by the forces of Theodoric; soon after which event a general peace was made, in which the Burgundians and the Visigoths were included.

The fame of Clovis, having penetrated as far as Constantinople, the emperor Anastasius sent him a diadem

[b] Gesta Francorum, cap. xv. [i] Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon, cap. xxv. Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 33. [k] Isidor. Chron. Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 37.

(B) We have a very circumstantial account of the baptizing of Clovis, by St. Gregory of Tours, who lived near his time; we have a letter written to him by the bishop of Vienne, to felicitate him upon his conversion; and we have another long letter of a bishop, concerning the miracles wrought by St. Remy, or Remigius, bishop of Rheims; in all which there is not one syllable of the holy vial (1). The story was first broached, by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, who lived in the ninth century, and wrote the life of St. Remy or Remigius, bishop of Rheims. The archbishop relates, that the holy prelate not finding the oil when he was to use it, had recourse to heaven, begging, with a short but fervent prayer, that the want of what was necessary to accomplish the ceremony, might, by some means or other, be supplied. He had scarce done, when a dove, exceeding the snow in whiteness, was seen carrying a phial filled with oil, which the bishop had no sooner received than the dove disappeared, and was never afterwards seen. With this oil Remigius anointed the king, and the odour it spread was sweet beyond imagination or expression.

(1) Remigii ap. Du Chesne, tom. i. p. 584.

and

Digitized by Google

and a purple robe, with the title of Patrician, Consul, or Augustus. It was very kindly accepted, and the king caused himself to be invested with these pompous ornaments, in a very solemn manner: it may be both princes had their views, and that these were very different. The emperor might propose preserving a title to the Gauls, now the possession was lost, by the conferring, and the acceptance of these honours; whereas the monarch of the Franks might consider this as an association in the empire, or at least desire it should be so considered by the inhabitants of the conquered countries. When he perceived that this scheme had taken effect, he resolved to undermine the chiefs of other tribes, that he might leave all the Franks possessed to his own posterity. He began with Sigibert, king of Cologne, by hinting to his son Chloderic, that he spun the thread of his life a little too long; upon which Chloderic caused him to be put to death; but as he was busy in taking possession of his treasures, he was stabbed by one of his own retinue, and Clovis appearing immediately after with an army, left no room to doubt that he directed the last murder, and was not ignorant of the first[1]. He seized by treachery Chararic, king of Cambray, and his son, caused them both to be shaved, the old man to be ordained a priest, and the young one a deacon. This is the first instance of rendering a prince incapable of wearing a crown by taking off his hair; and the son having intimated to his father that it would grow again, and then they might take their revenge, Clovis to prevent that opportunity, ordered that they should lose their heads. He engaged, by great promises, the ministers and captains of Ragnacharius to deliver both him and his brother Richarius into his hands; and after reproaching them for suffering themselves to be chained, he dispatched them with his battle-axe. Those who had betrayed them complaining, that the money or presents he gave them were only copper gilt, he told them, that he always paid traitors in that coin.

His ambition prompts him to destroy all the little kings and chieftains of the Franks.

A. D. 510.

He removed the seat of his government first from Tournay to Soissons, and from thence to Paris, which he made the seat of his empire. He held a council at Orleans, at which several bishops were present; and a letter written

His death and character.

[1] Almoini Monachi inclyti Cœnobii S. Germani libri quinque de Gestis Francorum, cap. xvii. xviii. Hadriani Valesii Gesta Francorum.

by them to the king, on that occasion, is still extant [m]. He founded several monasteries, and built some churches; for these reasons, and because he professed the Catholic religion, the prelates were strongly attached to him, which was one great cause of his success. He deceased in the month of November, in the year of our Lord 511, and was interred in the church of St. Peter and Paul at Paris, which now bears the name of St. Genevieve, where his tomb is still to be seen [n]. He lived forty-five, and reigned thirty years. Authors are much divided as to his character: some admire him as a great captain; others commend him as a consummate politician; and some have been so complaisant as to style him a saint [o]. His courage and his abilities, no doubt, were very remarkable, and his good fortune rather more conspicuous; but his morals were certainly detestable. His boundless ambition, and the desire of securing to his own family the sovereignty of the Franks, which hitherto had been shared with the chiefs of their several tribes, was the source of those vices which tarnish his character, and leave other nations no great reason to regret the glory some writers would assume, from having this prince for the founder of their empire.

The four sons of Clovis share his dominions.

The sons of Clovis were four, amongst whom were divided all the dominions which their father had acquired. The eldest, Thieri, or Theodoric, was about twenty-six years of age, born before his father's marriage with Clotildis; whence some modern writers style him a bastard: he had the eastern part of his father's dominions for his share, and, because that was his capital, took the title of king of Metz. Clodomir, the eldest son of Clovis by his queen, was about sixteen, and he had the kingdom of Orleans. Childebert and Clotaire were infants; the former had the kingdom of Paris, and the latter that of Soissons, under the tutelage of their mother. But though Gregory of Tours says this was a very equal division, yet it is not easy to assign the manner in which it was made, or the provinces of which each of their shares consisted [p]. The authority of Clotildis, founded chiefly in her prudence, preserved the dominions of the Franks in peace for the first seven years after the death of Clovis, if we except a small dispute between Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths,

A. D. 511.

[m] Sirmond Concil. Gall. tom. i. [n] Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 43. [o] De la Sainteté du Roi Clovis, avec les Preuves & les Autorités, & un Abregé de la Vie, par Jean Savaron, Lieutenant-general de Clermont. Paris, fol. 1621. [p] Agathiæ Scholastici de Imperatoris Justiniani Rebus libri v. lib. i.

and

Digitized by Google

and Thieri king of Metz, which was compromised upon terms not very advantageous to the latter.

A Danish fleet and army, defeated, and Thuringia reduced under the dominion of Hermanfroi.

A numerous fleet, with a potent army of Danes on board, arrived at the mouth of the Meuse, and their king Cochiliac, having landed his forces, began to waste all the adjacent country with fire and sword; upon which Thieri sent an army against him, under the command of his son Theodobert, who had likewise the direction of a fleet that was also appointed to act against the Danes. In this expedition he acquitted himself with great reputation, defeated these cruel invaders on shore, worsted their navy at sea, killed their king, compelled them to dismiss their prisoners, and to retire with the utmost precipitation [r]. His father engaged soon after in a war less honourable, and, though attended with success, less advantageous: Hermanfroi, king of Thuringia, had, by the persuasion of his wife Amalberga, destroyed his brother Berthaire, and seized his part of their father's territories, and by her persuasion he meditated the like treatment towards Balderic, his only surviving brother, who was apprized of his intentions, and kept upon his guard. Hermanfroi, thereupon, applied himself to the king of Metz, and offered him half his brother's dominions, if he would join in this enterprize. He consented to this proposal, and, in conjunction with his new ally, gave battle to Balderic, whose army being defeated, and himself killed on the spot, his brother seized all, and left Thieri no other recompence than the consciousness of having embarked in so foul an action. A prince of his spirit and temper could not help feeling and resenting this usage; but perceiving Hermanfroi in full possession of Thuringia, whereas he had only a part of his father's kingdoms, he stifled his indignation, till an opportunity should offer of indulging it in its full extent [s].

A. D. 520.

A. D. 522.

The children of Clotildis invade the kingdom of Burgundy, and take and murder Sigismund its monarch.

Gondebaud, king of Burgundy, who had murdered Chilperic his brother, and the father of queen Clotildis, being dead, left his dominions to his sons Sigismund and Godemar, against whom, her sons being now grown up, the widow of Clovis engaged them to make war [t]. The dispute was very unequal, and the forces of Sigismund quickly routed. The Franks plundering the country without mercy, the people partly out of spite to the author of

[r] Greg. Tur. lib. iii. cap. 3. Gesta Reg. Francorum, cap. 19.
[s] Greg. Tur. lib. iii. cap. iv. Authore Vitæ Theod. Abb. Rhemens. [t] Gesta Reg. Francorum, cap. 20.

their

their misfortunes, and partly in hopes of pacifying the victors, seized upon the unfortunate Sigismund, who had cut off his long hair, and put on the dress of a hermit, and delivered him, together with his queen, and the two princes his sons, into the hands of Clodomir. He, after detaining them some time in prison at Orleans, upon the report of Godemar's being proclaimed king of the Burgundians, resolved to put them to death [u]. Avitus, abbot of Mici, interposed in their behalf, and went so far as to promise the king victory, if he spared these miserable creatures; but in vain; they were thrown into a deep pit, by way of retaliation, Chilperic having suffered the same treatment from his brother Gondebaud. The universal pity that followed this ourageous act of cruelty procured Sigismund, who in other respects did not deserve it, the reputation of a saint. Clodomir entered the country of the Burgundians with his army, and gave battle to Godemar, in which he was defeated. But Clodomir pursuing indiscreetly, was surrounded and slain, and his head fixed on a pike, and carried about in triumph by his enemies, who believed that this spectacle would have struck the Franks with despair; but, on the contrary, it inspired them with so great fury, that, after destroying the greatest part of his army, they obliged Godemar to quit the field of battle [w]. Clodomir left behind him three sons, nevertheless, his brothers took possession of his dominions, under the specious pretence of being guardians to his children; and how honourably they discharged that trust will hereafter appear.

A. D. 524.

Thieri, king of Metz reduces the country of Thuringia, and causes Hermanfroi to be murdered.

Thieri, king of Metz, seeing the power of the Ostrogoths much lessened by the death of king Theodoric, thought it a proper time to make Hermanfroi feel the weight of his vengeance; and having engaged his brother Clotaire, king of Soissons, to assist him, they, at the time agreed upon between them, entered the country of Thuringia, with two potent armies. They joined soon after they had passed the Rhine, and their force was quickly augmented by another powerful corps of troops under Theodobert [x]. However, Hermanfroi had time enough to assemble the whole force of his dominions, and to dispose all things in the best manner for their reception. The allies found him, therefore, with his army ranged in order of battle, with a spacious plain in front, and a steep

[u] Marius Aventii in Chron. [w] Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 21. [x] Greg. Tur. lib. iii. cap. vi.

and

Digitized by Google

and rapid river in his rear. They formed with all the diligence possible, expecting they should have been attacked, but perceiving the Thuringians remained firm, they advanced to charge them. Hermanfroi had caused several large pits to be made in the front of his army, which were covered again with turf, and numbers of the Franks falling into them, were miserably slain. Clotaire, as soon as he perceived this contrivance, gave a signal to halt, and soon after passing with his cavalry through the spaces between the pits, pushed the Thuringians with such vigour that they soon fell into confusion. Theodobert followed his uncle's example with the infantry. Thieri taking them in flank with his forces, the route became general, and the river behind them preventing their retreat, the far greatest part of them were either killed or drowned. The queen Amalberga was conveyed to a place of safety by her brother Theodad; and Hermanfroi having with difficulty made his escape, fled from place to place in disguise. In consequence of this defeat, the capital was taken, and the country in general destroyed without mercy. Soon after this victory, Thieri invited his brother to a private conference; but Clotaire, as he entered the hall, perceiving men's feet behind a piece of tapestry, suspected, not without reason, a design to murder him; and stopping a little, made a signal for his attendants to advance. Thieri caressed him extremely, presented him with a large silver bason, and proposed to him many things for their common benefit, to which he listened with great complaisance, but retired from the audience with a full resolution never to run a hazard of the like kind again [y]. Thieri, at the close of the campaign, declared, that having avenged his breach of faith, Hermanfroi might meet him with safety at Tolbiac, in order to treat of peace. Thither accordingly he came, was kindly received, and the king walking with him upon the ramparts, advanced a little before him, when a person placed behind, for that purpose, threw him over into the ditch, where he was smothered. Thus his spacious territories became feudatory to Thieri [z].

A. D 531.

Childebert, king of Paris, while his brothers were thus employed, was embarked in another war. His sister Clotilda had espoused Amalaric, king of the Visigoths in Spain, and being a zealous Catholic, and he an obstinate

[y] Greg. Tur. lib. iii. cap. 7.

[z] Procopii Cæsariensis de Gothico Bello.

Arian,

Digitized by Google

Childebert invades the dominions of the Visigoths, in the quarrel of his sister Clotilda.

Arian, they were quickly upon such bad terms as induced Childebert to take up arms for her deliverance. In his march towards Septimania, or that district of Gaul still in the possession of the Goths, a false report reached his ear, of his brother Thieri's being defeated, and killed in Thuringia, which tempted him to make a short turn into Auvergne, a country belonging to his brother, the capital being betrayed into his hands, he took possession of it, and had just received the oaths of the inhabitants when he was informed of the truth, and that, instead of being defeated and dead, Thieri was alive and victorious: he quitted his new conquest, therefore, with silence and shame; and, to efface the memory of it, recurred to his first expedition, in which he was as prosperous as he could desire; for having routed Amalaric in battle, and made himself master of Narbonne, the king of the Visigoths being slain by a conspiracy of his own subjects, his sister was restored to him, but died in her way to Paris, whither Childebert returned in triumph, his army loaded with plunder. Amongst this was a great quantity of rich church plate, that, by his command, was distributed to the cathedrals in his dominions; by which liberality he gained the love of the clergy[a]. His brother Clotaire congratulated him on the success of his enterprize, and the two brothers entered into a close alliance, being equally afraid of Thieri, to whom notwithstanding they proposed a reconciliation, provided he would assist them in a war against the Burgundians, which they had now more than ever at heart. As this did not suit his scheme of policy, he refused to comply with their demand; upon which, to secure themselves from any disturbance, they excited a sedition amongst his troops by their intrigues, and fomented a rebellion against him in Auvergne, into which country he was thereby constrained to send the flower of his forces, under the command of his son Theodobert. Having thus provided sufficient employment for him, they continued with all possible diligence their preparations against Godemar, who, while they were embarked in other expeditions, had gradually recovered his whole country, and was, at this instant, assembling all his forces to defend it.

The two brothers, Childebert and Clotaire, entered the country of their enemies with a superior army, and laid siege to Autun; of which, after a gallant defence,

[a] Isidor. Hispal. Greg. Tur. M. Aurelii Cassiodori Variarum.

they

Digitized by Google

they made themſelves maſters, and proceeded next to reduce Vienne: which they found a work of greater difficulty, but which notwithſtanding they accompliſhed at laſt. Being determined to keep what had coſt them ſo dear, they put an end to the campaign, by taking winter-quarters in the country adjacent. Thieri, in the mean time, finding the war of Auvergne would prove a dangerous and troubleſome buſineſs, went thither in perſon, as believing that his own temper and experience would ſuit better with an employment of ſuch a nature, than the youth, and perhaps the gentleneſs and generoſity, of his ſon's diſpoſition. At firſt, he acted with great roughneſs and ſeverity, which, on a ſudden, under pretence of a dream, or viſion, he relaxed, and by a tender of mercy to his ſubjects in deſpair, brought them to a ſubmiſſion, into which they would not have been ſo eaſily forced [b]. Yet when he thought this arduous affair in a manner over, as having made his entry into Auvergne, where he contented himſelf with puniſhing the family of the ſenator Arcadius, who had betrayed it to Childebert, he found his work was to be begun again. Munderic, a great lord of that country, pretending that he was of the royal family of Clovis, not only took up arms, but aſſumed likewiſe the title of king, and quickly drew together an army, compoſed chiefly of thoſe who had been ruined by the licentiouſneſs of the king's troops [c]. Thieri attempted firſt to get him into his power by negociation, but that failed him, for his character was too well known; he blocked him up in Vitri, which was then a ſtrong place. The garriſon being numerous, and compoſed of men abſolutely deſperate, the defence was obſtinate, as might be expected. The king ſent a domeſtic, a man of great cunning, whoſe name was Argeſile, to practiſe once more upon Munderic; and he having firſt repreſented his danger in very ſtrong terms, and afterwards ſwearing at the high altar that he ſhould have a free pardon, prevailed on him to ſurrender the place [d]. As they came out together, with a few of Munderic's attendants, ſome of Thieri's ſoldiers, half-armed, gathered about them; upon which Argeſile cried out in an angry tone, "Who do you ſtare at? Did you never ſee Munderic before?" At which ſignal they attacked him. Munderic, who had a ſhort

A. D. 532.

The war of Burgundy, of Auvergne, and the revolt and murder of Munderic.

[b] Hadriana Veleſii Geſta Franc. [c] Aimoini Monachi inclyti Cœnobii S. Germani Libri quinque de Geſtis Francorum, lib. iii. cap. 8. [d] Greg. Turon. lib. iii. cap. 13.

ſpear

Digitized by Google

spear in his hand, turning on his guide, "Perjured traitor, said he, I know I shall die, but lead thou the way;" and so pinned him to the earth; but being surrounded, he and his servants were quickly cut to pieces[e]. Thieri having reduced Auvergne a second time, left Theodobert with a competent number of forces to settle the country, and returned to Metz, having in his mind still greater projects. He burned with a desire to expel the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths out of the provinces they still possessed in Gaul, esteeming, according to the maxim of his family, that they possessed nothing where they did not possess all.

Clotaire, by the advice of Childebert, murders their nephews, and shares their dominions.

The queen-dowager Clotildis, being at Paris with her grandsons, Gunthaire, Theodobald, and Clodoalde, the sons of Clodomir, and having pressed her son Childebert to do these orphans justice, he, seeming to acquiesce in her demand, sent for his brother Clotaire to regulate the method of putting them into possession of their dominions. After this interview, the two brothers sent to demand the young princes, whom the grandmother delivered without the least suspicion, saying, that she should not forget the loss of her sons, in seeing them reign[f]. Her surprize was great, at hearing they were put under a guard; but her apprehensions were still more heightened, when Arcadius, the senator of Auvergne, who betrayed that city to Childebert, brought her from that prince a pair of scissars and a sword, and bid her chuse which instrument she pleased. Confused at so horrid a message, she answered, "I had rather see my children dead, than shaved;" which answer being reported to the two kings, Clotaire immediately dispatched Theodobald, who was about ten years old, with his dagger[g]. Gunthaire, who was about seven, embraced the knees of his uncle Childebert, who was so much moved thereat, as to intreat Clotaire to spare him; but the brutal prince cried out. "It was by thy instigation that I entered on this bloody scene, die thyself, or let me finish what I have begun." Childebert affrighted, stepped out of his way, and he instantly dispatched the child. But during this short dispute, the attendants of Childebert conveyed away Clodoalde; at which the furious Clotaire was so provoked, that he caused all the tutors and domestics who attended the chil-

A. D. 533.

[e] Histoire de la Maison d'Auvergne, par M. Baluze, tom. i. vers la Fin. Greg. Tur. lib. iii. cap. 11. [f] Greg. Tur. lib. iii. cap. 18. [g] Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chron.

dren

dren to be destroyed. As to Clodoalde, he became a monk, and for his innocent life being reputed a saint, left his name to the village of St. Cloud, near Paris. It might be imagined, that Thieri, who had no hand in these murders, would have revenged them, but having his share of their dominions, he was reconciled to his brethren, and entered into an alliance with Clotaire for driving the Ostrogoths out of Gaul; in order to share the countries they held between them.

In order to execute this great design, Clotaire ordered his son Gunthier to march with an army on the side of Rodez, while Theodobert, with his father Thieri's forces, acted from that of Auvergne. But, as soon as the war was begun, Gunthier, without any apparent cause, retired, and left Theodobert to carry it on as he could [h]. This young prince, in the progress of his expedition, met with a lady, whose name was Deuteria, a married woman, but who had beauty and wit, though not youth to recommend her. Of her he became so enamoured, that, after a campaign, not very active he retired into Auvergne, and put his troops into winter-quarters [i]. His father Thieri had committed the civil administration of this province, after its reduction, to Sigivalde; who believing the people were not like to obtain much redress at court, had oppressed them in the most grievous manner; of which conduct Thieri being informed, caused him to be seized and sent to court, where, upon full proof, he was beheaded. But believing that his son Givalde might, some time or other, endeavour to revenge his father's death, an order was dispatched to Theodobert to seize and execute him also. The prince, who had been this young man's godfather, sent for him, and, having shewed him his father's orders, advised him to withdraw, and not to venture into his own country again, so long as the king lived [k]. In the mean time, Childebert and Clotaire finished the reduction of Burgundy, in which some say Godemar was killed, and others affirm that he retired into Spain, and from thence to Africa [l]. The necessity of employing their troops in this war, might be one reason for recalling Gunthier; but there was another; Thieri king of Metz had fallen into a declining state of health, and the two brothers had such intelligence in his dominions, that they had hopes of supplanting their ne-

A. D. 534.

While Thieri is acting against the Visigoths, Childebert and Clotaire complete the conquest of Burgundy.

[h] Greg. Tur. ubi supra. [i] Greg. Turon. lib. iii. [k] M. Aurelii Cassiod. Variar. Libri xii. lib. ii. ep. 1. [l] Harmar. Contractus in Chron.

phew,

phew, to which event they thought his being embarrassed in the war with the Ostrogoths might very probably contribute. But Theodobert being informed in time of their contrivances, returned so speedily that he disappointed them, and, upon his father's death, was proclaimed, and put into possession of all his dominions.

Childebert finds it necessary to reconcile himself to Theodobert, the successor of Thierri.

Childebert, who was naturally a timorous prince, fearing the resentment of his nephew, and, at the same time hating his brother, resolved to reconcile himself to the former, and to make him forget, if possible, the attempt he had made to his prejudice: Theodobert came readily into all his scheme, and obtained a share in the division of Burgundy. He afterwards accepted an invitation to Paris, where he was both kindly and magnificently treated, and, at the same time, Childebert declared him his heir. In Italy, Amalazunta, the daughter of Theodoric, after
A. D. 536. the death of her first husband, espoused Theodad her cousin, who, through jealousy and ingratitude, imprisoned and put her to death, a circumstance which gave a colourable pretence to the emperor Justinian to undertake the expulsion of the Ostrogoths out of Italy [m]. To facilitate this, he set on foot a negociation with the three monarchs of the Franks, in order to obtain their assistance, and, by a dexterous management of this negociation, they drew to themselves immense treasures in subsidies and presents; but these practices did not hinder their negotiating at the same time privately with Theodad, who offered them the provinces his nation still retained in Gaul. His conduct was so bad that his people revolted and killed him, bestowing the crown upon Witiges, whose only title was being a brave man and an experienced officer; but to fortify this, he married the princess Matazunta, the daughter of the deceased queen, and by him the negociation was perfected, in consequence of which Provence was delivered up to the Franks [n]. Childebert had Arles for his share; Marseilles fell to Clotaire. Theodobert, after the treaty was concluded, set up a demand for himself: he pretended, that his family having subdued the Allemans in Germany, derived from thence a title to the countries those people had conquered and possessed on the frontiers of Gaul, and, upon this pretence, the Rhetian Alps, or the country of the Grisons, was yielded to him [o]. At the very time this

[m] Procopii Cæsariensis de Gothico Bello, lib. ii. [n] Marius Aventic. in Chron. [o] Agathæ Scholastici de Imperatoris Justiniani Rebus, Libri v. lib. i.

agreement

agreement was concluded and executed, Justinian depending on his promises, had adopted him, as a mark of his affection and esteem [p].

To push this matter to the utmost, Theodobert, by affording new hopes to Justinian, obtained a concession from him of the same provinces that had been yielded by the Ostrogoths; so that now all claims of the emperors to any part of Gaul being extinct, it was universally considered as the patrimony of the Franks. Belisarius having managed the war in Italy very successfully, and brought the power of the Goths, notwithstanding the courage and conduct of Witiges, to the very last gasp, saw with amazement Theodobert pass the Alps with an army of one hundred thousand men. He had before sent a corps of some thousand Burgundians, as auxiliaries to the Goths; and though they did them little service, yet they flattered themselves that he was come in person, with this potent army, to rescue them from destruction; while, on the other hand, Belisarius grounding his expectations on the late treaty, flattered himself that the Franks would act as auxiliaries to the empire [q]. Theodobert disappointed both; he attacked and cut to pieces the Goths, who received him as friends, and immediately after defeated a part of the imperial forces. It is difficult to conceive what his design was, except loading his army with plunder. He made himself master of Genoa, ransacked it, and then, finding his forces much diminished by sickness, quitted Italy, leaving one of his generals, with a sufficient body of forces, to secure the passes [r]. Belisarius having shut up Witiges in the city of Ravenna, and held him there closely besieged, the monarchs of the Franks sent him the strongest assurances of relief, and Theodobert made preparations for entering Italy again, with a great army, for that purpose. But Witiges surrendered the city and his person to Belisarius, who sent him to Constantinople, where, with the title of Patrician, he spent the remainder of his days in quiet.

Theodobert's irruption into Italy.

A. D. 539.

As they had no longer any foreign war to employ them, the Franks, unable to remain quiet, quarrelled among themselves; Clotaire, as some writers say, was the aggressor, by making an irruption into the territories of Childebert with a small body of forces. His brother, being supported by Theodobert, marched against him with such diligence

Childebert and Theobert again make war, and are at length reconciled to Clotaire.

[p] Le Gendre, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. 23.

[q] Procopii Cæs. de Gothico Bello.

[r] Paul Longobard, lib. ii. cap. 11.

Digitized by Google

ligence that they surprised him, at the entrance of the forest of Bretone, on the banks of the river Seine. He cut down the trees on every side, in order to embarrass his enemies, and to form a kind of hasty fortification about his camp [s]. Childebert and Theodobert, much superior to him in numbers, disposed all things for attacking him by break of day, when there arose so violent a storm of thunder, lightning and rain, that Childebert, who was naturally mild, regarding it as a miracle, sent to offer his brother peace, which was quickly concluded on equal terms [t]. Some time after a council was held at Orleans, and from several of the canons made therein, it clearly appears, that many of the Franks remained to this time Pagans, and that many more had a kind of mixed religion, professing the faith of Christians, and yet practising many Pagan ceremonies and superstitions: the body of the Salique Law was also reviewed, reformed, and augmented.

A. D. 543. To give an evident testimony of the sincerity of their reconciliation, and, at the same time, to find some employment for a nation unable to remain long at rest, the two brothers Childebert and Clotaire determined to attack the Visigoths, as being desirous to have the Pyrenees as well as the Alps for the boundaries of their dominions. While they were employed in this expedition, Theodobert directed his attention to the affairs of Italy. Childebert and Clotaire penetrated as far as Saragossa almost without resistance, and their army having enriched themselves with the pillage of those opulent countries, they determined to return: most of the French writers speak of this retreat as performed with great courage and conduct; but the Spanish writers assert, with much more appearance of truth, that the two brothers did not retire till their forces were totally defeated by the Gothic general Tudisles, and that few or none of them would have found their way home, if avarice, which is the growth of all climes and all nations, had not induced an eminent officer among the Goths to leave open one of the passages of the Pyrenees a day and a night, in consideration of an immense reward, notwithstanding which the rear of their army was cut to pieces [u]. The affairs of Italy attracted once more their most serious attention, upon the old principle of fishing in troubled waters, and aggrandizing themselves at the expence of others.

Childebert and Clotaire make an irruption into Spain and are thoroughly beaten by the Visigoths.

[s] Gest. Reg. Franc. cap. 25. [t] Greg. Turon. lib. iii. cap. 28. Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon. [u] Isidor. Hispal. in Chron.

Theodobert

Digitized by Google

Theodobert began with negociating again with the emperor Justinian, from whom he procured the most authentic renunciations of the rights of the empire to those provinces and places, which, in the depth of their distress, the Ostrogoths had been forced to yield, and which he had also ceded, though not with an express demission of the sovereignty. Thus the claim on one side, and the possession on the other being relinquished, the Franks became the legal masters of those maritime parts of Gaul, which the power of Theodoric had protected against the ambition of Clovis. But Theodobert's views went farther; he negociated likewise with Tottila, who had in some measure restored the affairs of the Goth's in Italy, and was willing to try what could be had from him [w]. But this brave and generous prince, though he sought the friendship of the Franks, sought it in an honourable and noble way, and demanded the daughter of Theodobert in marriage, which that monarch rejected with an air of contempt; for as the Ostrogoths proposed to expel the Imperialists, and to preserve by arms the countries which by arms had been acquired; and as, on the other hand, the Imperialists proposed the extirpation of the Ostrogoths, that the emperors might enter again into the exercise of their authority in Italy; so Theodobert aimed at the destruction of both, that he might substitute the empire of the Franks in Italy, as his ancestors had done in Gaul [x]. His lieutenant Bucelin proceeded to the execution of this design, by extending his conquest through the country of Liguria, along the sea-coast, while Theodobert projected a diversion by an irruption into the dominions of Justinian, that might have brought his forces, and those of his allies, into the neighbourhood of Constantinople [y]. Princes of his character seldom want pretences; from being the friend and ally, he was become the mortal enemy of Justinian; interest dictated the measure, which was to be covered by a pretended zeal for glory. The emperor, elated by the victories which his generals had obtained, assumed, after the ancient Roman manner, a variety of surnames, and amongst them inserted Francicus, as if he had been the conqueror of the Franks. Theodobert, who wanted such an opportunity, seized it eagerly, remonstrated in high terms at Constantinople, and attempted to associate in an alliance all the northern nations, that had been insulted

Theodobert becomes an irreconcileable enemy to Justinian and dies in the midst of his military preparations.

A. D. 548.

[w] Greg. Tur. lib. iii.

[x] Procopii Cæs. de Gothico Bello, lib. iv.

[y] Adon. Breviar. Chron.

Digitized by Google

by the same unseasonable overflowing of imperial vanity [a]. But in the midst of these vast designs, which Theodobert might have found it very difficult to execute, he was removed by death, to the great grief of the Franks, and to the no small joy of their neighbours [a]; all of whom dreaded his great abilities, which were directed by no other motives than ambition and interest.

His son Theodebalde succeeds, and dies after a short reign, without issue.

Theodebalde, or Thibaut, the only son of Theodobert, though a youth in the fourteenth year of his age, and to the legitimacy of whose birth there might have been some objection, succeeded to his father's dominions without trouble or dispute. The emperor Justinian sent a splendid embassy to his court, in hopes of engaging those who had the direction of this young king's affairs, to enter into his views, instead of pursuing those of his father. The ministers of Theodebalde acted, however, as if their old master had been alive, and had dictated to them the rules of their behaviour. They treated the imperial ambassadors with all possible respect, gave them, in the name of the young king, a very favourable answer, and sent an ambassador also to Constantinople, fraught with pacific instructions, from whence, as in times past, they drew great advantages; for the Greek emperor never negociated with the Franks without supporting the propositions he made with considerable presents. But when Justinian thought himself sure of this martial and enterprising nation, he found himself more deceived than ever; for Bucelin and Leutharis, at the head of prodigious numbers of Franks, entered Italy, and professing that they acted on their own heads, without receiving any orders from their court, put it out of the emperor's power to know what might be expected from them, or how to deal with them [b]. His general Narses delivered him from these difficulties by the courage and conduct he shewed, in the management of a war, which had put a period to the sovereignty of the Ostrogoths, and gave a check to the impetuosity of the Franks, who suffered likewise by a misunderstanding between their generals, who were both Allemans by birth. One of them, Leutharis, had practised with the Ostrogoths, to grant them what assistance lay in his power, provided they would acknowlege him for their king [c]. In the mean time, Theodebalde, after a short and inactive

A. D. 555.

[a] Agathiæ Scholastici de Imperatoris Justiniani Rebus, lib. i.
[b] Greg. Turon. lib. iii. cap. 34. [b] Marius Aventic. in Chron. [c] Greg Turon. lib. iv. cap. 9.

reign,

Digitized by Google

reign, breathed his laſt at Compiegne, when, according to the rule of ſucceſſion which then prevailed, his dominions ſhould have been divided between his two great uncles, as other principalities and even ſeignories among the Franks uſually were.

But Clotaire, king of Soiſſons, who, of all the ſons of Clovis, inherited moſt of his father's ſpirit, having a puiſſant army on foot, went in perſon to Metz, and by a mixture of arguments, promiſes, and threats, ſo wrought upon the nobility, that they acknowleged him for the ſole ſucceſſor of his nephew [c]. Childebert, king of Paris, who was the elder brother, affected the character of a pious prince, and had his attention, at this time, occupied chiefly by eccleſiaſtical affairs. He was, however, far from being void of ambition; and though he could not immediately deviſe a method of redreſſing or revenging it, he was ſufficiently ſenſible of the injuſtice that had been done him. He reſolved not to let ſlip any opportunity of this kind, and it was not long before ſuch an opportunity offered; for by aggrandizing his power, the ſecurity and the ſafety of Clotaire's monarchy were far from being rendered more ſtable. But whether the troubles he met with proceeded immediately from the turbulence and mutability of part of his new ſubjects, or whether they were not, in part at leaſt, excited by ſome acts of ſeverity or oppreſſion of his own, does not clearly appear [d]; the hiſtorians of theſe times dwelling often on trivial, and omitting entirely circumſtances of importance.

Clotaire ſucceeds in Auſtraſia.

The Saxons, who were tributaries to his predeceſſor and Theobalde, threw off the yoke, and prevailed on the Thuringians to take the ſame ſtep. He marched againſt them with an army compoſed of veteran well-diſciplined troops, and by their aſſiſtance gained a complete victory; upon which the rebels ſubmitted, on the beſt terms they could obtain [e]. He did not long enjoy this ſatisfaction; for he had ſcarce withdrawn his forces out of that country before they revolted again. He was extremely provoked at this rebellion, and, having reinforced his troops, marched againſt them a ſecond time, giving out, that he intended nothing leſs than to extirpate thoſe whom duty could not reſtrain, or clemency recover; but he made this declaration only with a view to ſhorten the war, and to prevent

Is immediately plunged into foreign and domeſtic troubles, through the contrivance of Childebert.

[c] Fredegarii Scholaſtici Epitome & Chronic. Breviar. Chron. Geſta Regum Francorum, cap. xxviii. [d] Adon. [e] Fredegarii Epitome & Chronicon.

Digitized by Google

A. D. 556. an effusion of blood, by bringing them to a speedy submission. The Saxons, as if they had known his intention, sent to intreat his pardon, offered immense contributions, and to be content with whatever terms he thought fit to impose, which the king was very well inclined to accept; but his army would hear of nothing but slaughter: they had figured to themselves the total destruction of a country, by which they were to be loaded with plunder; and they could not bear to see the king's coffers filled with what they had destined to enrich themselves. Clotaire was forced to comply with their humour, and to attack the Saxons in their retrenchments, who made so desperate a resistance, as not only obliged the Franks to retire, but took from them all inclination of attacking them again. Clotaire being left at liberty to pursue his own sentiments, granted them such terms as this change of circumstances required. This was a great, but not his sole misfortune. He had five sons; and the eldest of these, whose name was Chramnes, he had sent to command in Auvergne: he was a young prince who did not want parts; but the vivacity of his temper, and his inordinate love of pleasure, made even the good qualities he possessed turn to the prejudice of his father and himself. Clotaire had assigned him a very sage and sober person for his assistant and prime minister, but the virtues which recommended him to the father, rendered him disagreeable to the son; he disregarded him therefore, and bestowed his confidence on a man of his own character, a step which had so untoward an influence on his actions as obliged his father to recall him [f]. Chramnes added disobedience to indiscretion; and, having married the daughter of a powerful nobleman, took up arms against his father. Childebert, pleased with this occasion, promised him assistance, and, by his intrigues, engaged the Saxons to rebel for the third time, a circumstance which obliged Clotaire to turn his views and his forces on that side; but, however, he sent a considerable body of forces, commanded by two of his sons, to reduce their brother [g]. They managed the war like young men, and, upon a false rumour of their father's death, spread out of policy by their brother, retired. This event changed the face of affairs in respect to Chramnes; and his uncle, to favour his interest, made an irruption into Champagne; but they were suddenly changed again by Childebert's falling sick at Paris, on his return from that

[f] Gesta Regum Francorum. [g] Adon. Breviar. Chron.

expedition;

Digitized by Google

expedition; of which ſickneſs he quickly died [h] (E); and, as he was little beloved, was but little regretted.

Clotaire becomes ſole monarch of the Franks, burns his eldeſt ſon and his family, and dies ſoon after.

Clotaire, by the death of his brother, united all the dominions of Clovis in his own poſſeſſion, and his ſon, ſeeing himſelf unable to reſiſt his power, had recourſe to his clemency. His father forgave him, and adviſed him to behave ſo, for the future, as that he might forget what was paſt; the admonition was ſeaſonable and ſalutary, but ineffectual. The king would not ſuddenly truſt him with power, and to him a private life was inſupportable [i]. He began therefore to intrigue afreſh; and having engaged the count of Bretagne to embrace his intereſt, he broke out into a ſecond rebellion. Clotaire marched againſt him without loſs of time. The count his protector adviſed him to withdraw from the army, for the ſecurity of his perſon, while he gave the king battle; but the prince, though defective in other reſpects, wanted not courage, and therefore, rejecting this advice, appeared at the head of the troops, and ſhewed an intrepidity which would have been laudable in a better cauſe [k]. The diſpute was ſhort and bloody; the Bretons were defeated, and their count killed. Chramnes determined to make his eſcape, but perceiving that the quarter, where his wife and family were, had been ſur-

A. D. 560.

[h] Greg. Turon. lib. iv. Marius Amentic. in Chron. [i] Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 20. [k] Venantii Fortunati Epiſcopi Pictavienſis Epiſt. lib. vi. carm. i.

(E) Childebert was in all reſpects a prince of a very unequal character. In point of morals he was more irreproachable than any of his brethren; for he was a lover of order and juſtice, and governed his people mildly. He was, according to the mode of the times, extremely pious; that is, he built hoſpitals, convents, and churches. But he had a great many ill qualities; he was ambitious, fickle, and deceitful. He projected the murder of his nephews, the ſons of Clodomir, though he afterwards relented; he encouraged his nephew Chramnes to take up arms againſt his father, and yet it does not appear he attempted to make him his ſucceſſor (1). He had but one conſort, Ultrogotte, and by her he had two daughters, Chrotberge and Chroſinde, who were all very ill treated by Clotaire, being firſt impriſoned and then baniſhed. This is the firſt inſtance that occurs of the ſetting aſide daughters; but whether it was done by cuſtom, by virtue of any law, or by downright force, is very far from being clear.

(1) Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 20. Fredegarii Scholaſtici Epitome & Chron. Marius in Chronicis.

rounded by his father's forces, he attempted to rescue them, and in that attempt was taken [l]. In this condition, they were all thrust into a thatched cottage near the field; of which circumstance, the king was no sooner informed than he ordered it to be set on fire on all sides; so that all within perished in the flames, though some say, that Chramnes was first strangled [m]. The king, at his return from this expedition, made great offerings at the shrine of St. Martin of Tours, and performed many other acts of devotion, according to the mode of those times: he made also some political regulations for the benefit of his subjects, and the security of his posterity; but while he was thus employed, he was seized with a fever, while hunting in the neighbourhood of Compiegne, which carried him to the grave in a few days [n]. He had enjoyed the regal dignity fifty-one years, and was without doubt one of the most fortunate monarchs that hitherto had occupied the throne of the Franks; in whom many great qualities were conspicuous, which might have rendered his name immortal, if they had not been obscured by many odious vices [o].

The dominions of Clotaire are divided by lot amongst his four sons.

The empire of the Franks, upon the demise of Clotaire, descended to his four sons, Caribert, Gontram, Sigebert, and Chilperic. It does not appear, that any division was made by him; but very soon after his decease Chilperic, the most restless and enterprising of his sons, went with a strong party of his friends to Braime in Champagne, a country palace of his father's, where he knew his treasures remained, and having seized upon these, and distributed a part to the nobility and people, in the dominions of his uncle Childebert, he was by them conducted in triumph to Paris, and there seated on the throne [p]. This was in itself a bold measure, and conducted with spirit, but in the end it proved altogether vain. The other three princes, assisted by the prelates and nobility, quickly assembled such a force as compelled Chilperic and his faction to abandon their enterprize, and to put things in the same state in which they were at the king's death [q]. After this, according to custom, which seems to have been the sole law among the Franks, the distribution was made by lot. Caribert, who was the eldest, had the kingdom of

A. D. 562.

[l] Gesta Regum Francorum. [m] Fredeg. Epit. Chron. [n] Adon. Breviar. Chron. [o] Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 21. [p] Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 22. [q] Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. xxix. Adonis Archiepp. Viennensis Breviarium Chronicorum ab Origine Mundi ad sua usque Tempora.

Paris,

Digitized by Google

Paris, Gontram, the Second, had Orleans, Sigebert had Metz, or the kingdom of Auſtraſia, and Chilperic, the younger, was forced to be content with Soiſſons. Provence and Aquitaine were not comprehended in this diviſion, but ſeem to have been poſſeſſed by all of them in common, and, which muſt appear ſtrange, the empire of the Franks, though thus divided, continued for ſome years in peace, that is within itſelf; for the news of Clotaire's death, and the diſturbance raiſed by Chilperic, no ſooner reached the barbarous nations, on the frontiers of the Germanic France, than they began to form vaſt expectations of bettering their own condition, by taking advantage of this diviſion and diſorder [r].

Sigebert defeats the Huns, and afterwards his brother Chilperic, who invaded his dominions.

The author of this invaſion is commonly ſtyled the Cagan, or more properly, the khan of the Abares, a barbarous nation, ſaid to be the remains of the Huns, who, having ſerved with credit in the imperial armies, had lands aſſigned them, on the banks of the Danube, by the emperor Juſtinian [s]. Theſe people were not only remarkably brave, and hardy to the laſt degree, but, at the ſame time, ſo hideous in their perſons, that their very appearance ſtruck thoſe who beheld them with terror: in ſtature they exceeded the common race of men, their limbs half-naked, and of an unuſual ſize; their hair long, and platted with cords; their faces ſqualid; and their voice hoarſe and diſagreeable. They fell firſt into the country of Thuringia; the inhabitants of which being always averſe to the yoke of the Franks, received them favourably, and very readily joined them [t]. Sigebert, a gallant young prince, then about twenty-ſix years of age, knowing that his future peace muſt depend upon the conduct and ſucceſs of this expedition, laboured all he could to raiſe a numerous army, and to leſſen the apprehenſions they were under from the reports ſpread abroad of their terrible enemies. He ſucceeded in this aim; and, inſtead of waiting for theſe bold invaders, he marched to attack them in Thuringia, took his meaſures with the coolneſs and ſkill of a great captain, and expoſed himſelf, at the beginning of the action, like a private man, that his example might encourage his troops, and prevent all danger of a panic. The Huns were defeated by ſuperiority of diſcipline, in A. D. 563.

[r] Adonis Breviar. Chron. Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 23.
[s] Priſcus Rhætor. [t] Venantii Fortuati Epiſcopi Pictaviensis Epiſtolæ, lib. vi. cap. 3.

ſpite

spite of their ferocity and strength. Sigebert prosecuted his victory to the utmost, pursuing the Huns till he forced them to pass the Elbe with precipitation, yet accepted the first proposition made by their king for concluding a peace. He was induced to this moderation by the news that his brother Chilperic had invaded his dominions, and taken Rheims, and some other places in the neighbourhood; therefore, as soon as his treaty with the Huns was concluded, he repassed the Rhine, and with his victorious army invested Soissons, the capital of Chilperic's dominions, of which he became master, and of the person of his eldest son Theodobert; he defeated, likewise, Chilperic himself in battle, and not only recovered all the places he had taken, but despoiled him likewise of the best part of his dominions. The two eldest brothers interposed; and Sigebert, under their mediation, not only concluded a peace, but abandoned his conquests, and set Theodobert at liberty, whom he loaded with presents, but exacted from him an oath, that he would never bear arms against him more [u]; and thus the empire of the Franks was again restored to quiet.

He marries Brunehaut, daughter to Athanagilde, and succeeds with his brethren to Caribert, king of Paris.

This Sigebert was incontestably the most prudent as well as the bravest of the sons of Clotaire: perceiving how much all his brethren had sunk in the opinion of their subjects, as well as with foreign nations, by their intemperance, and, more especially, by their mean and unequal marriages, he determined to avoid that blemish, and to give a good example to those from whom he should have received it. With this view, by the advice of his council, he sent Gogon, mayor of the palace, *maire du palace*, which, at this time, implied prime minister, but came afterwards to signify both that and generalissimo, to procure for him Brunechilde, or more commonly Brunehaut, daughter to Athanagilde, king of the Visigoths. This princess was easily obtained; and Gogon brought her into France, with a magnificent equipage and immense treasure [w]. Her birth, her beauty, and her behaviour, which was perfectly affable and modest, and her speedy conversion from the Arian heresy to the Catholic faith, rendered her the delight of her subjects, and raised the character of Sigebert extremely. Soon after died Caribert, king of Pa-

[u] Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 23. Adon. Breviar. Chron. [w] Venantii Aventic. Episcopi Pictavensis Epist. lib. vii. cap 1. Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chron. cap 58.

ris

ris (F). His dominions were divided amongſt his brethren, but in ſo ſtrange a manner, that we ſhould run the hazard of deceiving ourſelves and the reader, if we ſhould attempt to explain it; only this is certain, that they agreed that the city of Paris ſhould be given to none of them, but be poſſeſſed in common; and they required three of the greateſt prelates in their dominions to curſe, in the moſt ſolemn manner, whichever of theſe kings ſhould, at any time, preſume to enter it without the conſent of the other two [x].

x Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 40. Geſta Regum Franc. lib. xxxi.

(F) Charibert, or Caribert, king of Paris, was the ableſt monarch of his time, as appears by his preſerving his authority, and reigning in peace, notwithſtanding the diſſolute life he led, which did not hinder his being highly complimented by ſome prelates, though, for the honour of religion, there were others who would not proſtitute their conſciences, but took an honeſt liberty of remonſtrating, in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt his unchriſtian and unprincely vices (1). His firſt wife was Ingoberge, by whom he had Edilberge, or Berta, by the Saxons ſtyled Emma, who eſpouſed Ethelbert, king of Kent, and was very inſtrumental in converting him to Chriſtianity (2). Queen Ingoberge had two ſervants, the daughters of a woolcomber, with whom the king fell in love, and married firſt the younger of the two, whoſe name was Mireſleur; and though ſhe was exquiſitely handſome, this did not hinder his taking a third wife, Theudechilde, the daughter of a ſhepherd, who brought him a ſon, which, however, quickly died (3). Germanus, biſhop of Paris, expoſtulated with him very ſharply for theſe ſcandalous actions, and more eſpecially for his repudiating his lawful queen. Charibert, however, ſo little regarded the good prelate's admonitions, that he took the woolcomber's elder daughter Marcouefe out of a convent, and married her likewiſe. On which Germanus excommunicated him; but it does not appear the king was ever reclaimed. He was a very learned and polite prince, ſpoke Latin elegantly, kept his treaties punctually, cauſed juſtice to be ſtrictly adminiſtered throughout his dominions, and was highly reſpected by his neighbours. Beſides his four wives, he muſt have had concubines, for he left behind him two natural daughters, Bertoſlede and Crodielle, who became nuns (4).

(1) Gregor. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 26. (2) Chronicon Saxonicum, p. 25. (3) Fredegarii Scholaſtici Epitome & Chronicon. (4) Geſta Regum Francorum.

Chilperic

Chilperic eſpouſes Galſwintha, the eldeſt ſiſter of Brunehaut, and afterwards murders her.

Chilperic, king of Soiſſons, jealous of his brother in all reſpects, ſaw, with regret, the great reputation he had acquired, and therefore reſolved to alter, at leaſt in appearance, his own courſe of life, and to eſpouſe the eldeſt ſiſter of Brunehaut, who was reputed little inferior to her in beauty, and, in all other reſpects, at leaſt, her equal. As ſoon as he had taken this reſolution, he ſent to demand that princeſs from her father, but the negociation proved harder than he expected [y]. It was, however, at length accompliſhed; and, before the arrival of the princeſs Galſwintha, he diſmiſſed from court his miſtreſs Fredegonde (G), and took ſome other ſteps of the ſame nature, which

[y] Greg. Turon. lib. i. cap. 68.

(G) Fredegonde was daughter of a peaſant, in that part of France now called Picardy, and, in all probability, her education correſponding with her deſcent. Chilperic took her for his concubine when they were both very young; and though he was extremely enamoured of her, yet he married Andovera, who was likewiſe a finiſhed beauty, but was far from having the parts of Fredegonde, who, in compliance with the king's will, and to ſerve her own purpoſes, made no ſcruple of waiting on her, or of taking all the methods poſſible to gain her favour and confidence, which that innocent and unſuſpecting princeſs eaſily beſtowed. Fredegonde believing ſhe had obtained ſuch an aſcendancy over Chilperic as might induce him to make her the partner of his throne, as well as of his bed, if it was empty, contrived to put this in his power. When one of the queen's daughters was to be baptized, ſhe prevailed on a lady, who was to be the godmother, to make the ceremony wait, and then taking advantage of the queen's impatience, propoſed, as there was no body preſent worthy of the honour, that ſhe ſhould herſelf hold the child, as the king himſelf was ſponſor, which ſhe inadvertently did. Fredegonde, when ſhe next ſaw Chilperic, told him, that he had now no queen, for, according to the diſcipline of that age, a kind of ſpiritual, or rather eccleſiaſtical kindred, was contracted between thoſe who anſwered for a child at the font, which rendered a marriage between them unlawful. Upon this ſlight and ſilly pretence, the queen was diſmiſſed the court, and ſent to a convent, to the great ſatisfaction of Chilperic as well as Fredegonde; but they acted upon different motives: the king was ſtruck with the marriage of his brother Sigebert to a princeſs of Spain, and reſolved to follow his example. For the preſent, therefore, the politics of Fredegonde were not only unſucceſsful, but produced an event directly oppoſite to her wiſhes; but ſhe diſſembled her chagrin, and

Digitized by Google

which were extremely acceptable to his subjects, to whom, in many respects, he was become highly obnoxious. The queen, who brought with her immense treasures from Spain, and who exerted her whole endeavour to please the king, made herself, for a time, entirely acceptable; but, by degrees, Chilperic suffered Fredegonde to appear at court, and was suspected to have renewed his intercourse with her; a circumstance which gave the queen such distaste, that she intreated Chilperic's leave to return into her own country, offering to leave behind her all she had brought from thence [z]. The king rejected this proposal, because he thought it would render him odious; but, at the same time, he framed and executed a design, which covered him with indelible ignominy. He cajoled the poor queen in such a manner as to dissipate her suspicions, and when they seemed to live in the utmost harmony, she was found dead in her bed [a]. He appeared inconsolable upon this event, which he would have had taken for a sudden death; whereas it was known that the queen was strangled, and, upon his publicly espousing Fredegonde soon after, it was suspected he did the murder with his own hands. Brunehaut not only stirred up her husband Sigebert to revenge the murder, but demanded justice also of Gontran king of Orleans, or, as he was now styled, of A. D. 567.

[z] Adonis Breviar. Chron. xxxi. Adon. Breviar. Chron.

[a] Gesta Regum Francorum, cap.

and began to weave her devices anew. She was a woman, who with infinite address and intrigue could appear the most simple and sincere in her behaviour: by an affected tenderness, and a constant complaisance, she retained the affections of Chilperic, who was the most mutable man in the world. At the same time she held him by her arts, she governed him by her capacity: his ambition inspired him with projects which he wanted abilities to execute; Fredegonde pointed out the means, and taught him how to conduct them (1). She had certainly great talents, but, in spite of all the apologies that have been made for her, she had many of the blackest vices. She was covetous, cruel, envious, vindictive, and lewd, but she knew how to conceal all these detestable qualities under the veil of state policy, and even of religion. There was one vice she could not hide; and this taught the court and the world to pry into all the rest. This predominant vice was pride, a thing inseparable from mean birth, when elevated not by merit, but by fortune.

(1) Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 28.

Digitized by Google

Burgundy. The confederate kings, in a very short space, conquered a great part of Chilperic's dominions, when, on a sudden, they made peace, Chilperic consenting that Brunehaut should enjoy the places which, upon the marriage, he had bestowed upon the deceased queen her sister: these were Bourdeaux, Limoges, Cahors, Bigorre, and the town of Bearn, now called Lescar[b].

The Huns invade the dominions of the Franks on the one side, and the Lombards on the other.

This war was scarce finished, before the Huns made a new irruption into the dominions of the king of Austrasia, who immediately marched with an army to oppose them; but he was not so successful as at the beginning of his reign. The ancient historians say, that by magical arts the Franks were so terrified, that they abandoned their monarch; but it will appear, in the sequel, that Sigebert ought rather to be esteemed a magician than they, who, seeing that his troops would not act, called to his assistance those engines of witchcraft that affect alike the barbarous and the polite; that is, he distributed presents so plentifully, and, in a conference he had with a king of the Abares, touched his humour so happily, and made him so thoroughly sensible of his liberality, that they swore a perpetual friendship. In their retreat, the Huns found themselves embarrassed in a woody country, without provisions, where they might have been easily and totally cut off. Thither Sigebert directed his march with vast herds of live cattle, and all kinds of necessaries, and took care that they should be plentifully supplied till they arrived in their own territories; an action, of which the Huns had so strong a sense, that they never disturbed his dominions after. While he was thus employed, the Lombards, who had lately got possession of Italy, made an irruption into Burgundy, where they did a great deal of mischief, till they were defeated by Mummol, who commanded king Gontran's forces. The Lombards had carried into Italy a body of twenty thousand Saxons, with their wives and children, who, they promised, should share their fortune; but, when this exceeded their own expectation, they became so enamoured of their new conquest, as absolutely to refuse any settlement to the Saxons, who threw themselves into the country of Burgundy, where they were defeated by the same general with great loss[c]. Next year, they entered the same country a little before harvest, and traversed it, in hopes of reaching their own country, professing

[b] Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 28.

[c] Ibid. Paul. Diacon. lib. ii. iii.

themselves

Digitized by Google

themselves subjects to the king of Austrasia; but this retreat Mummol prevented, and obliged them to make satisfaction, in money and rich furniture, for the depredations they had committed. He then permitted them to return home, where they found the Suevi in possession, by whom they were, in a great measure, cut off and destroyed. A. D. 569.

After the return of Sigebert to Metz, having some pretensions on the city of Arles, he caused it to be taken, in some measure by surprize, from his brother Gontran, who quickly recovered it, and who soon after made a peace, and an alliance against his brother Chilperic, who, during this war, had made himself master of several places in Sigebert's territories: for these he had paid very dear, if, about some quarrel as to ecclesiastical jurisdictions, Gontran had not broke again with Sigebert, whose forces being entirely defeated by Clovis, the youngest son of Chilperic, he found himself under a necessity of bringing a numerous army of his German subjects into the field, and, putting himself at their head, marched to repair this loss. Gontran, terrified at their appearance, joined his forces to those of Chilperic, in order to cover the Seine, which they did very effectually. Sigebert opened to himself a passage, by acquainting Gontran, that, if he persisted in this measure, he would make an irruption into Burgundy; upon which Gontran abandoning Chilperic, he was in a short time reduced so low, that he was obliged to send to his brother to sue for peace; to which Sigebert, as he had formerly done, readily consented: but his army, who were for the most part Pagans, who had already acquired both booty and slaves, and who had promised themselves the plunder of the best part of France, mutinied as soon as they knew that the peace was signed [d]. Sigebert, who had a strong corps of Franks, put them immediately under arms, rode in person to the mutineers, seized some of the chiefs, and caused them to be stoned; on which the rest submitted; and, receiving good words and presents, returned again into their own country, to the great satisfaction of the Franks, who were subjects of the same prince [e].

A. D. 570.

Gontran, Sigebert, and Chilperic, often break with and as often make peace with each other.

A. D. 574.

The peace had not subsisted a year, when Chilperic, burning with impatience to renew the war, procured an interview with his brother Gontran, in which he laboured to persuade him, that, as his own situation was extremely precarious, and depended rather on the moderation of Sigebert than any power he had, to maintain himself; so

Sigebert is assassinated before Tournay, which changes the whole face of affairs.

[d] Adon. Breviar. Chron. [e] Greg. Tur. lib. iv. cap. 44.

the

the moment he himself or his posterity should be subdued, the dominions of Gontran would be held by no better tenure. This intimation alarmed him exceedingly, insomuch that he promised Chilperic to support him with all his forces. The king of Soissons, on this promise, made an irruption into Champagne, and laid all the country waste with fire and sword; Sigebert was so much provoked at this outrage, that he recalled the forces he had dismissed, and dispatched, at the same time, two of his generals, with a body of his best troops, to meet prince Theodobert, son to Chilperic, who, with a numerous army, was marching into the neighbourhood of Paris. In the course of his march, however, the best part of his forces deserted him, and, in this distress, he was attacked by Sigebert's generals, who cut him, and a few lords who remained firm to him, in pieces. This disaster threw Chilperic into great consternation, more especially when he saw his subjects took no share in his distress, but seemed rather pleased with what had happened, and no longer paid a ready obedience to his order: but what increased his perplexity to a degree that was insupportable, was Gontran's acting as he did before, and making, as soon as the ill news came, a separate peace [f]. To prevent worse consequences, he retired with his forces to Tournay, and, having fortified the place, determined to make his last efforts for its defence. Sigebert, with a potent and victorious army, entered Paris in triumph, and, after compelling the subjects of the kingdom of Soissons to swear allegiance to him, he continued his march to Tournay, which he invested, notwithstanding the warmest applications were made to him and Brunehaut, by prelates of the first rank, in order to pacify their resentment, and dispose them to offer Chilperic some terms of peace [g]. In this state of things, Fredegonde prevailed on two desperate villains to undertake the murder of Sigebert, which they effected with great ease; for, going into his camp, and pretending that they had matters of great importance to communicate to him, the king gave them audience, and, while he listened to a feigned tale, they buried both their daggers in his bowels. Two lords, who were at some distance, advancing to seize the assassins, one was killed, and the other grievously wounded; but the guards, taking the alarm, came to their relief, and, seeing what had happened, cut those execrable

A. D 575.

[f] Sirmond. Concil. Gal. tom. i.

[g] Greg. Tur. lib. iv. cap. 52.

wretches

Digitized by Google

wretches to pieces on the spot[h]. Thus fell the most accomplished prince of the Franks, when about forty years of age, and in the fourteenth of his reign[i]. His army, thereupon, immediately raised the siege, and retired into Austrasia.

A. D. 576. Chilperic, or rather Fredegonde, as soon as this dreadful blow was struck, sent to Paris, in order to seize the widow, the children, and the treasures of Sigebert. Gondebaude, one of the ablest generals of the deceased king, made his escape out of that city, and carried with him privately Childebert, the only son of his master, then about five years of age, whom he conveyed safely to Metz, where the nobility proclaimed him king of Austrasia. Brunehaut, with her two daughters, Ingurda and Clodoswinda, were confined, and an immense mass of treasure seized. On the arrival of Chilperic at Paris, he ordered Brunehaut to remove to Rouen, where she had the city for her prison; but he took from her both her daughters. Some time after, he sent his son prince Meroveus, with a considerable body of forces, to Tours. The conduct of this prince was such as surprised the Franks, and alarmed his father; for, instead of executing his orders, he went to Rouen; and the bishop of that city, whose name was Pretextatus, was prevailed upon to solemnize a marriage between him and Brunehaut, who was still a young woman, and most amazingly handsome. Chilperic, upon receiving this news, by the advice of his queen, marched thither immediately, and the prince and his consort, not being able to assemble any force to oppose him, took sanctuary; but, upon a solemn promise of safety, they quitted it, to throw themselves at the king's feet. Chilperic entertained them kindly, caused them, for several days, to eat with him at his own table, then carried his son with him to Soissons, and sent Brunehaut and her two daughters back to Metz, under pretence of complying with the demand which Childebert, by the advice of his council, had made, that his mother and sisters should be set at liberty, though in truth he was afraid to suffer her to remain in his dominions[k].

Meroveus, the eldest son of Chilperic, espouses Brunehaut.

A. D. 577. Brunehaut had no sooner returned into the kingdom of Austrasia than she began to meditate revenge against Chilperic, in appearance, whom she styled, murderer of

Meroveus betrayed, taken, and murdered.

[h] Gesta Reg. Franc. cap. xxxi. Venantii Fortunati Ep. Pictavienſis Epiſt. lib. vii. [i] Fredegarii Scholast. Epitome & Chron. cap. 57. [k] Greg. Tur. lib. v. cap. 3.

Digitized by Google

his brother, and her husband; but, in reality, against Fredegonde; for these two ambitious princesses were irreconcileable enemies to each other, and the whole nation of the Franks were, for many years, the victims of their passions. It is not easy to conceive how the lords of Austrasia, who were extremely jealous of Brunehaut, came to adopt this measure; but it is certain they did; and that Godin, one of their generals, at the head of a considerable army, marched directly to Soissons, in hopes of surprising Fredegonde; but she, having timely notice, made her escape. Godin, however, caused the city to be invested, knowing that prince Meroveus was still there, and would not be displeased if it fell into his hands[l]. Chilperic marched with what troops he could assemble to save his capital, and, after engaging and defeating the troops of Austrasia, compelled them to raise the siege. In order to prosecute this victory, he sent Didier, one of his generals, with a great army, to invade the enemy's country; upon which Gontran, taking his nephew under his protection, sent his general Mummol to oppose Didier, whom he routed, and killed twenty-five thousand of his men. Chilperic, who attributed all his misfortunes to Meroveus, caused that unhappy prince to be seized, and shaved, who, notwithstanding, made his escape, and took shelter in the church of St. Martin at Tours; from whence, with infinite difficulty, he found means to withdraw into the kingdom of Austrasia, where Brunehaut would have protected him if it had been in her power; but the jealousy of the nobles was so strong, that he was obliged to withdraw, and to hide himself where he could[m]. Chilperic then turned his vengeance against Pretextatus, bishop of Rouen, whom he accused in person, before an assembly of bishops, of treason, and other enormous crimes; but the prelate defended himself so well, that his brethren could not be prevailed upon by intreaties, promises, or threatenings, to condemn him; nevertheless Chilperic sent him into banishment[n]. Meroveus was not long after betrayed, and made prisoner; but, as they were conveying him to a fortress where he was to remain in confinement, a person who was near him ran him through the body, of which wound he died upon the spot. It was given out, that he was slain by a servant at his own earnest request; but this was generally looked upon as an artifice to cover Frede-

l Adon. Breviar. Chron. Tur. lib. v. cap. 19.

m Idem.

n Greg.

gonde

gonde from the reproach of having caused her son-in-law to be assassinated.

As two of the sons of queen Andouera were now removed out of her way, Fredegonde looked upon the destruction of Clovis as the single step wanting to transfer the succession to her own sons; of whom she had three [o]. But while she meditated the means of effecting his destruction, a very strange event happened, which had almost brought about her own. One Leudaste, who had been removed from the government of Tours for oppression, framed, in conjunction with Riculphe, an ecclesiastic of that diocese, an accusation against St. Gregory, then bishop, and the great historian of this period, as if he should have thrown out a charge against the queen of committing adultery with the bishop of Bourdeaux: they likewise added, that he had entered into intrigues for betraying the city to the king of Austrasia. The king suspected the first part of this information, and paid no credit to the latter. He left it, notwithstanding, to be examined by an assembly of bishops, who, upon Gregory's swearing in the most solemn manner, that he never said any such thing, declared him innocent. Leudaste made his escape in time; but Riculphe being in prison, was put to the torture, who confessed, that the true design was not against the bishop, but against the queen, on a supposition that Chilperic would have believed the charge, and have either put her to death or banished her, and, in that case, Leudaste intended to have assassinated him, with the three young princes, and to have set Clovis upon the throne; but it was not so much as pretended that Clovis was at all privy to this conspiracy [p]. Chilperic had, about this time, a dispute with Varoc, count of Bretagne, who refused to do him homage; he sent a body of troops against him, which were defeated, and consented afterwards to a treaty, which did him no great honour. This want of spirit, which was not very consistent with his character, might, very probably, be owing to the untoward situation of his affairs, which was such as might have perplexed a wiser prince. His brother and his nephew lived in strict union, and both had great reason to be displeased with him; his subjects had been so harrassed with taxes, through his own avarice, and that of Fredegonde, that they were miserably poor, and universally discontented. His son Clovis abhorred Fredegonde, and made no secret of his aversion.

A. D. 579.

The famous St. Gregory bishop of Tours, falsely accused, in order to bring about a conspiracy.

[o] Gesta Regum Francorum. [p] Greg. Tur. lib. v. cap. 50.

Digitized by Google

To increaſe his embarraſſments, the ſeaſons were, for a long time, ſo unfavourable, that famine and peſtilence threatened his people at the ſame time [q]. The king and queen were both ſeized with the epidemic diſeaſe that then raged, and both eſcaped; but their three ſons, Clodobert, Samſon, and Dagobert, were attacked by this dangerous diſeaſe, which ſtaggered even the fortitude of Fredegonde, whom all hiſtorians allow to have been, in her temper, one of the firmeſt women that ever lived. She had not only recourſe to proceſſions, public prayers, and all the exterior modes of religion then in faſhion, but alſo prevailed upon the king to remit various taxes, and to throw the rolls of ſome heavy impoſitions into the fire; notwithſtanding all theſe meaſures theſe children died, upon which the queen reſumed her former fortitude.

A. D. 511. *Clovis, the laſt of Chilperic's ſons by queen Andouera is murdered, and afterwards his mother.*

The ſight of Clovis, who was now become his father's ſole heir, was more uneaſy to her than ever; the great court paid him by perſons of all ranks excited her envy; and the threats which, like a young man, he ſometimes threw out, alarmed her ſo much, that ſhe practiſed various methods to remove him, and even went ſo far as to ſend him into the moſt infected provinces, in hopes the prevailing malady might diſpatch him. At length, her deſign became ſo apparent, that ſome of thoſe obſequious wretches, who are the diſgrace of courts, to make themſelves agreeable to her who ruled all things, charged the prince with procuring the deſtruction of her children. To give ſome colour to this ſtrange tale, they affirmed, that he was in love with a young perſon, whoſe mother was a witch, and that the three young princes were deſtroyed by her incantations; upon which incredible ſtory the prince was confined, the young woman treated in the moſt ſhameful manner, and the mother, after being racked into a confeſſion, condemned [r]. Prince Clovis being entirely delivered up to the reſentment of Fredegonde, ſhe ſent him to the caſtle of Noiſy, on the other ſide the Marne, where he was found, a few days after, extended in his apartment, with a wound in his breaſt, and a bloody dagger lying by him, to countenance a report which was ſpread, as if he had fallen by his own hand: but reflecting afterwards that Chilperic might poſſibly learn the truth, and, ſuſpecting his own ſafety, recall his queen Andouera, who, though baniſhed his court, was not entirely baniſhed his heart, ſhe, to complete her deſign, and to fix that abſo-

[q] Fredegarii Chronicon. [r] Geſta Regum Francorum.

lute

lute dominion she had so long enjoyed, caused her likewise to be removed out of the world [s]. Thus Chilperic was left alone in the hands of an ambitious and cruel woman, who, by degrees, had dispatched his whole family.

Continual disputes amongst the three kings.

The young king of Austrasia seemed to be born to unusual good fortune; though raised to the throne while a child, though his mother was excluded from the government, and though, from the disputes incident to minority, his councils were in a great measure distracted; yet, instead of being in any distress or danger, he lived in splendor and security [t]. His uncle Gontran, king of Burgundy, being without children, considered him as his heir, sent for him to his court, shewed him as his successor to his people, and caressed him in such a manner, that Chilperic, and even Fredegonde, were afraid to give him any disturbance, knowing that the Austrasians and the Burgundians united, would be an overmatch for all the forces they could raise; besides, Chilperic was again embarrassed with the count of Bretagne [u]. By degrees the scene changed; the bishop of Rheims gained the ascendancy in the council at Metz, and he had such a spleen at Lupus, duke of Champagne, as divided the whole kingdom into two factions, queen Brunehaut siding with the duke, who likewise stood well with the king of Burgundy. This led the bishop of Rheims to suggest to the regency of Austrasia, that Chilperic was the king's uncle as well as Gontran; that he had likewise no children; and that, notwithstanding the professions of the former, he still kept the moiety of Marseilles, which he had seized upon the death of Sigebert: he advised, therefore, that Childebert should make a league with his uncle Chilperic, for the recovery of Marseilles, and, at the same time, recover Poictiers, which that monarch had seized, because it was convenient to him. Chilperic entered readily into the league, but avoided the restitution, by saying, that Childebert would quickly inherit that and the rest of his dominions [w]. This war might have been fatal to Gontran, if Childebert could have acted with the same vigour as his uncle Chilperic did; but this the factions in his dominions prevented. However, Chilperic prosecuted the war

[s] Greg. Tur. lib. v cap. 40. [t] Marius in Chron. [u] Adonis Chronicon. [w] Venantii Fortunati Episc. Pictavensis Epist. lib. vii. cap. 7, 8, 9. Greg. Tur. lib. vi. cap. 14.

Digitized by Google

with ſuch ſpirit and ſucceſs, that Gontran was glad to make peace upon hard terms; and the king of Soiſſons took care that one article of the peace ſhould be the reſtitution of the moiety of Marſeilles to his nephew [x]. This policy gained him a great intereſt amongſt the Auſtraſians, with whom he held a conſtant correſpondence.

The death of Chilperic king of Soiſſons, by the ſtroke of ſome aſſaſſins.

Chilperic, of all the kings of the Franks, was the moſt conſidered in foreign nations. He piqued himſelf upon his magnificence, and in this, it is alſo probable, he gratified Fredegonde, whoſe addreſs was ſo great, that ſhe kept a fair correſpondence with Childebert, or at leaſt with thoſe who had the direction of his affairs; inſomuch that he negociated a new league with Chilperic againſt Gontran, who had ſeized again the moiety of Marſeilles, which he had ſo lately reſtored. But this war was not over fortunate. Childebert did not perform what might have been expected from a good ally. Gontran gained ſome advantage over the troops of the king of Soiſſons, in the battle of Melun; upon which a peace was concluded, and Childebert was again put in poſſeſſion of his ſhare of Marſeilles [y]. By this time the queen-dowager Brunehaut had regained the aſcendancy in Childebert's cabinet, whom ſhe engaged in a cloſe alliance with his uncle the king of Burgundy, with an intent to deſpoil Chilperic of the beſt part of his dominions. The king of Soiſſons judged it beſt to act upon the defenſive, and therefore he retired to Cambray with his treaſures, and ordered all his generals to put their forces into the moſt defenſible places, upon a ſuppoſition that this formidable alliance would not ſubſiſt long. In this turn of his affairs he had the conſolation of ſeeing a ſon born, and of marrying his daughter, the princeſs Rigunthe, to Recared, ſon to the king of the Viſigoths [z]. But, while occupied with theſe and other cares, he was ſuddenly taken off by aſſaſſination, at a juncture when his affairs were in the moſt critical ſituation: for, being at the caſtle of Chelbes, a country-houſe about four leagues from Paris, and taking there the diverſion of hunting, he returned one evening ſomewhat late, and, as he was diſmounting from his horſe, and leaning his hand upon the ſhoulder of one of his domeſtics, he received two ſtabs with a long knife, one under the armpit and the other in the belly; of which wounds he

A. D 583.

A. D 584.

[x] Fredegarii Schol. Epitome & Chronicon. [y] Greg. Tur. lib. vi. cap. 31. [z] Adon. Chron.

died

died upon the ſpot, and the aſſaſſins made their eſcape; neither is it clear by what intrigues he was brought to this ſtrange end [a] (H).

Fredegonde

[a] Greg. Tur. lib. vi. cap. 46. Geſta Regum Francorum, cap. 35.

(H) In reſpect to the death of Chilperic, no modern hiſtorian ſpeaks of the author of it with any kind of certainty. The author neareſt in point of time to him ſays, that he was aſſaſſinated by the command of Brunehaut, and affirms, that the name of the perſon who did it was Faucon. Yet this is not likely to be true, ſince, if it had been ſo, Fredegonde muſt have known it; and, as the reader will ſee in the hiſtory, ſhe charged another perſon with it, which coſt him his life. Another hiſtorian is as confident, that Fredegonde herſelf was the author of her huſband's death. He ſays the king, before he went to the chace, accidentally entered the queen's apartment, and found her waſhing her face; upon which he touched her neck with a ſwitch he had in his hand. The queen, without turning her head, cried, "Ah, Landry, is it you! is the king gone?" The tone in which this was ſpoken affected Chilperic ſo much, that, in turning out of the room, he muttered ſomewhat, which alarmed the queen to ſuch a degree, that ſhe ſent immediately for her gallant, and repreſented their common danger in ſo ſtrong a light, as produced the ſtabbing the king when he returned in the evening from hunting. The ſilence of Gregory of Tours, who was no friend to Fredegonde, is a ſtrong argument that nothing of this ſort was reported at that time; and he is ſo abſolutely ſilent, that the very name of Landry does not occur in his hiſtory. He deals, however, very roundly with the character of Chilperic, whom he ſtyles the Nero and the Herod of his time, alluding to his tyranny in point of government, and the cruelties he exerciſed upon his own children (1). He reſembled that prince in other reſpects, ſince he ſet up for a legiſlator in ſpiritual as well as civil affairs. He conceived of himſelf ſo highly, that he thought of putting an end, by an edict of his own penning, to the diſputes between the Orthodox and the Arians; from which ſcheme he was with difficulty diſſauded (2). He invented four letters to be added to the alphabet, and ordered, that where they would have occurred in ancient books, the letters originally uſed ſhould be neatly eraſed, and theſe of his invention ſubſtituted; but theſe letters of his were ſo little reliſhed, that, except what Gregory of Tours ſuggeſts, it is not at this day very well known what they

(1) Gregor. Turon. lib. vi. cap. 46. Geſta Regum Francorum.
(2) Venantii Fortunati, lib. ix. Fredeg. Chron. tom. i. p. 275.

Gontran, king of Burgundy takes Fredegonde and her son under his protection.

Fredegonde found herself in a very distressed condition, deserted by most of those she had raised, and insulted by those she had formerly treated ill; her son, who was then no more than four months old, was then at Tournay, by Chilperic's appointment: those who were entrusted with his treasures carried them to Childebert at Metz; the better part of her own she bestowed upon her daughter, and these were seized by Didier, who commanded the escort that was to attend her into Spain; and her daughter, after some confinement at Toulouse, was brought back in a contemptuous manner to Paris; to which city she herself repaired with the few persons of distinction who still followed her fortune [b]. The character of this princess was unshaken fortitude; and she displayed it in the highest degree upon this occasion. She addressed herself to Gontran, king of Burgundy, and, in the most humble manner, intreated him to become the protector of an unhappy widow, and of an orphan king, who was also his nephew. Gontran gave her good words, marched directly to Paris with his army, and, upon mature deliberation, consented to what she desired; whether on the motive of duty, compassion, or policy, is very uncertain. On the other hand, Childebert, king of Austrasia, either from his own disposition, or through the persuasion of his mother Brunehaut, marched also to Paris; but Gontran caused the gates to be shut against him, and treated very cavalierly the ambassadors sent by that prince [c]. They demanded, in their master's name, a share in the dominions of Chilperic, and that Fredegonde should be delivered up to be punished, for a multitude of crimes which they laid to her charge. Gontran told them that the dominions of Chilperic were to be

[b] Greg. Tur. lib. vii. cap. 4, 5. Gesta Regum Francorum, ubi supra. [c] Aimon. Adon. Chron.

were. He composed, likewise, two or three volumes upon different subjects; and, amongst these royal labours, there were a great many poems, which, we are assured, were very bad; and in all probability, they must have been so, since they had the misfortune to be considered in that light, in an age when very bad performances were esteemed excellent. As to Chilperic's first queen, and his issue by her, all that we need to say of them has been interwoven in the history. With respect to the second, Galswintha, we may say the same thing; and as to the history of Fredegonde, besides what has been already mentioned, we shall be obliged to treat of her and her issue in another place.

inherited

Digitized by Google

inherited by his son, and that he yielded no credit to the stories they told him of his widow. He added, that, immediately on his brother's death, he had promised to defend them, and that he meant to keep his word. The ambassadors replied, that they were glad to find him a prince of such punctuality, and therefore hoped he would keep his treaties as well as his word. Gontran, exceedingly provoked at this behaviour, produced a treaty that Childebert had made with Chilperic to deprive him of his dominions, which had been put into his hands by Fredegonde; upbraiding them with their corruption and oppressions, charging them with betraying their master, and telling them, that whatever he had he would keep, even if it did of right belong to his nephew, as believing it to be safer in his hands than their's. All things seemed now tending towards a rupture,; but the heats on both sides were quickly qualified by the detection of a scheme which had been long in agitation, and which tended to no less than setting up a new king [d].

Gondebaut, as son to Clotaire, comes into France, and is proclaimed king by a faction.

The ministers, in the several courts of the kings of the Franks, found themselves less powerful, and less at their ease, than they could wish, and this chiefly through that balance, which either the piety or the policy of Gontran had established, and which Chilperic, before his death, began to comprehend and admire. The confederates, therefore, resolved to confer the title of king upon Gondebaut, who was generally esteemed to be the son of Clotaire; and they took their measures with more prudence, and with a greater measure of foresight, than has been common in such intrigues. These conspirators were duke Didier and duke Mummol, with duke Boson, who had been raised by the favour of king Childebert, and, in his turn, had been trusted by and betrayed every one of the monarchs who then reigned over the Franks. This man had been sent by the rest to Constantinople, to bring over this son of Clotaire, whom he cheated with the promise of a crown; and to whom, either out of friendship, or to embroil the affairs of the Franks, the Greek emperor Tiberius freely gave an immense treasure [e]. Soon after the return of Boson, Gondebaut followed him, as he had promised, and landed at Marseilles; the bishop of which city, whose name was Theodorus, received him very respectfully, and furnished him with the carriages requisite for

[d] Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chron.

[e] Greg. Tur. lib. vii. cap. 10.

him

Digitized by Google

him and his train to proceed to Avignon, of which Mummol was governor. He was no sooner gone than Boson caused the bishop to be arrested, and charged him with treason, that he might seize the treasures of Gondebaut, which he divided with the governor of Marseilles; but, at the same time, hinted to the conspirators, under-hand, that he did this only to save appearances[f]. While he was intriguing with all the courts, without the least intention of being true to any, he was, with all his family, seized by the order of king Gontran, and conducted prisoner to Paris. There he accused Mummol of being the author of the whole contrivance, and offered to betray him into the king's hands, leaving his son a hostage for the execution of his promise, which, though he endeavoured with great address, yet he was not able to perform. In the mean time Childebert, by the advice of queen Brunehaut, and some of his council, in order to mortify the king of Burgundy, drew Gondebaut out of the retreat which he had chosen, upon the loss of his treasures, and put him at the head of a numerous army, commanded under him by duke Mummol. This nobleman at Brive la Gaillarde, in the Limousins, proclaimed him king, and, in quality of his brother, the true heir of Chilperic, in the realm of Soissons; and, by the assistance of Didier, put him in possession of a great part of the kingdom; by which means his credit and his spirits were so raised, that he sent ambassadors to Gontran, to demand restitution of all the rest. These the king of Burgundy, without ceremony, seized as rebels, put them to the torture, and drew from them an entire discovery of the whole intrigue; a step bold and well timed, by which his dignity was secured[g].

Gontran disabuses Childebert, and engages him to assist in suppressing Gondebaut.

Upon these discoveries, Gontran invited his nephew Childebert to come and make him a visit, assuring him, that he would find in him, not only the affection of an uncle, but the tenderness of a father and the candour of a friend. Many of the great lords of Austrasia opposed this journey with great warmth, alleging, that the king ought not to hazard himself, in the power of a monarch, with whom he stood already upon ill terms; but Childebert, now in his fifteenth year, decided for himself, and went, with a small retinue, to the court of his uncle. Gontran began, very roundly, with the performance of his promise; shewed him publicly to the people as his

[f] Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon. Adon. Chron.
[g] Greg. Tur. lib. vii. cap. 14.

heir;

Digitized by Google

heir; carried him to the review of his army; desired them to consider Childebert, for the future, not as his nephew, but as his son; and restored to him freely all the places to which he had any claim[h]. He next acquainted him, A.D. 585. that he was surrounded by traitors; that some of the principal persons in his cabinet were in the interests of Gondebaut; and, particularly, advised him to beware of the queen-dowager Brunehaut, and the bishop of Rheims. The two kings were speedily and sincerely reconciled. This circumstance was no sooner known than Didier abandoned the party of Gondebaut, and made his peace with the king of Burgundy; the captains, and most of the troops, that were subjects to the king of Austrasia, took the same method. So that Gondebaut, with Mummol, and those who still remained firm, made choice of the fortress of Comminge, very strong by situation, and well fortified for those times, in which they determined to stand a siege[i]. It was not long before Leudegisile, who commanded the forces of Gontran, arrived before the place, invested it, and carried on the siege with all the activity and vigour that the art of war, as it then stood, would allow; but, however, with no great success; for the besieged, being well supplied with all things, and the soldiers looking upon their case to be desperate, neglected nothing that might contribute to a good defence, and shewed so much skill and resolution, that Leudegisile began to doubt of the success of his undertaking. There were, however, those about him, who suggested, that other methods might be found, more sure and more speedy than those he had hitherto practised. Having once taken the resolution of following their advice, he left the management of these schemes entirely to those who contrived them[k], and who were grown expert in the management of such intricate contrivances, by an almost perpetual practice of such intrigues, without any restraint from principle or conscience.

Gondebaut is betrayed by Mummol, who is put to death by Gontran.

Boson was the principal author of these new measures, which consisted in negotiating with Mummol, to seize the unfortunate Gondebaut, and to deliver him up. Mummol knew how obnoxious he was to his old master Gontran, and would not, therefore, listen to any thing,

[h] Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon. Adon. Chron.
[i] Gesta Regum Francorum. [k] Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chron. Aimoini Monachi inclyti Cœnobii. S. Gerardi de Gestis Francorum.

till

Digitized by Google

till Leudegiſile ſwore, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would employ his moſt zealous endeavours to procure an indemnity for this lord. When he was once brought over, he quickly ſeduced the other chiefs, men of abandoned characters, who had embarked in this buſineſs ſolely with a view to profit, and who were, therefore, ready to abandon it, when they perceived this was to be found on the other ſide. As ſoon as they had made their own terms, they cut the matter very ſhort with their maſter; they told him, that it was in vain to ſtay till the garriſon ſhould be reduced to extremity; that, therefore, it would be beſt to ſurrender in time; and that Gontran would not probably imbrue his hands in the blood of his brother. Though much ſurpriſed at this addreſs, Gondebaut endeavoured to make them ſenſible of the weakneſs of this expedient; but they replied, that arguments came too late, and that their meaſures were taken. They uſed him very rudely, hurried him to the gates, and there delivered him to Ollon, count of Berry, and duke of Boſon[l]. As they rode with him to the camp, the count, in croſſing a hollow way, joſtled him from his horſe. As ſoon as he recovered his feet, he endeavoured to make his eſcape back to the city; but Boſon threw a great ſtone at his head, which beat him to the earth, and broke his ſkull. Mummol and his confederates, having firſt ſecured the treaſures of this unfortunate phantom of royalty, next betrayed their army, by letting in the troops of Leudegiſile in the night, who ſlaughtered the beſt part of them, and plundered the place[m]. For theſe glorious exploits, Mummol and his aſſociates were exceedingly careſſed, and ſplendedly feaſted; but, in the mean time, Leudegiſile had ſent to Gontran for inſtructions, and no ſooner received his anſwer, "that with men who kept no faith, no faith was to be kept," than he took the ſhorteſt method of rewarding them according to their deſerts. A mutiny was excited againſt Mummol's own guards, who killed him after a deſperate reſiſtance; almoſt all the reſt of theſe traitors were diſpatched by the general's command: and thus an end was put to a revolt, that might have been attend with great danger, ſince both Brunehaut and Fredegonde had their eyes upon Gondebaut; the former for herſelf, and the latter for her daughter Rigunthe; ſo that

[l] Greg. Tur. lib. vii. cap. 38. [m] Geſta Regum Francorum. Fredegarii Scholaſt. Epitome & Chronicon.

if

Digitized by Google

if Mummol had listened to his remonstrances, it is not impossible his affairs might have changed their aspect once again [n].

Gontran, who now began to consider himself as the monarch of the Franks, and believed himself secure on the side of his nephew Childebert, resolved to put the affairs of the kingdom of Soissons into some order; and, with this view, appointed a council of regency to assist Fregegonde in the administration; a circumstance of attention which she would willingly have spared him. He took another step, which, it is likely, was as unwelcome. He desired to know, if she could give him no light as to the death of her husband, which he was inclined to punish, as the most effectual means of securing herself. The queen, not in the least disconcerted, said, that, at the time of his death, she had some suspicions of his chamberlain Berulfe; and that she apprehended they were but too just, as he had withdrawn himself since, and secreted her husband's treasures. This man had been formerly a favourite of the queen; but, upon the death of her husband, believing that she was absolutely undone, had abandoned her party, a defection which she took this method of revenging. Berulfe immediately took shelter at the tomb of St. Martin of Tours; and, in process of time, being persuaded to leave that sanctuary, was murdered, and all his estate confiscated; but those who tell us this particular do not inform us, that the world was at all better satisfied as to the manner of his master's death [o]. Fredegonde, growing doubtful of her own and of her son's situation, devised what she thought an effectual method of embarrassing Gontran with his nephew Childebert, and his mother Brunehaut, whom she suspected of having advised those troublesome enquiries, which had been lately made. With this view, she intreated the king of Burgundy would become godfather to his nephew, a connexion which was, in those days, regarded as a closer tie than that of blood; to which request Gontran yielded, and came, for that purpose, to Paris. Fredegonde, however, having carried her point, with respect to the court of Metz, put off the ceremony, being afraid to trust her son in the power of his uncle, for fear he should be taken from her [p]. At this delay Gontran was so much provoked, that he declared publicly he would give himself no farther trouble about a

Gontran restrains Fredegonde, and enquires into the murder of Chilperic, and after the body of Clovis.

[n] Greg. Tur. lib. vii. cap. 39. [o] Greg. Tur. lib. viii.
[p] Gesta Regum Francorum.

child,

Digitized by Google

child, which he had good reaſon to doubt was none of his brother's, but the baſtard of ſome of his courtiers. By this declaration Fredegonde was ſo much alarmed, that ſhe publicly made oath of the legitimacy of her ſon, and brought three biſhops, and three hundred of the nobility, who ſwore to the belief of what ſhe had ſworn [q]. This expedient did not wholly deliver the queen from her inquietudes, becauſe Gontran ſhewed a great deſire to pay the laſt funeral honours to his nephews Meroveus and Clovis, who were conſidered as the victims of her ambition, and the body of the latter was not to be found; at length, a poor fiſherman, upon the promiſe of the king's protection, acquainted him, that the body of prince Clovis, having been interred in the chapel of a certain convent, was taken up again, by Fredegonde's order, and thrown into the river Marne, where being entangled in his nets, and known by his long hair, he buried it in a private place known only to himſelf. The king, under pretence of hunting, went to the very ſpot; and, being convinced that the body was that of his nephew, cauſed it to be tranſported to Paris, and, with that of his brother Meroveus, to be interred with great ſolemnity.

Gontran enters into a war with the Viſigoths, in which he is very far from being ſucceſsful.

A war broke out, about this time, with the Viſigoths, and continued ſeveral years; the true cauſe of which ſeems to be very obſcure. The ancient hiſtorians, both of France and Spain, aſcribe it to the ill uſage of the princeſs Ingonde, the daughter of Brunehaut and the ſiſter of Childebert; and there is no doubt that this was the pretence; but it is very extraordinary, that Gontran ſhould purſue this war with ſuch inflexible obſtinacy, in ſpite of the repeated defeats, in ſpite of the repeated aſſurances that king Receared gave of his having no concern in the ill treatment of that princeſs, and in ſpite of the danger to which he thought his own life expoſed, by the practices of Fredegonde, who immediately entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the Viſigoths, and was ſuſpected of undertaking various black deſigns in their favour [r]. It is moſt likely, that Gontran was deſirous of expelling the Viſigoths out of France entirely; and poſſibly might think it his intereſt to maintain a war on that ſide, to find employment for Didier, Boſon, and ſome other malignant ſpirits, who might have cut out new trouble for him in time of peace. Whatever the cauſe was, he remained inflexible in proſecuting this war, even after his nephew Childebert, who, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was the principal in it,

[q] Fredegarii Chron. [r] Fredeg. Chron.

had,

Digitized by Google

had, by the advice of his mother, who was always a Spaniard in her heart, concluded a separate peace [s].

He is constrained to keep the balance even between Fredegonde and Brunehaut, being in equal danger from the intrigues of both.

The great object of the king of Burgundy's politics was to keep the balance even, and to retain both Brunehaut and Fredegonde in a strict state of dependence; and this he found it impossible to do, without seeming to incline sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other. Brunehaut was once so much in his favour, that he negociated with her personally, and concluded a long treaty, which is still extant, and bears the name of the treaty of Andlaw; by which he regulated many points of importance, in regard to the intricate claims that arose as to the succession of his brothers. At this time he was jealous, or at least appeared to be very jealous of Fredegonde, and of her practices against his life; but that artful princess soon turned the tables, and found means to give him as strong or stronger suspicions of Brunehaut, insinuating, that she had not only contracted her daughter to the king of Spain, but was likewise negociating a match for herself at Constantinople with the eldest son of Gondebaut, whose pretensions she meant to revive; but when this came to be known to the court of Metz, the queen, who was now in full possession of the regency, and governed her son as if he had been still in his infancy, purged herself in such a manner as gave full satisfaction to the king of Burgundy [t]. We should account these but light and trivial matters, unworthy of being preserved in history, if we did not reflect, that Sigebert and Chilperic had been actually dispatched by assassins; so that Gontran was not alarmed without cause; and such was the misery and malignity of these times, that when the ambassadors of Childebert were once sent to expostulate with Gontran, who, as we have observed before, treated them but roughly, they, amongst other things, told him, that he ought to soften his language, and give their master satisfaction, since the poinards were not yet lost that had been exercised in correcting his brethren [u].

Childebert, king of Austrasia, avails himself of the disputes between the Greeks and the Lombards.

The emperor Maurice, being desirous of expelling the Lombards out of Italy, in the same manner that his predecessor Justinian had depressed the Ostrogoths, sought to make an alliance, for that purpose, with the Franks. Gontran being still embarrassed in his war with Spain, the emperor concluded a subsidiary treaty with Childebert, who

[s] Aimoin. Greg. Tur. lib. viii. cap. 35. [t] Aimoin.
[u] Greg. Turon. Fredeg. Chron. Aimoin. Gesta Regum Francor.

promised

promised his assistance, in consideration of a large sum of money. He accordingly sent, at different times, several armies into Italy, but none with any great success; for some were destroyed by sickness, others beaten by the Lombards, with whom truces were sometimes concluded; in which Childebert likewise found his advantage, and of which the emperor bitterly complained, as contrary to those alliances which had cost him so dear. Childebert, as the French historians say, being conscious that he did not complain without cause, and that he had sold peace on one side as dear as he had done war on the other, did not aggravate the dispute by frivolous apologies, but remained silent, till such time as the necessities of the Greeks obliged them to forget past disappointments, and make fresh offers for future assistance. At length, under the mediation of Gontran, he concluded a peace with the Lombards; by which he secured an annual subsidy, which is the more extraordinary, since it is on all hands allowed, that, notwithstanding several numerous armies of Franks entered Italy, yet they had never been successful. The situation of their country giving them an easy access, and their affording them such critical diversions, when engaged with other enemies, compelled the Lombards to purchase quiet upon any conditions. Childebert sold them peace upon high terms, notwithstanding his contrary engagements with the emperor, and though Brunehaut opposed this treaty, because her grandson Athanagilde was protected, and subsisted in a manner suitable to his birth at Constantinople [w]. It was this correspondence with the court of Constantinople that afforded Fredegonde an opportunity of instilling jealousies into Gontran, that the queen-dowager of Austrasia held a constant intercourse with the family of Gondebaut, a circumstance which, though it might be false, was however, far from being improbable.

A conspiracy against Childebert.

In the midst of these foreign wars the court of Metz was distracted by factions, and the king's person more than once in danger from conspiracies. He was still a young man without experience, and all who served him in any considerable station, thought they had a right to govern him. If he did not submit, they had recourse to methods, which, if they were not in all ages too common to be denied, reason would teach us to think incredible. Duke Raucinde, who was the most powerful of the Austrasian nobi-

[w] Fredegarii Schol. Epitome & Chron.

lity,

Digitized by Google

lity, was at the head of this plot, and was directed and supported by Fredegonde. He had gained two other great men, duke Ursion and duke Berthefrede: their scheme was to poison king Childebert, to proclaim his eldest son Theodobert, and to govern in his name. His younger son Thierri, scarce out of his cradle, was to be put under the care of the other two conspirators, who, with the assistance of Fredegonde, were to depose Gontran, and set their pupil upon the throne of Burgundy[x]. This black design was brought almost to the very point of execution, when Gontran, who had his spies about the person of Fredegonde, discovered it; and that the mother and consort of Childebert were to be banished and imprisoned. He sent upon this a hint to Childebert to find some pretence for meeting him; and, at their interview, gave him a full account of the matter. At his return Childebert sent for Raucinde, who, by this time, had improved the original plan of his detestable project; and, by reporting amongst his friends that he was himself the son of Clotaire, had paved his way to the throne. When the king sent for him, therefore, confiding in his own great power, and the multitude of his friends, he went boldly to court, and, in a long audience, discovered no signs of apprehension or confusion. But as he came out of the king's apartment, the gates of the palace were shut, and, by some persons posted properly for the purpose, he was cut to pieces[y]. In the mean time some of the king's servants were sent to his house, where they seized his papers, in which were the clearest testimonies of his guilt, and his wealth, which was superior to the contents of the royal treasury. The dukes Ursion and Berthefrede no sooner saw his fate than they took up arms, and endeavoured to retire out of Childebert's dominions; but he sent Godegisile, the son of duke Lupus, with an army, to suppress them, a service which, after an obstinate resistance, he performed, and both the conspirators were killed[z]. A. D. 586.

Out of the ashes of this there quickly sprang up another contrivance, in which were embarked the constable Sunegisile, the referendary, (or, as we now style him, chancellor), Gallus, and Septimina, who was governess to the young princes: their aim was to persuade Childebert to send his mother into exile, to repudiate his wife, *Another conspiracy in the same court.*

x Greg. Tur. lib. ix. cap. 9. y Fredeg. Chron. z Greg. Tur. lib. ix.

Digitized by Google

and to govern the kingdom by their advice; and, if in this scheme they could not prevail, Septimina undertook to poison him. The queen, though she is represented as a woman of no parts, discovered this plot, by comparing certain expressions that Septimina let fall. The king caused the constable to be put to the torture, when he accused Giles, bishop of Rheims, as being the original author of both conspiracies. This prelate being seized, was brought before an assembly of bishops, where it was proved, that he had forged grants, and corresponded with Chilperic; that he had represented queen Brunehaut in his letter in the blackest light, and, in one of his letters, said plainly, that, without cutting the root, there was no hopes of seeing the branch wither; and that, pretending to have full powers from Childebert, he had concluded in his name, but without his knowlege, a treaty with Chilperic for dethroning Gontran. The bishops were unwilling to condemn, and yet were unable to acquit him; they desired he might have some days given him to make his defence. At the end of that time the bishop told them plainly, that he had nothing to say, so much as an excuse; that he had betrayed the king, abused his authority, excited all the confusion that had for many years happened amongst the Franks; and had no merit to plead, but freely confessing himself the author of all these mischiefs [a]. Upon this confession he was degraded, and left to the king's mercy, who banished him to Strasburgh, and allowed him a handsome maintenance. As these discoveries were made by the other criminals, he would not put them to death, but deprived them of their employments, and sent them into banishment [b].

The death of Gontran king of Burgundy, who bequeathes his kingdom to Childebert.

Fredegonde, whose maxim it was to keep Gontran continually employed, excited the count of Bretagne to seize Rennes and Nantz, though these towns really belonged to her son, and Gontran entered into the war only as his guardian. She assisted the count therein, underhand, in such a manner that much blood was spilt; but at length this count, whose name was Warroc, was constrained to submit, and to acknowlege himself feudatory to the son of Chilperic. While he was acting this double part, with respect to the Bretons and the king of Burgundy, she was, likewise, managing a new design against the king of Austrasia, which failed; and if the officer entrusted with the command of Childebert's troops had done his

[a] Greg. Tur. lib. ix. cap. 37. [b] Fredeg. Chron.

duty

duty, she would have paid very dearly for all her dark intrigues. For, being at Tournay, she caused three of the principal persons in the city to be murdered at a feast; upon which the people rose in a tumultuous manner, and sent to Childebert for assistance, which, if it had come in time, she would have been taken prisoner[c]. This was not her only escape, for her son falling sick, she saw herself in extreme peril; on which she had recourse, as her custom was, to acts of devotion: amongst the rest, she prevailed upon the count de Bretagne to release the Franks that were prisoners in her dominions, which was the clearest proof that could be of her interest and correspondence with him. The child, however, recovered, and she went to Paris to visit him. She renewed her solicitations from thence to Gontran, who kept his court at Chalons, beseeching him to perform the promise he had made her six years before, of being sponsor at her son's baptism, to which request the good old king assented. This step alarmed the court of Austrasia, and Childebert immediately dispatched ambassadors to put his uncle in mind of the engagements subsisting between them[d]. Gontran reminded them of many things done by his nephew, which were not very consistent with those engagements, particularly the surprising of Soissons; which he had just reason to look upon as an invasion of that dignity, which, in virtue of his birth, and of his years, he was entitled to among the Franks; but added, at the same time, that his nephew had nothing to fear; that he meant to perform his engagements strictly; that the young prince was the son of his brother; and that he could not refuse to do for him what might be expected by any lord of his household. He assisted, therefore, at the ceremony, and gave the young prince the name of Clotaire, adding, that he wished him the wisdom, courage, and good fortune of his grandfather, whose name he bore. He afterwards entertained him at his own table, and, having made the child rich presents, and received some from him, returned to Chalons. This is the last event recorded by Gregory of Tours, the father of the French history, and perhaps this is the reason that we know nothing of what was done in the two last years of Gontran's life, who, some would have us believe, became a monk, but for this conjecture there is no sufficient authority. He deceased at Chalons, on the 28th

[c] Aimon. Greg. Turon. lib. x. cap. 27. Fredeg. Chron. [d] Greg. Tur. lib. x. cap. 28.

Digitized by Google

of March, in the year 593, when he had reigned thirty-two, and lived upwards of sixty years [e].

Childebert, king of Austrasia, dies a young man.

Childebert, without any opposition, succeeded, pursuant to the testament of Gontran, to his dominions, which comprehended all that was then styled Burgundy, together with the kingdom of Orleans, the best part of that of Paris, and their dependencies; but Soissons and some other places fell again under the dominion of Clotaire, to whose territories they of right belonged. How this happened the French history no where informs us; but it is most likely that Fredegonde, in virtue of some intelligence she had in those places, surprised them, since we find that Childebert immediately raised an army, and entered into a war to recover them. The truth seems to be, that the affairs of the Franks were now entirely directed by these two queens, who mortally hated each other, and who willingly sacrificed the subjects of their sons, and even those sons, to the gratification of their passions. The forces of Childebert were very numerous, commanded by two generals, Gondebaud and Vintrion, whom he directed first to recover Soissons, and then to pursue Fredegonde wherever she retired, so as to deliver her into his hands alive or dead. Fredegonde little regarded this threat, though her forces were much inferior to the king of Austrasia's; instead, therefore, of shutting herself up in any fortress, she marched directly towards the enemy, and surprised them near Trouci, on the little river Delette, at no great distance from Soissons. At the beginning of the action she passed between the ranks with her son, intreated the soldiers to defend their prince, and assured them of his and her gratitude [f]. After a long and bloody engagement the Austrasians were defeated, with the loss of thirty thousand men. We are not told what loss the army of Fredegonde sustained; but it must have been, in all likelihood, very great; since we find she lay quiet for two years, depending on the diversions she excited by the Bretons on one side, and the Varnes, a barbarous nation, who possessed the country about Leyden, on the other. Against the count of Bretagne, Childebert sent the flower of his forces, to whom the count gave battle; in which both parties behaved with equal bravery, and with equal success. The two armies were so much weakened, that the war was for the present suspended. Childebert was more

[e] Gesta Regum Francorum. Fred. Chron. cap. 14. Paul Diacon. lib. iv. cap. 4.

[f] Fredeg. Chron.

fortunate

fortunate againſt the Varnes, whom he not only reduced, but extirpated; ſo that, from this time, they ceaſed to be a nation, or at leaſt we meet with nothing more of them in hiſtory. In a ſhort ſpace after this victory, Childebert breathed his laſt, in the twenty-ſixth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign. His queen did not ſurvive him long; and as this event threw the government entirely into the hands of Brunehaut, ſome have charged her with poiſoning them both; but as this charge is deſtitute of evidence on one ſide, ſo it is highly improbable on the other. A. D. 596.

Theodobert was declared king of Auſtraſia, being then in the eleventh year of his age; and Thierri, who was in his tenth, was ſent to reſide at Orleans, with the title of king of Burgundy, having the biſhop of Autun for his governor, and Garnier for the mayor of his palace. Brunehaut reſided with her eldeſt grandſon at Metz: nevertheleſs, ſhe governed the kingdom of Burgundy with the moſt abſolute power [g]. Fredegonde would not ſuffer ſo remarkable an event as the death of Childebert to paſs without taking ſome advantage: having, by her arts, raiſed ſome diſturbances on the ſide of Italy, and engaged the Abares to threaten Auſtraſia with an invaſion, ſhe, with the beſt body of troops ſhe was able to bring into the field, made herſelf miſtreſs of Paris, and ſome other places of conſequence on the Seine. Brunehaut, though ſhe loved not war, could not be a tame ſpectator of ſuch an action; and therefore directed the beſt part of the forces in Auſtraſia to begin their march for Paris. It was not the cuſtom of Fredegonde to give her enemies time to find her; ſhe marched, without delay, to meet the troops of her rival, and gave them a total defeat. What the conſequences might have been of this ſecond victory, gained by a princeſs of ſo active and ſo enterpriſing a ſpirit, we can only conjecture; but, in all probability, ſhe would have puſhed her good fortune, at the expence of Brunehaut at leaſt, if not of her grand-children, if ſhe had not been prevented by death, when ſhe had governed her huſband and her ſon for near thirty years [h] (I). A. D. 597.

Fredegonde after eſtabliſhing her ſon Clotaire II. dies in peace.

By

[g] Paul Diacon. lib iv. cap. 12, Geſta Regum Francorum.

[h] Fredeg. Chron. cap. 27.

(I) We have already ſpoken of the character of Fredegonde, and, in the courſe of the hiſtory, of the many execrable actions of which ſhe was guilty. That ſhe was a woman of

Digitized by Google

Brunehaut, by her own ill conduct, is driven into exile by her grandson Theodobert.

By the death of her rival, Brunehaut seemed to have attained, not only the height of her hopes, but of her wishes. She was, undoubtedly, a princess endowed with many great qualities; but these were diminished by a variety of foibles; and, as far as we can judge from history, though in beauty, behaviour, and conversation, she might exceed Fredegonde, yet, in point of penetration, solidity of judgment, and steadiness in action, she was much inferior to her. Her conduct in Austrasia, and in the direction of Burgundy, for some time, was truly laudable: she quieted the Abares by presents; renewed the treaty of peace with the Lombards; and seemed to have nothing so much at

strong passions, and capable, under their influence, of doing the wickedest actions, is certain, if there be any faith due to history. Amongst these, there is none that can shew her in so strong a light as the case of Pretextatus bishop of Rouen. It has been mentioned in the text, that he married Meroveus to Brunehaut, and that for this action he was banished by Chilperic, after whose death he was restored by Gontran. This prelate, as he officiated at the altar on the Lord's-day, was stabbed. Fredegonde went to make him a visit, accompanied by several lords, and told him, how glad she should be to see the criminal apprehended. "The criminal (said the bishop) is no other than the person who has filled the whole kingdom with crimes, who has murdered kings, and shed rivers of innocent blood." The queen pretended not to understand him, but offered her physicians; an insult which so provoked the dying bishop, that he told her, "You are yourself the person who caused me to be assassinated, who have been practised in the blackest crimes, who in this world will be universally cursed, and severely punished in the next." One of the lords who accompanied her took the liberty of saying, that such enormous crimes ought to be enquired into with all the strictness possible, and punished in the most exemplary manner. This lord did not live to return home; for the queen inviting him to take a collation with her, he was poisoned in the first morsel he eat, and died in an hour (1). She caused a slave to be apprehended, who actually killed the bishop, and delivered him up to the nephew of that prelate, who caused him to be put to the torture; on which he confessed, that Fredegonde gave him a hundred shillings, that Melantius gave him fifty, and the archdeacon fifty more. This Melantius had intruded himself into the bishoprick of Rouen, when Pretextatus was banished; and this very man, notwithstanding this charge, Fredegonde made bishop again in his room (2).

(1) Greg. Tur. lib. viij. cap. 31. (2) Hadriani Valesi Gesta Francorum. Greg. Magn. Epist. lib. ix. ep. 51.

heart

Digitized by Google

heart as preſerving their dominions in perfect peace, till her grand-children were of age to govern for themſelves [i]. This may be called the right ſide of her adminiſtration; but there was alſo a wrong: ſhe governed abſolutely, raiſed and diſgraced whom ſhe pleaſed, and, inſtead of cultivating the genius of Theodobert, if he had any, took pains to amuſe and indulge him in all his foibles. She even ſuffered him to marry a ſlave of his father's, who was young and handſome, but without parts or education. In proceſs of time, her arts proved fatal to herſelf. The conſort of Theodobert had a great deal of affability and good nature, by which ſhe gained the heart entirely of the young king, and rendered herſelf a fit inſtrument for the ambitious nobility, who told her, ſhe had great talents for government. By their perſuaſion, ſhe undermined the queen-dowager in Theodobert's opinion, and upon ſome commotions, occaſioned by the death of duke Vintrion, with which Brunehaut was charged, ſhe engaged the king to conſent to her being baniſhed. Upon which ſhe withdrew into the dominions of Thierri, king of Burgundy, by whom ſhe was very kindly received [k]. A. D. 599.

She prevails with Thierri, king of Burgundy, to make war on Clotaire, who is alſo attacked by Theodobert.

It might have been expected, that her firſt care would have been to inſpire her grandſon, and his miniſters, who were firmly attached to her, with a warm ſenſe of the indignity that had been offered her; but, from whatever motive it aroſe, ſhe purſued a quite contrary conduct. She palliated what had happened at Metz, and, inſtead of exciting jealouſies or miſunderſtandings between the brothers, ſhe engaged Thierri to attempt the recovery of Paris, and other places on the Seine, which had been torn from their family, on the death of their father; and procured from Reccared, king of the Viſigoths, a ſtrong body of auxiliaries. This meaſure was ſo acceptable to Theodobert, that he likewiſe raiſed a numerous army, and, having joined the king of Burgundy, they marched directly into the territories of Clotaire. That monarch, remembering his former victories, moved with his forces to give them battle [l]. Their armies engaged near the village of Dormeille, in the Senonois; and, perhaps, hiſtory has ſcarce recorded an inſtance of ſuch young captains; for the age of the three kings, taken together, did not exceed forty. The diſpute was obſtinate and bloody, but the two brothers were victors in the end, the army of Clotaire be- A. D. 600.

[i] Fredeg. Chron. cap. 19. [k] Geſta Regum Francorum, cap. 36. [l] Fredeg. Chron. cap. 20.

Digitized by Google

ing almoſt entirely cut to pieces. It was with ſome difficulty that he retired, with the broken remains of his forces, to Melun, and from thence to Paris. He halted there but for a very ſhort time; and, finding himſelf vigorouſly purſued, choſe for his retreat the foreſt of Bretagne, where his grandfather Clotaire I. had withdrawn from the fury of his two brothers. His forces were ſo weak, and ſo fatigued, that he foreſaw, if he was attacked in his retrenchments, they muſt be defeated and deſtroyed: he ſent, therefore, to his couſins to demand peace; and though the terms they preſcribed took from him the beſt part of his dominions, and left him a very precarious tenure in the reſt, yet he found it neceſſary to ſubmit, and remained, for ſome time, a quiet ſpectator of their endeavours to extend the dominions of the Franks on the other ſide of the Rhine on one frontier, and by puſhing the fierce nation of Gaſcons on the other [m]. His indignation, however, was not leſſened by the want of an opportunity to let it appear. Fredegonde had taken due care of his education, and had inſtructed him in the art of government: ſhe had particularly adviſed him to command his army in perſon, to hear his miniſters with patience, but to take his own meaſures, and to obſerve, with the greateſt diligence, the cauſes of his ſucceſs, and the ſources of his diſappointments; recommending to him, above all things, a ſettled temper of mind, equally ſuperior to the ſmiles and to the frowns of fortune.

A ſecond war between thoſe princes, in which Clotaire was very near being ruined.

The conduct of Brunehaut had never been extremely regular; but this great flow of proſperity induced her to throw off all reſtraint, and to make uſe of that plenitude of power, which was now in her poſſeſſion, to gratify her deſires of every kind. She remembered the miſtake ſhe made at Metz, in permitting Theodobert to marry, when he was ſo very young; ſhe thought to correct this, by hindering Thierri from marrying at all; but ſhe laid no reſtraint upon his pleaſures; ſo that by ſeveral miſtreſſes he had three natural ſons, circumſtances which ſo balanced the credit of their reſpective mothers, that the old queen had nothing to fear. She caſt her eyes on a young nobleman, whoſe name was Protade, and whoſe diſpoſition nearly reſembled her own, with a handſome perſon, and all the accompliſhments of a court, great addreſs, and boundleſs ambition, which ſhe endeavoured to gratify by making him mayor of the palace; from whence the ſcan-

[m] Fred. Chron. cap. 29.

dal

dal of those times insinuated he was her gallant: but there was a great obstacle in the way of his preferment. Bertoalde, a man in years, of great virtue, and distinguished valour, was in possession of this employment, and could not be removed [n]. However, a pretence being found to send him to the frontiers, Protade performed the functions of his office in his absence. Clotaire, who had exact information of all that passed, thought he had now a favourable opportunity of surprising Bertoalde, and of making a great impression on the kingdom of Burgundy. With this view he sent duke Landri, and with him his son prince Meroveus, though he was then but in the fifth year of his age, with instructions to surprise Bertoalde, who had but a small guard, and then to march directly to Orleans, where he knew there were many malecontents. Landri did all he could, and indeed all that could be expected, but succeeded in neither. Bertoalde made his escape, and threw himself into Orleans, which he gallantly defended, till his master Thierri came with a potent army to his relief [o]. The war was carried on next spring with great vigour; the king of Burgundy at length forced Landri to a battle, near Estampes. In the beginning of the action, Bertoalde, having discovered the intrigues of the old queen, in a fit of despair threw away his life, and at the same time opened a path to victory for his ungrateful master, which Thierri so well improved, that Landri's army was entirely beaten, the unfortunate Meroveus surrounded, and, as Clotaire believed, or affected to believe, massacred, to gratify the hatred of Brunehaut. Thierri marched on to Paris, fully bent on the destruction of his cousin, which appeared indeed inevitable; for Theodobert had invaded his dominions on the other side, and the two armies were on the very point of engaging, when the news of the battle of Estampes arrived, and produced a very wonderful effect. Theodobert became of a sudden jealous of his brother's success, and offered Clotaire such terms of peace as he readily accepted. Being thus delivered from all fear of danger on that side, he quickly obliged the king of Burgundy to listen also to terms of accommodation; and thus, very unexpectedly, the nation of the Franks was again blessed with peace [p].

A. D. 604.

Thierri, who wanted not abilities, was extremely provoked at his brother's behaviour, and surmised many things

[n] Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 37. [o] Fred. Chron. cap. 34. [p] Hadriani Valesii Gesta Francorum, tom. ii.

in

Thierri, contrary to the will of Brunehaut, is contracted to a Spanish princess, but that queen prevents the celebration of the marriage.

in relation to the peace at Compeigne, which had rescued Clotaire out of their hands. Brunehaut, who, though she had long dissembled, never forgave the insult received from Theodobert and his ministers, did not fail to heighten the king of Burgundy's resentments; and, it is said, went so far, as to assure him that Theodobert was not the son of king Childebert, but of a gardener, and imposed upon that prince to answer some particular purposes [q]. The war being declared, the king took the field with a very numerous army, commanded under him by Protade, his mayor of the palace. The nobility of Burgundy in general disapproved this war highly; and when the armies drew near each other, they dealt very plainly with the king, and advised him, instead of fighting, to treat with king Theodobert, since it would be an impious, as well as impolitic action, to shed the blood of the Franks on both sides, merely to gratify the pride of an ambitious minister, and the rage of his imperious mistress. When the king would hear nothing of peace, the soldiers surrounded the tent where the mayor of the palace was playing at chess with the king's physician, in Thierri's presence; upon which that monarch ordered one of the lords of his court to go and pacify the troops, by assuring them that he would pay a proper respect to their remonstrances: he thought proper, however, to deliver quite another message, assuring the forces that the king did not enter into their quarrel with Protade, but left him to their disposal; on which they entered immediately, and cut him to pieces [r]. Thierri saw now the necessity of a peace, which was easily concluded; and in the room of the late unhappy favourite, Claudius, who was also a Gaul by descent, and a man of abilities and honour, was raised to the post of mayor of the palace. He very honestly represented to his master, that it was time for him to reform the disorders of his court, and to make choice of some princess of equal birth for his queen, to which expedient Thierri readily consented, and, at his persuasion, demanded the daughter of Witeric, king of the Visigoths, whom he obtained, upon condition that his ambassadors should swear that this princess should never be degraded from her dignity. Brunehaut, who could not prevent the marriage from being concluded, had the address to hinder it from being consummated, or even celebrated, by engaging the king's sister to give him a distaste to the Spanish princess; who, after bearing a great

A. D. 605.

[q] Paul. Diacon, lib. iv. cap. 31. [r] Fred. Chron. cap. 27.

deal

deal of ill usage for a full year, was sent home upon some frivolous pretence, which irritated the king of the Visigoths to the last degree. He endeavoured to negotiate a league with Clotaire, Theodobert, and the king of the Lombards; but Brunehaut, by a dextrous distribution of presents, and coining a multitude of plausible excuses, parried this blow, and preserved the kingdom in peace, that is, with regard to other nations; for otherwise Thierri was far from enjoying quiet at home. His subjects in general were highly dissatisfied, and some of the clergy expostulated with him very freely. Amongst these was Didier, bishop of Vienne, who was soon afterwards assassinated, either by the express orders of Brunehaut, or by those who thought it would be acceptable to her. The famous Irish abbot Colombanus, who had the reputation of being a saint and a prophet, was ordered to depart the kingdom, and to return to his own country, for having reproached the queen in very rude terms; and very probably he would not have escaped so well, if his credit with the people had not been raised to such a pitch, that the taking away his life might have occasioned public confusion [s]. A. D. 607.

Theodobert is beaten in two battles, taken prisoner, shaved by order of Brunehaut, and is afterwards murdered, with his children.

We have before observed that, in the division of Childebert's dominions, some districts were detached from the kingdom of Austrasia, and added to that of Burgundy: these Theodobert now demanded by an embassy, and Thierri prepared to defend them by force of arms. The nobility of both kingdoms were averse to war, and constrained the two kings to consent to a conference, attended by an equal number of troops; but Theodobert, by a scandalous breach of his faith, brought double the number, and compelled his brother to accept of what terms he pleased to prescribe. Instead of extinguishing, this heightened the flame, for Thierri was bent upon revenge: and his nobility conceiving that he had right on his side, concurred in his design of doing himself justice by the sword [t]. One obstacle remained; Clotaire had many causes of complaint, and was not likely to let slip so fair an opportunity of mending his condition; it was therefore necessary to secure him by a negociation, and upon a promise to restore to him what had been taken when the war should be over, he consented to a neutrality. Thierri then invaded Austrasia with a numerous army, commanded by all the great

[s] Jonas in Vita S. Columbani. [t] Du Chesne, tom. i. p. 555.

lords

lords of Burgundy. He pushed his conquests as far as Toul before he met with his brother Theodobert's army; but there, believing he had an advantage, the king of Austrasia attacked him with great vigour. The dispute was very obstinate, but in the end the king of Burgundy gained a complete victory; in consequence of which he became master of Metz, and compelled his brother to take shelter on the other side the Rhine [u]. The place Theodobert chose for his retreat was Cologne, where he laboured to form a new army out of his German subjects; and in a short space of time he accomplished this aim, vast numbers of Saxons, Thuringians, and other nations, subject or tributary to his crown, repairing to his standards. Thierri also having recruited his victorious army, penetrated the forest of Arden, and encamped at Tolbiac, where Theodobert, who believed that his advantage lay in being the aggressor, endeavoured to surprise him. The forces of Thierri received those whom they styled barbarians with great intrepidity, and having stood the first shock, broke and defeated them. Theodobert endeavoured to make his escape by passing the Rhine, but he was taken and carried to Cologne, where his brother treated him with the utmost inhumanity, and, after stripping him of all marks of sovereign dignity, sent him to his godmother at Chalons, but caused his son Meroveus, though a child, to be put to death upon the spot [w]. Brunehaut had no sooner Theodobert in her hands than she ordered him to be shaved; but suspecting afterwards that he might make his escape, and believing herself secure of governing both kingdoms if they remained to Thierri, she ordered the unfortunate king of Austrasia to be put to death, who was not then above twenty-seven years of age [x].

A. D. 612.

The death of Thierri, and the miserable fate of queen Brunehaut.

Clotaire, king of Soiffons, foreseeing that Thierri, proud of his late victory, and relying on the great acquisition that he had made, would infallibly refuse to comply with his promise, thought it both the surest and the wisest way to take possession of what had been consigned to him, before his return from his expedition, which he accordingly did. It appeared from the event that he had formed a right judgment; for Thierri was no sooner acquainted with it than he dispatched certain persons to summon him to withdraw his forces out of the places he had seiz-

[u] Fredeg. Chron. cap. 37, 38. [w] Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 34. Fredeg. Chron. [x] Du Chesne, tom. i. p. 557.

ed,

ed, and, in case he refused, to declare war. Clotaire, who expected this alternative, was prepared: believing it better to fight for the whole than for a part, he assembled the whole forces of his dominions, and resolved to give Thierri battle [y]. That monarch, who flattered himself with the hopes of becoming the lord of all France, began his march with the whole forces of Austrasia and Burgundy; but in passing Metz he was seized with a dysentery, of which he died in a few days, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and in the seventeenth of his reign [z]. Brunehaut appeared so little disconcerted by this extraordinary event, that it gave occasion to a report that her grandson was poisoned by her orders, which, however, is very improbable. She immediately caused Sigebert, the eldest of his four sons, to be proclaimed king. He was then in the tenth year of his age; and it seems to have been the view of that ambitious princess to govern both kingdoms in his name: but Clotaire did not leave her so much time as to discover her plan. He had great intelligence in Austrasia and in Burgundy: he knew that the nobility in both kingdoms hated Brunehaut, and were little attached to the sons of Thierri; and therefore he advanced with his army, without giving himself much pain about the forces that Brunehaut laboured to assemble, though they might easily have been rendered much superior to his own [a]. The infatuated Brunehaut became an accomplice in her own destruction: she suspected Garnier, who was mayor of the palace in Austrasia; but knowing he had a great interest amongst the nations on the other side of the Rhine, she confided to him the command of the army, and the person of Sigebert; but at the same time sent an order to Alboin, who accompanied him, to dispatch Garnier as soon as he had rendered the army complete. Alboin tore this order to pieces, which some person, who observed him, gathered up; and having put them together, so as that the sense might appear, carried them to Garnier, who, dissembling his knowlege of what was intended, engaged the nobility both in Austrasia and in Burgundy to abandoned Brunehaut, as soon as Clotaire's army should approach. Of Therri's four sons, Sigebert and Corbon were put to death by Clotaire's orders: Childebert was carried away and never seen afterwards; as for Meroveus, to whom Clotaire had been sponsor, he sent

[y] Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 39. [z] Frede. Chron. cap. 39. [a] Gesta Regum Francorum, lib. xl.

him

him into his own dominions, and caused him to be bred up there as a private man[b]. In the end, Brunehaut herself was betrayed into his hands; and, to gratify the nobility, whom she had generally provoked, after the bitterest reproaches, some that were well and others that were ill founded, he suffered her to be led for three days about the camp, and exposed to the clamours and outrages of all who could be mean enough to insult a great queen in her misery. At length she was tied by the leg and the arm to the tail of an untamed horse, which running full speed
A.D. 613. quickly dashed out her brains. Her mangled body being taken up by some charitable person, or, as others say, by the soldiers, was consumed to ashes; but these wretched remains afterwards found a tomb, in which they remain at this day[c] (L). In succeeding times some attempts have been made to vindicate her memory.

Clotaire II. sole master of the three kingdoms of the Franks, changes his conduct, and becomes a mild prince.

Clotaire II. was now the absolute master of the whole empire of the Franks, and resolved to continue so. He settled the three mayors of the palace, who from this

[b] Fredegarii Chron. cap. 40, 41. [c] Adon. Chron. Aimon.

(L) Brunehaut has been defended by Mariana, as being a native of Spain, and by Cordemoy, a learned and judicious French writer; but rhetoric and conjectures will do nothing against facts. Certain it is, those who wrote under the immediate descendents of Clotaire, might make their court by exaggerating the wickedness of this princess. We ought also to allow that she was a very extraordinary woman: she founded many monasteries, erected several churches, built many hospitals, raised prodigious causeways, and, in short, was the founder of so many other public works, that the monk Aimon expresses the utmost amazement that a single queen could perform so many and so great things in such different places; but this shews that she had boundless authority, and immense wealth, at her disposal. The tomb of this queen Brunehaut is still to be seen in the abbey of St. Martin at Autun, which she founded, and where, in 1632, it was opened, and nothing discovered that could at all discredit the general tradition on this head of what the old historians have asserted, since there were ashes, burnt bones, and the rowel of a spur, which it is known was the custom in those times to fix to the sides of the horses, that were used in such executions, in order to render them the more furious (1).

(1) Fredeg. Chron. cap. 42. Gesta Regum Francorum, P. Daniel

time

time became a sort of viceroys; and treated the nobility with much mildness and familiarity. He was not one of those refined politicians who put on the appearances of virtues, of which they have no feeling in their hearts, but thought the shortest method best; and that to become a good prince, was the most effectual means of being believed so. He established that freedom which the great lords were afraid he would suppress; but with it he established the power of the law, which he observed with great punctuality; for which reason people saw no harm in his requiring the same degree of respect should be shewn to it by others[d]. He might have extended his dominions, but he chose rather to govern them, and to extirpate those vices that, from the licentiousness of the times, were grown both frequent and flagrant. With this view he held a general council at Paris, where he recommended it in a particular manner to the prelates to restore the ancient discipline of the church. He instituted also a kind of parliaments, or courts, held in his palace, for determining what in the Latin of those times was styled *placita*; in French, *plads*; and in our own language, *pleas*[e]. He carried this point so far, that when the governor of the remoter part of Burgundy conspired against him, and he had him in his hands, he remitted him to the justice of that court, and by their sentence he was beheaded; and this example prevented any other conspiracy in his reign. He permitted the Lombards to redeem the annual tribute they paid his predecessors, by laying down the amount of three years at once, for which he is severely censured by modern writers, who think that in this measure he departed from his dignity: but it seems Clotaire thought the dignity of a king consisted in governing his own subjects well, and in being upon good terms with his neighbours[f].

Reigns with glory, and dies in peace.

The king, in order to lessen his fatigues, sent his eldest son Dagobert to reside at Metz, with the title of king of Austrasia, detaching however from thence some districts that lay at a great distance, and some others that were requisite to a due communication between the territories reserved under his own power. He also appointed him for his ministers, Arnoul, bishop of Metz, and Pepin, mayor of the palace in that kingdom[g]. His government resembled that of his father: so that, by the mildness of it, many of the barbarous nations, that hitherto had preferred

A.D. 622.

[d] Fredegarii Chron. cap. 43. [e] Gesta Regum Francorum. Aimon [f] Ibid. [g] Aimon.

freedom

Digitized by Google

freedom in woods and moraſſes, voluntarily ſubmitted, and became his ſubjects. As ſoon as he arrived at a proper age, Clotaire cauſed him to be married; and upon that occaſion entertained him in a moſt ſplendid manner at one of his country palaces, declaring at the ſame time, that he aſſociated him in the government [h]. This indulgence did not hinder the young prince from demanding, in a very peremptory manner, that all the cities and diſtricts formerly belonging to it, ſhould be re-united to the kingdom of Auſtraſia; a demand which highly provoked Clotaire. At length this diſpute was left to the deciſion of twelve prelates and barons, who determined that ſuch of the places as lay moſt conveniently for the young king ſhould be yielded to him, and that he ſhould quit all claim to the reſt. An inſurrection happened among the Gaſcons, which was quickly ſuppreſſed, without any effuſion of blood; but it was otherwiſe with the Saxons. Bertoalde, their duke, deſpiſing the pacific temper of the two kings, and having drawn many barbarous nations into his alliance, threw off his dependence on Dagobert, and made an irruption into Auſtraſia with a powerful army. The young king marched againſt him with all the forces that he could immediately aſſemble, but had the misfortune to be defeated, and very narrowly eſcaped being killed, his head-piece being cleft by the ſtroke of a ſword. He retired with the remains of his forces to an intrenched camp, and ſent to his father for aſſiſtance. Clotaire marched with all poſſible haſte to join him, and immediately after advanced towards the Saxons, who were encamped on the other ſide the Weſer. The two armies being drawn up in order of battle, Bertoalde abuſed the king in the groſſeſt language, which ſo provoked Clotaire, that he plunged into the river on horſeback, followed by his guards and ſome of the principal nobility, and charged the Saxons with great fury. He killed their duke with his own hand; and having ordered his head to be cut off, cauſed it to be placed on the top of a pike and carried at the head of his army, the beſt part of which had by this time paſſed the river: the enemy were ſoon routed with prodigious ſlaughter [i]. He did not ſurvive this victory many months, but lived and died in full poſſeſſion of the hearts of his people, as appears from his being ſtyled in ſome ancient monuments Clotaire le Grand, and

[h] Fredeg. Chron. contin. cap. 53.

[i] Geſta Regum Francorum. Aimon.

in

Digitized by Google

in others le Debonnaire [k]. On the death of Garnier, who was mayor of the palace in Burgundy, he summoned the nobility to chuse another: but having intimated his inclinations in a short speech, they waved the election, and chose to live under his immediate administration, which was the highest mark of popularity and confidence that they could bestow, and a very singular instance of his policy, who chose to obtain, in the most gentle manner, what he might have taken through the plenitude of his power; but he knew that an absolute monarch must reign in the minds, as well as over the bodies, of his subjects. He died in the forty-fifth year of his life.

A.D. 628.

Dagobert succeeds his father in all his dominions, and becomes the fourth monarch of France.

Dagobert succeeded his father in the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy, partly through his intrigues, and partly through the terror of his army, to the prejudice of his younger brother Charibert; who, according to the custom, not to say the law, of the Franks, ought to have had at least one of these kingdoms [l]. He had indeed a small party for him: after a faint struggle Dagobert prevailed. By the advice of his ministers, however, he bestowed on Charibert the country between the Loire and the Pyrenees; upon which that prince took the title of king of Aquitaine, and fixed his residence at Toulouse [m]. Dagobert began his reign by visiting the kingdom of Burgundy, where his father had not been in person since the office of mayor of the palace had been suppressed; and where, having no superior, the nobility had ran into great excesses and disorders: the king applied himself to redressing these, with all the spirit and diligence possible. He was not only accessible, but affable to all sorts of people, and borrowed from his meals, and from his sleep, time to inquire into and redress grievances [n]. But all his conduct was not after this manner; for, on his return from this progress, he repudiated his wife, under pretence that she was barren: and having once transgressed the bounds of virtue and religion, he left them every day at a greater distance, insomuch that he was not ashamed to have three queens at a time [o]. The truth is, Arnoul, bishop of Metz, had a great influence over this monarch, who had bred him from a child; and, so long as he remained in the ministry, Dagobert retained

[k] Fredeg. Chron. P. Daniel. [l] Gest. Dagobert. Fredegarii Chron. [m] Gesta Regum Francorum. [n] Fredegarii Chron. Gest. Dagobert. [o] Gesta Regum Francorum.

Digitized by Google

the character of being the greateſt prince that had hitherto reigned over the Franks: but Arnoul having quitted his ſee and his employment, for a life of ſolitude and retirement, Dagobert became careleſs and diſſolute, notwithſtanding all that Pepin, and the remains of the old miniſtry, could ſay to reſtrain him; and yet, by a piece of injuſtice, but too frequent, the people of Auſtraſia imputed to the miniſters all the miſchiefs to which they were expoſed, and earneſtly preſſed the king to give up Pepin to their reſentment; but Dagobert, thoroughly acquainted with his innocence, had both the courage and the honour to protect him. Charibert, king of Aquitaine, dying, Dagobert took poſſeſſion of his dominions, and of his treaſures, though he left ſeveral children, who were the victims of their uncle's ambition: an action, in all reſpects, as iniquitous as it was unnatural and inexcuſable.

The war with the Sclavonians is attended with many unforeſeen and untoward conſequences.

About this time a war broke out with the numerous and potent nation of the Sclavonians; who, like the Franks, were divided into ſeveral tribes, occupied a vaſt country, and were not inferior in valour to any of their neighbours. They had at this time for their king a ſtranger, who came amongſt them at firſt in no higher a character than that of a pedlar; his name was Samon, but whether a native of France or of Hainault is very uncertain. He managed his private affairs ſo well as to become rich; the Sclavonians judged from thence that his talents might be uſeful to the public; they made the trial, and they had no reaſon to repent it. In compliance with the cuſtom of the country, he married twelve wives, by whom he had twenty-two ſons and fifteen daughters. He was wiſe and brave. Dagobert had ſent an ambaſſador to complain of ſome injuries that had been done to traders, who were his ſubjects [p]. This miniſter was very unfit for his employment. Samon expreſſed a concern for what had happened, and offered to concert proper meaſures to prevent the like for the future. The Franks took this anſwer ill, and told Samon he might think himſelf and his people honoured, if they were conſidered as ſervants to the king his maſter. Samon anſwered, with great moderation, that they ſhould not diſdain that title, provided the king honoured them with his friendſhip. "Friendſhip! replied the Frank, What friendſhip can there be between Chriſtians, worſhippers of the true God, and ſuch pagan dogs as you and your ſubjects?" "Be it ſo, friend, ſaid Samon;

[p] Fredeg. Chron. cap. 68.

but

Digitized by Google

but since it is your custom to cheat, to abuse, and to insult us, you must not wonder we make use of our teeth, who are dogs, or that we bite you as often as you deserve it." Upon the representation of this accomplished minister, Dagobert, having first engaged the Allemans and Lombards to act as his allies, began the war, in which he was very far from being successful [q]. This circumstance gave him such an aversion to these barbarous people as produced an action, which did no great credit either to his religious or political principles. The Bulgarians being ill-treated by the Abares, with whom they had hitherto lived united as if they had been but one people, took shelter, to the number of nine thousand, in the country of the Bavarians, who were subjects to Dagobert, and desired to put themselves under his protection. They had winter-quarters given them for the present, and a promise that lands should be assigned them; but from a jealousy, or rather timidity, unworthy of a great prince, orders were sent to the Bavarians to cut them off, as they lay dispersed through their country; an order which was so completely executed, that not above seven hundred escaped, who threw themselves into the territories of the Sclavonians. About this juncture Dagobert assisted Sisenand to mount the throne of Spain, on a promise that he should send him the famous gold bason, weighing five hundred pounds, which the Roman general Aetius presented to Torrismond, king of the Goths; but he, not being able to keep his word, was obliged to compromise the matter, by paying him an immense sum of money. The Saxons perceiving how much Dagobert was disturbed by the continual irruptions of the Sclavonians, which with all his care he could not prevent or suppress, conceived this to be a proper juncture for them to be rid of the annual tribute of five hundred head of cattle imposed upon them by Clotaire the First. The method they took was very singular; for instead of taking up arms, or joining themselves to the Sclavonians, they petitioned Dagobert to remit their tribute, in consideration of their defending their frontier against the Sclavonians; to which proposal Dagobert readily consented; but from this time the Saxons did not either pay the tribute, or defend the frontier [r]. But the king was so much perplexed by the depredations of one nation of Barbarians, that he had not either leisure or force to subdue the

[q] Gesta Regum Francorum. [r] Fredeg. Chron. cap. 74.

Digitized by Google

other; so that they procured by their cunning what they had attempted in vain by force of arms.

A D. 633. At length another expedient was found, which, though it might not be very acceptable to Dagobert, he thought requisite to admit. This expedient consisted in declaring his son Sigebert, then a child of three years old, king of Austrasia. He appointed Cunibert, bishop of Cologne, to be his governor, and Aldalgise, duke of the palace, a different office from that of mayor, which was still preserved to Pepin, though others believe Adalgise to have been his successor, and that the king chose rather to appoint him to that office than part with Pepin from about his person [s]. It is very probable that the people of Austrasia found great inconvenience in the king's residing constantly at Paris, or at some of his country palaces a small distance from that city, and were very desirous of having a court of their own; in which, though a child bore the title of king, yet, having all the prerogatives annexed to that dignity, and the proper officers to carry them into execution, they found themselves much more at their ease; and, to preserve these advantages, acted so vigorously under their own officers on the frontiers, that they quickly cured the Sclavonians of any inclination to approach them. The same year the king had another son born, to whom he gave the name of Clovis. The rejoicings upon this occasion were scarce ended, when the prelates and nobility of the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy intreated Dagobert to declare him his successor in regard to those two crowns. This he accordingly did, and, by an authentic instrument, settled the manner in which all his dominions were to be divided between these two infant princes [t]. The French historians differ much in their sentiments as to the reasons which induced the lords in Neustria and Burgundy to take this step; but it seems pretty evident, that the king's own conduct at the beginning of his reign was the source of it; his ambition inspired him with the design of making himself master of the whole monarchy, which they, judging to be prejudicial to their interests, declared they were resolved to avoid for the future by such a precaution. The Gascons and Bretons, presuming on the indolent temper of Dagobert, had renewed their excursions into his dominions; the former were the most troublesome, and had the greatest

Dagobert subdues the Gascons, obliges the count of Bretagne to do him homage, and dies soon after.

[s] Aimon. Gesta Regum Francorum. [t] Gesta Regum Francorum. Gest. Dagobert.

force.

Digitized by Google

force. Against them, therefore, Dagobert sent a numerous army, commanded by the flower of his young nobility, under a general in years, of distinguished bravery and great reputation. He quickly reduced the Gascons to such distress, by closing up their caves and burning their cabins, that they were constrained to implore the king's clemency, which Dagobert was sure to extend, as having nothing more in view than to spend his days in quiet[u]. He then sent a minister to the Bretons, a man of a character very different from him who occasioned the war with the Sclavonians: this minister was St. Eloi, originally a goldsmith, now a statesman, and afterwards bishop of Noïon. He managed his negociation with such address, that he engaged the prince of Bretagne to renew the ancient treaties, to give an hostage for the due performance of them, and for his coming in person to Paris to do homage to Dagobert. The name of this count of Bretagne was Judiccaël, who had a high reputation for prudence and piety; him the king received with kindness, and dismissed with honour. The duke of the Gascons was forced to follow his example, and brought many of the chiefs of his little nation with him. These events must have been very grateful to a monarch of his disposition; but he did not long survive the satisfaction they gave him, since he died of a dysentery, on the 19th of January, in the year 638, at Epinas, a palace of his upon the river Seine, not far from Paris, in the sixteenth year of his reign over Austrasia, in the tenth from the death of his father, and the thirty-sixth of his age (M). His corpse was carried from thence, and interred with great solemnity in the abbey of St. Denis[v].

At

[u] Fredeg. Chron. [v] Idem.

(M) It is no very easy task to settle the number and the order of this prince's wives. It is pretty plain, that, by his father's direction, Dagobert first espoused Gomatrude, the younger sister of his mother-in-law Sichilde, and the aunt of his brother Alibert; which very probably might contribute, as well as her barrenness, to his repudiating her. He had next Ragnetrude, but whether as a concubine or queen may be doubted; by her, however, he had Sigebert, whom, to content the nobility of Austrasia, he placed on the throne before he was well out of the cradle (1). After this, with some extraordinary deliberation, and the

(1) Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon, cap. 57.

Digitized by Google

Sigebert II. king of Austrasia, and Clovis II. king of Neustria and Burgundy.

At the demise of this monarch the wealth of the kingdom was great, and there were few courts in Europe more splendid than that of Paris. St. Eloi, who, as we before observed, was originally a goldsmith, had made for Clotaire the Second a chair of state of massy gold, and a throne of the same metal for Dagobert; but, towards the close of his reign things began to decline [x]. At this period there was no mayor of the palace in Burgundy; but recommending one of his ministers, whose name was Æga, to his queen Nantilde, as the propereſt person to direct the affairs of the young king, he was presently advanced to that important post; upon which Pepin and some other Austrasian lords returned into their own country. He summoned immediately the prelates and nobility to do homage to Clovis, which they very willingly performed; but at the same time many of them complained that they had suffered injustice in the former reign, and that they hoped redress from the equity of the present government. The new minister promised to content them, and he did all that was in his power to keep his word [y]. Soon after came ambassadors from Sigebert, king of Austrasia, to demand his share of his father's moveables and treasure, pursuant, as is very likely, to that king's will. A conference was held for this purpose at Compeigne, where the bishop of Cologne and Pepin assisted; there one third of

A. D. 639.

[x] Gesta Regum Francorum. [y] Fredeg. Chron.

consent of the nobility, he espoused Nantilde; but one can scarce, from these circumstances, conceive that she was at this time a nun, and that it was by the consent of his nobility he took her out of the cloister. He had besides two mistresses, whose names were Colgonde and Bertilde. Notwithstanding this licentious conduct, we find the piety of Dagobert magnified by the monk who undertook to write the history of his reign, chiefly on account of his founding the monastery of St. Denis; to which it is said he was excited by a very ridiculous accident, not worth repeating; but inasmuch as he took the liberty to spoil the church of St. Hilary at Poitiers, the bishop of that dioceſe pretended to have seen in a vision the soul of Dagobert carried by demons on board a vessel bound for their fiery regions, and cruelly beaten in his passage, till St. Denis, having taken to his assistance St. Maurice and St. Martin, came to his relief, and delivered him out of their hands (2).

(2) Fredeg. Chron. cap. 58. Aimoni Monachi incliti Cœnobii S. Germani Libri quinque de Gestis Francorum, lib. iv. cap. 20.

the

Digitized by Google

the treasures which the king had acquired since his marriage was set apart for the queen, and the remainder divided between his sons. This was one of the last acts of Pepin's ministry, who died soon after with the reputation of a saint.

The reign of Sigebert king of Austrasia.

The minority of the two kings, Sigebert and Clovis, gave rise to that extravagant power which was exercised in succeeding times by the mayor of the palace, and which was in some measure grounded on the behaviour of Pepin and Æga, both men of great parts, true piety, and uncorrupted probity. To the former of these succeeded his son Grimoalde, who made his way to that post by the murder of Otho, his rival, and we may from thence be satisfied that he was no saint. His intention of removing Rodolfe, duke of Thuringia, from his government, produced an insurrection, in which that duke was totally defeated, and compelled to take shelter in a fortress, or intrenched camp, where he collected all the remains of his forces, with a full resolution of making an obstinate defence; but, in all probability, this would have ended in his own destruction, if a spirit of dissension had not broke out in the king of Austrasia's camp; for Grimoalde carried his master, young as he was, into the field, but those who hated that minister prevented his attacking Rodolfe with the whole of the army, and by this means that part of it which did attack was routed. A negociation ensued, which ended in a peace very dishonourable to the young king, who consented that Rodolfe should retain his government, upon his promise to be faithful for the future[z]. He governed after this event, if in truth he could be said to govern at all, fourteen years, or, as some compute, sixteen; but we know nothing of what he did in that time, except that he built and endowed monasteries, from whence he came to be reputed a saint. Grimoalde pretended that, in despair of having a son, he adopted his, and desired that he might succeed him[a]: but after this, notwithstanding, he had a son, named Dagobert, by his queen Innechilde, whom on his death-bed he recommended, with great tenderness, to the care of Grimoalde, his mayor of the palace. This monarch died at Metz, and was buried in the church of St. Martin, in the suburbs of that city; from whence his remains were removed to Nancy, on the demolition of that church, when the French,

A. D. 640.

[z] Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 43. Fredeg. Chron. cap. 79. Du Chesne, tom. i. p. 727

in 1552, were preparing to sustain a siege under the command of the duke de Guise [b].

The reign of Clovis II. and the injustice done to his memory by the monks.

Clovis the Second, king of Neustria and Burgundy, was carefully brought up by his mother queen Nantilde and the mayor of the palace Ægа. After the decease of the latter, the nobility of Neustria chose for his successor Erchinoald, or, as he is commonly called, Archambaud, concerning whose character authors differ; but if we judge from his actions, he appears to have been an active and an honest minister. The queen would also have a mayor of the palace in Burgundy; and through her influence the nobility chose Flaochat, who married her niece, a man of such pride and passion, that, having quarrelled with the governor of the Farther Burgundy, he caused him to be murdered, though he had been reconciled to him in the most solemn manner. This assassination might probably have excited some disorders in the state, if Flaochat himself had not died soon after of a fever. The nobility of Burgundy did not replace him, so that both kingdoms were governed by Archambaud. This minister having presented to the king a very beautiful slave, named Batild, whom he had bought of some English merchants, the monarch became quickly so enamoured of her, that he took her to his bed, and soon after declared her his queen [c]. She must have been a very extraordinary woman, for she is highly commended by all who mention her, since, to do her honour, the vulgar, instead of reproaching her with the meanness of her former condition, invented a fable of her being a princess born. The only remarkable action of Clovis's life, was his causing the silver shrines in the monastery of St. Denis to be melted, and coined into money, to purchase corn in a time of scarcity for the relief of the poor [d]. Though by his royal authority, with the consent of Landeric, bishop of Paris, he exempted this convent from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, yet the monks gave out, that, for this act of impiety, he became disordered in his senses, and that the weakness and stupidity of the father became intailed upon his descendants [e]. Modern historians have truly observed, that this lying judgment was invented, partly to deter other princes from having recourse, in times of public calamity, to the treasures of the church, and partly to make their court to the second race

[b] Vita Sancti Sigeberti, n. 15. [c] Vita S. Bathildis. Gesta Regum Francorum. [d] Aimon. lib. iv. cap. 42. 43. [e] Fredeg. Chron.

of

of French kings, who deprived the poſterity of Clovis of their territories, under the plauſible pretence of their being unable to govern them (N). He had by his queen three

(N) When it is ſaid, as we find it in many of the French hiſtorians, that Clovis the Second was the firſt of the ſtupid or indolent kings, we are to underſtand this of his falling, in the two laſt years of his life, into a ſtate of lunacy, concerning which ſomething has been ſaid in the text; but in caſes of this nature it is always beſt to derive our knowlege from original authors. The monk then, from whoſe relation all that other hiſtorians have ſaid is borrowed, ſpeaks thus: "This prince ſpent all his days in peace; but ſo fortune would have it, that, towards the cloſe of his life, he came, as if it had been to pray, to the dormitory, where St. Dionyſius the martyr and his fellow ſaints were repoſed, and, being deſirous to have ſome of their relics with him, he commanded that the ſepulchre ſhould be opened; when looking upon the corpſe of the bleſſed and excellent martyr and prieſt Dionyſius, with an irreligious and covetous eye, he broke and ſeized upon his arm bone, and, being ſtupified, fell immediately into madneſs. But it was not on him alone that this fear and terror fell, but on thoſe who attended him, which, the place becoming dark of a ſudden, terrified them ſo much, that they placed all ſafety in flight. After ſome ſpace of time, in order to recover his ſenſes, he gave certain lands to the convent, and, cauſing the bone to be richly enſhrined in gold, ſet with precious ſtones, he ſent it back to be depoſited with the body. Some lucid intervals after this he had; but in the ſpace of two years, without ever recovering his ſenſes perfectly, he finiſhed his life and reign." Later hiſtorians have referred the king's weakneſs of mind to his voluptuous courſe of life, and to his exceſſes in wine and women (1). But it was ſomewhat ſtrange, that thoſe, who had good ſenſe, enough to reject the judgment, ſhould nevertheleſs think themſelves obliged to account for the fact. It is highly probable they were both true alike, or, in plain terms, that there was not a ſyllable of truth in either (2). His making free with the treaſures of this rich convent in a time of ſcarcity is not to be diſputed; and though he replaced them, and was in other reſpects a great benefactor to the houſe, yet, to ſet aſide what they eſteemed ſo dangerous a precedent, the monks had recourſe to this pious fraud, and, as it came to be afterwards countenanced

(1) Abreg. Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France par le Sieur de Mezeray, Recueil des Rois de France leur Couronne & Maiſon par Jean du Tillet. (2) Diſſertation au Sujet de nos derniers Rois, &c. par l'Abbé Vertot.

from

Digitized by Google

three sons, Clotaire, Childeric, and Thierri. We must now return to Austrasia.

Dagobert deposed and exiled, Childebert substituted, deposed, and Childeric placed on the throne.

Grimoalde, as far as can be discovered, caused Dagobert, the son of his master Sigebert, to be proclaimed and acknowleged king; but how long he suffered him to wear that title is very uncertain [f]. He had not the cruelty to put him to death; but having employed Didon, bishop of Poitiers, to shave him, he sent him to a monastery, in some of the western islands of Scotland, and then, giving out he was dead, advanced his own son Childebert, under pretence of his master's adoption, to the throne; which, however, he did not long enjoy [g]. It does not appear, that the nobility had any suspicion of Dagobert's being alive; but they had no opinion of Grimoalde's setting up his son; and therefore they encouraged queen Innechilde to go to the court of king Clovis, and to demand his protection and support. This step speedily produced a revolution; for Archambaud, who was himself allied to the royal line, came with an army into Austrasia, where he deposed Childebert, carried away Grimoalde prisoner to Paris, where he perished not long after, and placed his master's second son Childeric, then about three years old, upon the throne [h]. It does not appear what became of Childebert; but, in all probability, his youth, and his being barely the instrument of his father's ambition, saved him from punishment. Clovis did not survive this great event any long time; he is said to have been addicted to women and to wine, and is, properly speaking, the first of those on whom the French writers have bestowed the opprobrious name of Les Rois Faineans, that is, Incapable, or Indolent Princes; though some late writers have suspected this was rather contrived to gratify the descendents of Pepin the Short, than the real sense of the people who lived under them [i].

Clotaire III dies without issue, and his brother Childeric succeeds him.

Clotaire III. was immediately declared king of Burgundy and Neustria, being about five years of age, under

[f] Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 43. Vita Sancti Sigeberti. [g] Aimon. cap. 41. Gesta Regum Francorum. Vita Sancti Sigeberti. [h] Vita Sancti Bonifi. [i] Memoire pour etablir que le Royaume de France Acté successif—Hereditaire dans la Primiere Race, par Mr. De Fongemagne,

from a maxim of state, we need not wonder that it gained belief. We shall see that this attempt having succeeded so well, tales of the like nature were invented upon other occasions, and met with the same fortune.

the-

Digitized by Google

the tuition of his mother, queen Batilde, Ebroin being choſen mayor of the palace. We find different and very oppoſite characters of this miniſter, ſince the beſt part of what is ſtyled the hiſtory of France, under this period, is drawn out of the lives of certain eccleſiaſtics, who were reputed ſaints, and lived in theſe times. Accordingly, therefore, as theſe ſaints lived upon good or bad terms with Ebroin, his character appears in the writings of their panegyriſts. This ſeems to be tolerably clear, that, while the queen had no other miniſter than him, ſhe maintained the character of a wiſe and virtuous princeſs, governing with great reputation and tranquility, and her ſon had all the reſpect and obedience ſhewn that his birth and dignity required; but after ſhe brought Leger, biſhop of Autun, and Sigebrand, who was alſo a biſhop, into her cabinet, there was nothing but jealouſy and confuſion. This laſt prelate was not only a man of a troubleſome temper, which embroiled him with Ebroin, but of a ſuſpicious character likewiſe, which drew ſome cenſures upon the queen, and in a popular inſurrection, proved the cauſe of his being ſacrificed to the public hate. That princeſs was ſo much offended at this, that ſhe not only quitted the regency of her ſon's dominions, and the court, but withdrew likewiſe from the world, retiring to the monaſtery of Chelles, which ſhe had rebuilt, and in a manner refounded, and where ſhe paſſed the remainder of her life in the moſt irreproachable manner, univerſally reſpected and revered [k]. Ebroin, now left to himſelf, became in reality what his enemies repreſent him to have always been; that is, haughty and covetuous, vindictive in regard to his enemies, and oppreſſive with reſpect to the people, a diſpoſition which excited univerſal diſcontent. While things were in this critical ſituation, Clotaire died, when he had reigned fourteen, and lived about nineteen years [l]. Upon this event Ebroin cauſed Thierri, who being a child at the breaſt when his father died, had no proviſion made for him, to be proclaimed king. The nobility and the people, conſidering his tender age, and conceiving there would be no alteration in government, roſe up immediately in arms, plundered the palace, ſeized the wealth of Ebroin, who retired to a monaſtery to ſave his life; and, A. D. 673. not content with this, cauſed Thierri likewiſe to be thruſt

[k] Vita Sancti Leodegarii. Vita Sanctæ Bathildis. [l] Fredeg. Chron. cap. 92. Geſta Regum Francorum.

into

Digitized by Google

into a convent and shaved; though it was not so much as pretended he had given the least cause of complaint.

Childeric at first behaves wisely, but becomes speedily a tyrant, and perishes miserably.

Childeric, king of Austrasia, being called to the throne, in this time of confusion, very readily accepted it; and, coming to take possession of his new dominions at Paris, some of the nobility presented his brother Thierri to him. The king seeing him in the habit of a private man, and with his locks shorn, shewed great tenderness and concern, and asked him, what he could do for him to comfort him in his distress? Thierri answered, that he left his cause entirely in the hands of God, who, in due time, would avenge him of those who had thus insulted him without the least provocation. The king ordered him the best apartments in the monastery of St. Dennis, with liberal appointments for his support. The nobility, as soon as the ferment was a little ceased, held a kind of general assembly, in which they recommended various measures to their new king; such as, that he would restore vigour to the laws, oblige the governors of provinces, and other ministers, to act according to them, and that for the future he would not repose his entire confidence upon any single minister. Childeric, desirous of peace, and of enjoying his pleasures, promised them whatever they asked[m]. But, notwithstanding this promise, Wulfoade, who had been mayor of the palace in Austrasia, continued to act in that capacity in all the three kingdoms; but it must be owned his master did not rely entirely upon him; Leger, bishop of Autun, who had been his mother's minister, and the principal author of this revolt, had a great share in his esteem. He was a man of a singular character; for, with great piety and incorruptible probity, he was obstinate and conceited. He treated the king as if he had been his scholar; a circumstance which in a little time disgusted him, to such a degree, that suspecting, or pretending to suspect, him of treasonable practices, he caused him to be apprehended, and sent him to the monastry of Luxeuil, to pass the rest of his days in retreat. It was to this very convent that Ebroin had retired, and their misfortunes having extinguished, or at least suspended, their hatred, they became in appearance very good friends, and took their measures together how to get once more abroad; for, having been so long used to courts, neither of them could digest the austerities or the privacies of a convent. In the mean time Childeric was employed in

[m] Vita Sancti Leodegarii. Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 47.

paving

Digitized by Google

paving the way to his own destruction. He was naturally light and inconstant, and being young, without experience, and without the assistance of wise ministers, gave a loose to his passions; considering whatever contradicted them as an act of disobedience, though founded in reason and respect to the laws: he became at first wanton and wilful, and in the end cruel. This conduct excited general discontent; and the Franks were not in these days silent when displeased [n]. Bodillon, a man of quality, having represented some grievances to this prince pretty freely, when he happened to be in an ill humour, Childeric ordered his guards to lay him flat on the floor, and beat him severely. Bodillon, who was very brave, and had many friends, assembled them as soon as he was able, surprised the king while he was hunting near one his country palaces, and, after reproaching him bitterly, thrust him through with his sword. It had been well if his vengeance had stopped here; but proceeding to the palace, with those who had perpetrated this murder, he there killed the unfortunate queen Blitide, or Bilichilde, then pregnant and near her time, and the innocent prince Dagobert, in his infancy; but another young prince, afterwards named Daniel, escaped this massacre, and came in process of time to wear his father's crown [o]. There never was certainly a country in a more wretched and deplorable condition than France at this time, without king, without magistrate, without law, a wild and bloody anarchy prevailing. Others, imitating the example of Bodillon, and being, or believing themselves, injured, armed their friends and dependents, and wreaked their resentment without mercy, or gratified their avarice and their hate, almost without giving themselves the trouble of covering them with specious pretences [p].

Sigebert restored to his father's dominions.

Wulfoade, mayor of the palace, thought himself so little in safety, that he retired with what friends he had into Austrasia, in hopes of restoring some form of government to that kingdom, and perhaps of assembling, by degrees, a strength sufficient to put an end to these disorders. Some think that with this view he proclaimed Dagobert II. son to king Sigebert, who was returned out of Scotland, with Wulfrid, afterwards archbishop of York, king of that part of Austrasia which lay on the other side the Rhine [q].

[n] Fredeg. Chron. cap. 98. [o] Aimon. lib. iv. Adon. Chron. [p] Vita Sancti Leodegarii, cap. 7. [q] Henschen. de tribus Dagobertis.

It

It seems more probable to others that he found him already king; Childeric, who had a great respect for his mother Innechilde, having consented that he should enjoy that part of his father's country[r]. But, taking advantage of these confusions, it is allowed that he extended his territories, and recovered at length the best part, if not all, of his father's kingdom; which he enjoyed, however, but a few years, being treacherously killed as he was hunting, together, as some writers say, with his son Sigebert, by the remnant of the inveterate faction of Grimoalde, who in the end exterminated the whole race of Clovis. The bodies of Dagobert and Sigebert were interred at Stenai, where the former was invoked as a saint[s].

Thierri is proclaimed king, and is compelled to receive Ebroin for his mayor of the palace.

In a short time after his brother's death, Thierri, quitting the monastery of St. Denis, where he had lived as a private man, but not as a monk, went to Nogent on the Seine, now called St. Cloud, and, being attended by many of the nobility, declared Leudesie, the son of Erchinoald, mayor of the palace. The bishop of Autun, who, with Ebroin, had quitted his monastery and resumed his episcopal function, quickly joined the king, and was very graciously received, though he had been the principal author of that revolt which occasioned his deposition[t].

A. D. 673. But the hopes that had been conceived of Ebroin's submitting were quickly dissipated. He drew together his old friends, and chiefly such as had suffered for him, and to these he added such of the banditti of all parties as thought it inconsistent with their interests, as well as repugnant to their inclinations, to submit to any government. His party being very strong, he drove the king, through fear, from place to place, though he did not pretend to question his title; but insisted that he himself ought to be replaced in his employment[u]. He pushed his dissimulation so far as to invite Leudesie, who then held it, to a conference; to which the latter, sincerely desirous of restoring peace, willingly consented; but in his way thither was assassinated. This outrage raised so general and so just an aversion to Ebroin, that he saw it would be more difficult for him than ever to succeed in his design; upon which, retiring into Austrasia, he set up an unknown youth, upon whom he bestowed the name of Clovis, and the quality of son of Clotaire, which gained him so great an accession of

[r] Vita S. Wilfridi. [s] Valesii Gesta Francorum. [t] Aimon. lib. iv. cap. 45. Adon. Chron. [u] Ursinus in Vita Leodegarii.

strength,

strength, more especially as he affirmed that Thierri was dead, that he became more formidable than ever. The first use he made of his power was to send a strong body of forces, under the command of some lords as abandoned as himself, and two bishops, who had been deposed for a variety of crimes, to invest Autun; where, to preserve the city, the bishop, who was the object of his vengeance, surrendered himself into their hands; and they, by his directions, put out his eyes, and would have left him to starve, if the duke of Champagne, out of pure humanity, had not relieved him [w].

After many years tyranny, Ebroin, mayor of the palace, is assassinated.

It might have been imagined, that the miserable situation of the bishop of Autun would have satisfied the malice of Ebroin, and that the king's accepting him in quality of mayor of the palace might have gratified his ambition [x]. Ebroin, however, was not either appeased or content. He published a general amnesty, that he might fix his own power upon the firmest basis; and, when he had brought things into tolerable order, he made no scruple of declaring, that, notwithstanding this amnesty, there were two points, into which, for the safety of the state, it was absolutely necessary to enquire; the first was the deposition of Thierri, and the second the murder of Childeric. By this contrivance there were none left innocent, whom he had a mind to consider in another light. The bishop of Autun and his brother were charged with procuring the death of Childeric; the former had his lips and part of his tongue cut off, the latter was stoned. Two years after the bishop, upon a new accusation, was condemned, degraded, and put to death. Others, who had provoked him, felt the weight of Ebroin's resentment in as high a degree; the king, who was no less in his power than his subjects, not daring to interpose. We need not wonder, therefore, that the nobility of Austrasia, though rent into factions amongst themselves, were universally disposed to hinder Ebroin from extending his power into that country; to prevent which they set up two rich and potent men, who were cousins, and bestowed on them the title of dukes of Austrasia. The names of these two dukes were Martin and Pepin; the former had the greater interest, but the latter was the abler man [y]. Ebroin, who had a numerous and well-disciplined army, marched against them as if they had been rebels to

A. D. 683.

[w] Ursinus in Vita Sancti Leodegarii. [x] Aimon. lib. iv. cap. 46. Adon. Chron. [y] Annales Metenses.

Thierri,

Thierri, which they really were not. He had the good fortune to defeat them in battle, and afterwards besieged Martin in the city of Laon; where, having prevailed upon him to surrender that place, upon a promise of safety made by the bishops of Paris and Rheims, he was no sooner master of it than he caused him to be beheaded. Pepin in the mean time had recruited his forces, and, having chosen a strong camp, resolved to defend himself there to the last extremity. The mayor of the palace was preparing to attack him, when he fell by the hand of an enemy whom he did not suspect. Ermenfroi, who was steward of the king's household, had been guilty of oppressions, for which Ebroin had caused him to be deeply fined. This man had a resentment quick as his own, and, having engaged some of his friends to assist him, they attacked the mayor of the palace as he was going to his devotions on a Sunday morning, and dispatched him with their knives, being without other arms, to prevent suspicion; after which execution, they fled to the camp of Pepin, who very readily granted them his protection [a]. Upon this foundation some have supposed him to be the author of the murder.

A. D. 689. *Pepin compels Thierri to receive him as mayor of the palace.*

The nobility elected Waraton to succeed him as mayor of the palace, by which means they put into his hands the supreme direction of affairs in the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy. He was a man of a mild and peaceable disposition, who seemed to have been raised to that eminent employment rather out of respect to his quality than his talents. He carried on the war against Pepin timorously and tardily, a circumstance which provoked his son Gislemar to supplant him in a post for which he was much fitter [a]. He pressed the Austrasians exceedingly, and in all probability would have determined the war in his own favour at last, if not in his master's, had not death interposed, and removed him at a very critical conjuncture. He was succeeded by his brother-in-law Bertaire, a man of a hasty and haughty disposition, who treated the nobility with such disrespect, that some of them retired into Austrasia, and many more began to enter into intrigues with Pepin, whom they sought to draw into Neustria, assuring him, that they had much rather see him at the head of their councils and armies than Bertaire, who had treated them so unworthily. Pepin proceeded slowly and cautiously: before he would invade either Neustria or Bur-

[a] Cont. Fred. cap. 100. [a] Annales Metenses.

gundy,

Digitized by Google

gundy, he sent deputies to intreat Thierri to restore the exiles, that had retired to him, to their posts and patrimonies, and to redress certain grievances that were highly detrimental to the nation in general. This demand was rejected with great contempt: upon which Pepin advanced towards the frontiers with his forces. Thierri, and his mayor of the palace, marched with a numerous army to meet them in the Vermandois; they engaged, and though the royal army behaved well, and disputed the victory for many hours, yet in the end it was defeated. The king fled to Paris, and Bertaire much farther; but, being much embarrassed with his treasures, his own soldiers conspired against him, murdered him, and shared his wealth amongst them [b]. This transaction put an end to the dispute, and delivered into the hands of Pepin both the king and his kingdom.

Leaves the king barely the title, and assumes absolutely the sovereignty of the Franks.

It is requisite to say something more particularly of this great man, who had himself the power, and whose grandson assumed the title of king of France. He is commonly called Pepin d'Heristal, from a palace of his on the Meuse, about three miles above Liege, where there is now a town of the same name. He is sometimes denominated, from the figure of his person, Pepin le Gros, or *Pepin the Fat*. We find him sometimes styled Pepin le Vieux, or *Pepin the Old*, in opposition to his grandson Pepin the Short; and sometimes Pepin le Jeune, or *Pepin the Young*, to distinguish him from Pepin de Landen, who was mayor of the palace to Sigebert II. This Pepin d'Heristal was, in all respects, one of the greatest men that age produced, extremely brave in his person, affable in his manner, easy of access, mild in his discourse, very ambitious, and withal modest and moderate in appearance: in short, a great captain, a consummate statesman, and so prudent in every thing he did and said, that he seldom lost a friend, and never created an enemy [c]. He received Thierri as if he had intended to be the most humble and the most dutiful of his servants: he paid him all the respect possible, and took all the care he could to hide his chains from himself and the public. Whenever it was necessary for him to appear, he appeared in state. A chariot, drawn by oxen, rolled him along the street, surrounded by guards, partly for pomp, partly for security, but chiefly to prevent any from approaching him. He

[b] Cont. Fred. cap. 100.

[c] Annales Metens. Gesta Regum Francorum.

Digitized by Google

gave audience to ambassadors, he received homage from tributary princes, and was present at all public solemnities, with a pageantry that at once pleased and deceived the people. The rest of his time he spent at some country palace, where he had a good table, kept his great officers, and a competent number of domestics, but he was not troubled with affairs [d]. Pepin bestowed the commands in the army, distributed provinces, appointed dukes and counts, and, in short, sustained all the fatigues of sovereignty, though he was so humble as to content himself with the title of duke and prince of the Franks. Here in fact ended the empire of Clovis Pepin d'Heristal might, with propriety enough, be said to put an end to the Merovingian race, since from this time they lost all authority, and were, in reality, not more than breathing shadows, and phantoms of royalty, which, except their hair and their robes, had nothing in them of kings [e].

Pepin brings public afairs into order, and is highly respected by foreign powers.

At the entrance on his administration, Pepin applied himself vigorously to correct the faults of his predecessors, and to bring all things into order: but he began very wisely with popular measures; he recalled such as were exiled; he restored many to their employments, and many more to their patrimonies; he heard grievances patiently, and redressed them willingly; he shewed profound respect to the clergy, but constrained them to maintain an exact discipline; he brought the finances into good order, and obliged the dukes and counts to govern the people according to the laws, and to be obedient to them. He received the assemblies at the beginning of March, at which the prelates, as well as the nobility, were present; where laws were made and repealed, and where the state of the empire, in all respects, was strictly and punctually examined [f]. In these assemblies Thierri was always present, seated on a throne, and surrounded by his officers; all proceedings being in his name, and all grants said to issue through his favour. This sudden and extraordinary alteration rendered Pepin so famous, that not only the Sclavonians and the Huns, but the king of the Lombards, also the Greek emperor Justinian II. and even the Saracens, sent their ambassadors to the court of France, where they made their presents, and paid their respects to Thierri, and saw, with astonishment, the plainness and simplicity of Pepin's appearance, who took all the pains imaginable to hide from

A. D. 692.

[d] Aimon, lib. iv. cap. 67. Adonis Chron. [e] Annales Metens. Gesta Regum Francorum. [f] Aimon. lib. iv. cap. 46.

the

Digitized by Google

the public that love of power which, notwithstanding, occupied his whole thoughts. Thierri survived this change about three years, and then died, under forty years of age, leaving by his wife Clotilda two sons; Clovis and Childebert [g].

Clovis III. bears the title of king.

On the demise of Thierri, Pepin proclaimed his eldest son Clovis III. then about ten years old, without taking any notice of the younger, as, perhaps, not caring to have the trouble of two sons. This young prince bore the regal title about four years; during which space Pepin was employed in humbling the Frisons, and other barborous nations, who, disdaining to be the tributaries of the mayor of the palace, thought to have shaken off the yoke of the Franks; in which, hope, however, they found themselves extremely mistaken [h]. After the demise of Clovis, his brother Childebert was saluted king, and led the same inactive life his father had led, while Pepin humbled the Allemans, the Bavarians, and other nations. His care of the public did not hinder his being very assiduous in providing for his family: he had by his first wife Plectrude two sons; Drogon, whom he made duke of Burgundy, and Grimoalde, who was mayor of the palace to Childebert [i]. Being divorced from her, he married Alpaide, and had by her two sons also; Charles, surnamed Martel, and Childebrande: but Plectrude being restored to his favour, they were not raised to any great post during the life of their father. As for Drogon, duke of Burgundy, he was of a warm and active disposition, brave, liberal, and magnificent; but he died in the flower of his age, and, as some say, not without issue. Grimoalde was of quite another character, mild, humane, pious, but withal a man of great parts and prudence, which rendered him the favourite of his father, who depended upon him for the support of his house. Childebert II. dying, after a reign of seventeen years, his son Dagobert II. was declared king, and Grimoalde mayor of the palace: he acted, however, entirely under his father's orders, and obeyed him with all the exactness possible [k]. His power, and his good fortune, could not defend him from the effects of age and infirmities. In the third year of Dagobert's reign, he had a dangerous fit of sickness at Jutil, not far from Heristal: as it was believed he could not recover, the enemies of

A. D. 711.

[g] Cont. Fredegarii, cap. 101. [h] Annales Metens. Gesta Regum Francorum. [i] Cont. Fredeg. cap. 101. [k] Adon. Chronicon.

his family resolved to take this opportunity of destroying it, and with this view entered into a conspiracy against Grimoalde, who, in other respects, had no ways deserved it; and Rangaire, who was at the head of this plot, stabbed him as he was at prayers in the church of St. Lambert at Liege. Pepin recovered, and revenged himself with great severity on all who were embarked in that conspiracy; and, to shew his great power, as well as his warm affection for his son, he appointed his only child Theudoalde mayor of the palace, though he was then but six years old. This was one of the last acts of his life, for he died not long after, in the twenty-eighth year of his administration [l].

Dagobert, king under the tutelage of an old woman and a young child.

Plectrude, in quality of tutoress to her grandson, assumed the direction of affairs, and had the honour to be at the head of such a government, as scarce any history can parallel; a woman and a child presuming to rule three kingdoms, while the king was alive, and in full health! It would have been surprising if she could have carried on this government; and yet it cannot be said to have failed through her imprudence. She was apprehensive of some trouble from her son-in-law Charles Martel: to prevent which, she caused him to be imprisoned; she secured the treasure of her deceased husband; and she spared no pains in caressing the nobility whom Pepin had intrusted with the principal employments. She quickly found, that these precautions were to little purpose; the remains of that faction, which had opposed her husband, took up arms to rescue, as they gave out, Dagobert from his confinement. Plectrude had recourse to the Austrasians, who, out of affection to the family of Pepin, raised a formidable army, which, however, was defeated by that of Dagobert and Rainfroi, whom the nobility had elected mayor of the palace [m]. Theudoalde was with difficulty saved, and died not long after; so that the vast structure which Pepin had erected was in great danger of being overthrown, and the old constitution restored. It was, however, preserved by an accident; for, in the midst of this confusion, Charles Martel made his escape, and going into Austrasia, was, without hesitation, received there as duke, and quickly collected a good body of troops out of the army that had been defeated. As for Plectrude, she had still a strong party, which enabled her to retire to Cologne, with the treasures of her husband. Dagobert resolved to pursue her thither, and was on the point of undertaking that expedition,

[l] Aimon. lib. iv. cap 49. [m] Annales Metenses.

when,

Digitized by Google

when, very fortunately for the family of Pepin, he was removed by death, in the fifth year of his reign, having an only son Thierri, surnamed from the place of his birth Thierri of Chelles, at the breast. A. D. 716.

Chilperic Daniel declared king, and Charles Martel duke of Austrasia.

This accident threw the mayor of the palace Rainfroi, and the nobility of Neustria, into great disorder; they wanted a king for their own security, who had some degree of capacity and courage; and, therefore, setting aside Thierri, they drew out of a convent Daniel, the son of Childeric II. though a clerk, and having bestowed on him the name of Chilperic, advanced him to the throne [n]. In spite of his education and misfortunes, this young king shewed a spirit suitable to his birth: putting himself, with the mayor of the palace, at the head of his army, he prosecuted the design of his predecessor, and marched directly into Austrasia [o]. He at the same time entered into a negotiation with the duke of the Frisons, who speedily assembled a great army, and with it marched directly towards Cologne. Charles Martel found himself between two armies, and his forces much inferior to either; he ventured, notwithstanding, to give battle to the Frisons, over whom he gained no advantage [p]. This check put it out of his power to prevent the junction of their forces with those of Chilperic, who thereupon laid siege to Cologne. Plectrude had a strong garrison, and seemed disposed to make an obstinate defence; but, however, she offered the king and his allies a very large sum of money if they would raise the siege. In all probality this tempted the Frisons, and the king found himself under a necessity of complying with his allies. However it happened, the proposition was accepted, the money received, and the siege raised. The Frisons retired into their own country; and the king, finding it difficult to subsist his army, was obliged to retreat. Charles Martel dividing his forces into several bodies, harrassed the king's army continually, and, in the forest of Arden, entering the camp by surprise, cut off a great number: this exploit raised his reputation highly, more especially as he treated his prisoners kindly, and dismissed them without ransom. It also revived the spirits of the Austrasians; so that, in a short time, he found himself at the head of a very numerous army, and in a condition of acting offensively against his enemies.

[n] Gesta Regum Francorum. [o] Annales Metenſ. [p] Cont. Fredegarii.

Digitized by Google

Charles Martel compels the king to own him for mayor of his palace.

The virtues of Pepin were inherited by Charles; he knew perfectly how to improve good fortune, as well as how to support the want of it. He marched his forces towards Cambray, where Chilperic and the mayor of his palace had established their head-quarters. Being arrived between Arras and that city, he did not immediately give the king battle, but, on the contrary, entered into a negotiation, declaring, that he sought no more than to be restored to what his father possessed, and that those who had suffered with him might likewise share in this change of fortune, a demand which was immediately rejected. By this measure he convinced his troops that he had a proper concern for their safety: he persuaded them that right was on their side, and that, without victory, they were not to expect either safety or justice [q]. The expedient had a proper effect; his troops attacked those of the king with spirit, and continued the engagement with such resolution, that they gained a complete victory, on Sunday A. D. 717. the 19th of March, according to the best computations; after which he ravaged all the country as far as Paris, and then returned into Austrasia. His view in taking this step was to reduce Cologne, and get thereby into his hands the treasures of his father Pepin, an aim which he accomplished without much difficulty; for having persuaded Plectrude to admit him into the city, a sedition presently ensued, which put him in possession, and her in his power [r]. He used his fortune in this case with great moderation; but perceiving that Chilperic would not listen to any terms, and that the people of Austrasia were desirous of a king, he took the same step that Ebroin had done in like circumstances, and set up Clotaire, a prince very probably of the royal blood; but how, or from whom descended, no history informs us. Chilperic, and Rainfroi, the mayor of his palace, saw clearly, that nothing was now to be expected but from arms, and therefore they had recourse to Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, who, in the course of these troubles, had made himself master of all that the Franks had possessed on the other side the Loire, and promised him, if he would assist them with his forces against the Austrasians, to acknowlege his right to the provinces he had seized [s]. Perhaps Eudes little regarded this sanction, since he was very well able to defend against them what he had acquired; but it was his interest, as well as their's, to

[q] Annales Metenses. [r] Chron. Fontallense, Gesta Regum Francorum. [s] Vita S Rigoberti.

lessen

leſſen the power of Charles, who might, ſome time or other, endeavour to recover this country to the Franks: he embraced therefore the offer that was made him, and with a very numerous army joined that of the king. They had ſcarce time to deliberate on the propereſt method for carrying on the war, ſince Charles Martel, who had now the means of augmenting and maintaining an army, was advanced as far as Soiſſons, and ſeemed diſpoſed to find them out, and give them battle. This unexpected march of the Auſtraſians viſibly diſconcerted them: while they endeavoured to delay coming to action, their forces dwindled and diſbanded; and being rather driven than defeated by Charles, Rainfroi marched one way, and the king and the duke of Aquitaine another [t]. Chilperic carried with him his treaſures, and perſuaded Eudes to augment his army, that they might again try their fortune in the field; but Charles demanded the king and his treaſures, A. D. 719. and promiſed the duke, if they were delivered up, his friendſhip, and the peaceable poſſeſſion of all that he now held. Eudes, entirely guided by his own intereſt, and having no reaſon to expect greater advantages from ſupporting any longer the ſide he had taken, accepted theſe terms, and delivered up Chilperic and his treaſures [u].

The civil war ended, and the death of Chilperic after an uneaſy reign.

The reception offered the king by Charles Martel was as honourable and as kind as his circumſtances would permit: Clotaire dying about this time, he cauſed him to be acknowleged in Auſtraſia; and, as it appears from charters, and other authentic inſtruments, he was owned for the ſovereign of all the dominions of the Franks. Rainfroi was not ſo eaſily reduced; he had an intereſt amongſt the nobility: they ſaw clearly that his cauſe was their's; and that if he was once reduced, as they had nothing to hope from the favour, ſo their ſafety muſt depend upon the clemency of the victor. Charles took the ſame method to put an end to this war, that he had uſed with regard to the former [w]. He puſhed Rainfroi vigorouſly, till he had ſhut him up in Aungier, where he offered him the county of Anjou, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of his enjoying it peaceably, which Rainfroi readily accepted; and the terms, thus ſettled, were very honourably maintained on both ſides [x]. Charles was equally ſucceſsful in reducing

[t] Contin. Fredeg. [u] Annales Metenſes. [w] Adon. Chron. [x] Nouvelle Hiſtoire de France, par Le Gendre P. Daniel.

A. D. 725. those who had thrown off the yoke of the Franks: he defeated the Suevians by sea, the Frisons by land; twice he routed the Allemans, and gained no less than five victories over the Saxons, so much the more acceptable to him, as they were purchased at a small expence of blood. His prudence in taking his measures, and his promptness in the execution of them, were the principal causes of his constant victories; which, while he was pursuing, Chilperic, who had a deep sense of his misfortunes, died, after a short, as well as a restless and unhappy reign. The critics in French history have very justly excluded the name of this monarch from the list of the Faineans, as he was personally present in three battles, and upon all other occasions gave incontestable proofs of his activity and address; so that there seemed to be nothing wanting to render him a great prince, but a little better fortune, or less courage or capacity in his competitor [y].

Thierri IV. or Thierri of Chelles declared king, and Charles Martel his mayor of the palace.

Thierri of Chelles was brought out of the convent upon this occasion, and proclaimed king of Austrasia, as well as Neustria and Burgundy: he is usually styled Thierri III. but with greater propriety Thierri IV. and, at the time of his accession, could not be above seven years old. His name was all that was of any use to Charles, and that indeed stood him in great stead. He was always in arms, and always in the cause of the king of the Franks; the dukes and the counts who controverted his orders he considered as rebels to the king; the barbarous nations that did not pay their tribute were the enemies of the Franks. Thus he never wanted specious pretences for perpetual expeditions, which kept up a numerous army, without being either a burthen or a terror to his own subjects, for the vanquished always bore the expence of the war, the bounds of the empire were continually enlarged, the clergy were constantly sent into the new conquests, and large grants to the church were to him equivalent to garrisons, in which policy he followed the maxims of his father Pepin; and whether his actions were good law or ill, they had always a fair colour, which, with full coffers and veteran troops, secured his fame and fortune [z]; but the quality which, of all others, contributed most to his greatness, was his sagacity in foreseeing, and his activity in taking his measures. In consequence of his foresight Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, had more than once infringed the treaty he made with him, and intended to proceed

[y] Annales Metenses. [z] Contin. Fredeg.

farther,

Digitized by Google

farther, if fortune had favoured him; but Charles had ever his army at hand to check him, and, by ravaging his country in revenge, obliged him to renew the peace he had broken [a]. That prince might, however, ſome time or other, have created him much uneaſineſs, had he not had his hands full with another no leſs potent enemy, the Moors, who were maſters of Spain. He was continually embarraſſed with them for ſeveral years together, being ſometimes in war, ſometimes in league with their chiefs, one of whom he tempted to revolt by giving him his daughter; but he being defeated and ſlain, the duke of Aquitaine found himſelf in a very diſtreſſed condition. Abderaman, governor of Spain for the khalif, meditated not only the puniſhment of Eudes, and the conqueſt of his country, but to penetrate into the heart of France, and to eſtabliſh there the enormous ſwarms of Moors who were continually tranſporting themſelves from Africa. Eudes penetrating his deſign from the prodigious army he underſtood was forming, and knowing how unable he was to defend himſelf and his country from ſuch an inundation of infidels, applied himſelf, though unwillingly, to the duke and prince of the Franks. Charles readily promiſed him his aſſiſtance; and, having long before expected ſuch an invitation, had his troops in perfect readineſs, and had brought into the field many thouſands of his ſubjects from beyond the Rhine.

Charles Martel engages the Moors and gains a complete victory.

Abderaman broke like a torrent into Aquitaine, with an army ſo numerous, that, in attempting to deſcribe it, ſome hiſtorians have rendered their accounts incredible. Duke Eudes was ſo little in a condition to reſiſt, that all the forces he could raiſe ſerved only to form a flying camp, and this was all that Charles expected. The Moors waſted all the country as they proceeded, took and deſtroyed the great towns, and ſeemed to place the hopes of their poſſeſſion in leaving no places of ſtrength to which the inhabitants might retire. Charles marched with his army to meet them, but ſlowly, and in good order. Between Tours and Poitier the armies came in ſight, and ſpent ſeven days in ſkirmiſhes; at length they came to a deciſive battle, in which the troops from beyond the Rhine did wonders; their gigantic ſize in compariſon of the Moors, and the weight of their battle-axes, ballanced the inequality of numbers. Abderaman behaved like a great captain, and

[a] Adon. Chron.

his

Digitized by Google

his forces defended themselves with great intrepidity; the Christians fought with much bravery and spirit; but though they killed multitudes, the infidels did not break or give way. At length a multitude appeared flying, and a great cloud of smoke and dust rose behind the army of the Moors, the duke of Aquitaine had broke into their camp, slaughtered their women, children, and servants, and set fire to their tents; this circumstance determined the fate of the day, and obliged the Moors to retreat as fast as they were able. Charles did not prosecute his victory, which seems to be a clear proof that his loss was much greater than those historians make it, who say it did not cost him above fifteen hundred men [a]. Next year the infidels made another attempt on Aquitaine, to no purpose; but they had better fortune in Provence, which was betrayed into their hands by its governor. This event drew Charles into those parts with a numerous army, with which he made himself master of Avignon [b]. He soon transferred the war into Languedoc, and gained another great victory over the Saracens, but he was not able to make himself master of Narbonne; he would perhaps have carried the success of his arms farther, but that he was obliged to attend particularly to domestic concerns. He granted the duchy of Aquitaine to Hunald, the son of Eudes, but upon express condition of being his vassal, without mention of the king; and Thierri dying about this time, he made no haste to declare a successor. He routed the Frisons, and killed their duke with his own hands: he dissipated more than one conspiracy, made a league with the Lombards, and undertook to act as a mediator between them and pope Gregory III. who made choice of him for his protector, sent him the keys of the tomb of St. Peter, offered to shake off his dependence on the Greek emperor, and to proclaim Charles consul of Rome. These propositions pleased him extremely; but while this affair was in agitation, all the great persons interested therein were removed by death, the emperor Leo on
A. D. 741. the 18th of June, Charles Martel on the 22d of October (O), and the pope on the 28th of November [c].

The

[a] Isidor. Pacens. [b] Roderic Toletan. Hist Arabum. Adon. Chron. Annales Metenses. [c] Contin. Fredeg.

(O) The second race of the French kings are styled Carlovingians, from this Charles Martel. The name of his first

Digitized by Google

The ſingular fortune which had attended Charles Martel through his whole life, ſeemed to be conſigned by him to his family. In an aſſembly of the nobles, held a little before his death, he aſſigned Auſtraſia to his eldeſt ſon Carloman; Neuſtria and Burgundy to his ſecond ſon Pepin, ſurnamed le Bref, or *the Short*, becauſe he was ſhort in ſtature, though very ſtrong and well made. Theſe were the children of his firſt wife [d]. His ſecond ſurvived him, and to her ſon Gripon, or Griffon, he aſſigned only ſome lands in the heart of France, with which he was ſo little ſatisfied, that he preſently raiſed an inſurrection, and ſhut up himſelf and his mother in the city of Laon. Carloman and Pepin followed him thither with an army, inveſted the place, and puſhed the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that Griffon was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion; upon

Carloman and Pepin ſucceed their father, and the interregnum continues.

[d] Chronicon Fontallenſe.

firſt wife was Rotrude, by whom he had four ſons and three daughters: Carloman, duke of Auſtraſia, afterwards a monk, who died at Vienne in 747; Pepin, who aſſumed the title of king of France; Bernard, who had ſeveral children; and Jerom. By Sonnechilde, or Suanechild, Charles Martel had Griffon, of whom enough has been ſaid in the hiſtory; he had alſo a baſtard ſon, Remy, who was biſhop of Rouen (1). As he had made free with the treaſures of the church to defend France, and indeed all Chriſtendom, againſt the Saracens, the monks were pleaſed to give out that he was damned. The tale was probably whiſpered in ſecret very near his time; but the clergy were ſo fond of it, that we find the biſhops of two provinces in a letter addreſſed to Lewis, king of Germany, A. D. 858, telling him with great ſolemnity, that Eucher, biſhop of Orleans, after the death of Charles Martel, had his condition revealed to him, and that, at his requeſt, Boniface, biſhop of Metz, and Fulrade biſhop of St. Denis, and chaplain to king Pepin, cauſed his tomb to be opened, in which they found only a monſtrous dragon, which preſently diſappeared, leaving behind a great cloud of ſmoke (2). It is true that Charles Martel baniſhed this Eucher and his family, ſo that he was as fit a man as any upon whom to fix this tale; but it happened unluckily for the credit of the ſtory, that this prelate died ſome years before Charles Martel, and ſo could not poſſibly be the author of it, as is ſuppoſed.

(1) Recueil des Roy de France, leur Couronne & Maiſon, par Jean du Tillet. (2) Capitul. Caroli Calvi, tit. 23.

which

Digitized by Google

which they ſent his mother to a convent, and him to a caſtle in the foreſt of Arden [e]. This troubleſome buſineſs being happily diſcuſſed, the two brothers concerted together the proper meaſures for ſettling the empire of the Franks; took ſuch precautions, with regard to the tributary nations and the duke of Aquitaine, as rendered ſome attempts they made to throw off their dependance ineffectual; and acted on all occaſions with ſuch a perfect underſtanding, and ſo entire a confidence in each other, as filled their contemporaries with admiration, and prevented their power from ſuffering the ſmalleſt diminution [f].

They act together in reducing Odilon, duke of Bavaria, and the German confederacy.

When the ſtate of things would permit, Carloman went into Auſtraſia, that he might attend more aſſiduouſly to his own concerns. Pepin perceiving that there wanted ſomething more than his own authority to reſtrain the nobility, in two large kingdoms, within ſome order, proclaimed by his own authority Childeric, the ſon of Thierri of Chelles, king. His brother Carloman did not concur in this meaſure, or acknowlege Childeric; not that there was any diſpute or diſagreement between the two brothers, but becauſe Carloman looked upon Auſtraſia as a ſovereignty, in ſome meaſure become hereditary in his family; and having the good fortune to eſtabliſh this opinion among the inhabitants, it was never afterwards called in queſtion [g]. It was in this quality of duke and ſovereign of Auſtraſia that he called the council of Eſtines, the ruins of which town are ſtill to be ſeen near Binche in Hainault, where, by the advice and with the aſſent of his clergy, he regulated many abuſes, and, in the preface to theſe canons he ſpeaks abſolutely in the ſtyle of a ſovereign. But, notwithſtanding this flow of good fortune, the two brothers found themſelves very quickly obliged to vindicate their title, ſuch as it was, by their arms. Sonnechilde, their mother-in-law, who was nearly related to Odilon, duke of the Bavarians, had drawn to their party their ſiſter Hiltrude, by negociating for her a marriage with that prince. Though they were ſo lucky as to thruſt Sonnechilde into a convent, and her ſon Griffon into a priſon, yet Hiltrude found means to eſcape, and friends who conducted her into Bavaria, where Odilon eſpouſed her; and knowing that this ſtep would be attended with a war, formed a confederacy for his own ſup-

[e] Contin. Fredegarii. Adon. Chron. [f] Annales Metenſes.
[g] Contin. Fredeg.

port,

Digitized by Google

port, which it required all the force the two brothers could raise to combat [h]. Odilon very well knew that his neighbours were as little disposed to submit to Carloman as himself, and therefore he represented to Theodobald, duke of the Allemans, and Theodoric, duke of the Saxons, that if ever there was a time favourable to their desire of rendering themselves independent, it was at this juncture, by the means of a strict alliance; he likewise drew the duke of Aquitaine to concur in this scheme, and to engage to pass the Loire with a potent army, as soon as Carloman and Pepin should bend their march towards Germany [i]. The brothers had some suspicion of this design; but the army assembled by the confederates in Germany was, notwithstanding, so great, that they found it requisite to march in person against them, with the whole power of the Franks, and trust the repressing and punishment of the duke of Aquitaine, in case he should execute the engagement he had taken, to the next campaign [k].

The dukes Carloman and Pepin defeat Odilon, duke of Bavaria, with his allies.

The confederates having drawn together a very numerous and gallant army, took post behind the Lech, and acted entirely on the defensive. Carloman and Pepin encamped on the other side of the river, and spent some days in attempting to provoke the confederates to pass, but without effect: the three dukes knew, that if, by covering their country, the Franks were obliged to retire, they should not only carry their point, but have a fair opportunity of ruining their forces in a long retreat; but while the Franks seemed to be employed in skirmishing and insulting the Bavarians, they with great secresy caused the river to be sounded, and found that it was fordable at some distance, both above and below the camp of the confederates. At the close of the evening the Franks, after making the usual signals, and lighting fires in all their quarters, decamped without noise, and Carloman marching up the river with his troops, and Pepin following the course of the stream, both passed it without opposition, and both were before the camp of the confederates, almost at the same instant, and when they were least expected. Odilon, and the two dukes his confederates, made a gallant defence for near five hours; but at length the camp was forced on both sides with great slaughter; the duke of the Bavarians retired with the small remains of his forces, and took shelter behind the Inn. The Franks ravaged and plundered the country for fifty-two days: Carloman, with a strong detachment, entered the country of the Saxons, and made their duke Theodoric prisoner. The

A. D. 743.

[h] Annal. Metenses. [i] Adon. Chronicon. [k] Contin. Fredeg.

close

close of the campaign and the war, brought all these dukes to renew their homage, and to promise the most exact obedience. There was not time left to chastise Hunald, duke of Aquitaine, who, in discharge of the promise he had made to the confederates, passed the Loire, destroyed all the country with fire and sword, and made himself master of Chartres, which, upon the approach of the Franks, he abandoned, after having reduced to ashes the best part of the city, and the magnificent cathedral, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Pepin, next year, entered with a numerous army into his dominions, where they lived at discretion, till the duke, in pity to his subjects, and to extricate himself out of so unlucky an affair, submitted to the hard terms that were prescribed; and swore once again, in the most solemn terms, to remain a faithful vassal; on account of which oath, and of the cruelties committed at Chartres, he thought fit to resign his dominions to his son, and retire into a convent, there to pass the remainder of his days in acts of penitence, as a private man, for the wickedness and folly of which he had been guilty in his public character [m].

Carloman after reducing the revolted German nations, retires, of his own accord, to a convent.

The two next years were spent by both brothers in various expeditions against the Saxons, and other German nations, whom interest and inclination led to revolt, as soon as the army that had reduced them was withdrawn: in these excursions they were generally successful; Carloman was so fortunate as to make Theodoric, duke of the Saxons, prisoner a second time. He again treated him with lenity, and, having exacted a fresh oath of obedience, restored him to his liberty. It appears, from the whole series of his actions, that Carloman was a prince of great courage, and of equal capacity; of strict morals, great sweetness of temper, and sincere piety: he saw every day things that displeased him; and that greatness and power, which had so many charms for others, were necessarily attended with so many acts of severity and injustice, as absolutely disgusted him. He had formed a design of quitting the world, and had communicated it to his brother; but Pepin, in dissuading him from the immediate execution, imagined, perhaps, that this humour, like a fit of melancholy, would be dissipated by time, and a variety of events. It happened quite otherwise; Carloman was of a serious, not a splenetic disposition; time and experience served only to confirm him in his resolution [n]. He left a

A. D. 746.

[l] Annal. Metens. [m] Adon. Chron. [n] Contin. Fredeg.

son

Digitized by Google

ſon Dragon, and perhaps ſome other children, who, it is ſaid, were ſhut up in convents by their uncle; but this point is ſomewhat obſcure [o]: all we know of the matter is, that Carloman went to Rome, with an equipage ſuitable to his birth and dignity, made great preſents on the behalf of Pepin, as well as himſelf to the pope; at length being ſhaved, and having taken the clerical habit, built a monaſtery upon Mount Soracte, at the diſtance of ſome leagues from Rome; but the reſort of French lords, and other men of quality, incommoded him ſo much, and interfered to ſuch a degree with his deſign, that he left this convent alſo, and retired to Mount Caſſin, where, in the famous benedictine abbey, then governed by Optatus, he ſpent the remainder of his days in privacy and quiet, deſpiſing, however, the practice of auſterities, dictated only by a childiſh ſuperſtition [p].

Griffon, though kindly treated by his brother, revolts and engages the Germans to join him.

Pepin was now in poſſeſſion of all; but notwithſtanding what ſome have ſuggeſted, it does not appear from his actions that the acquiſition of his dominions conſoled him for the loſs of his brother. For, immediately after the retreat of Carloman, he took Griffon out of priſon, lodged him in his own palace, gave him a great many counties, and a conſiderable revenue; and, ſuppoſing that time and his misfortunes might have cured him of his wild and headſtrong diſpoſition, he treated him with all the kindneſs and confidence poſſible. Some time after this event, he held at Duren, a place between Aix la Chapelle and Cologne, a kind of council, in which he made ſeveral civil and religious regulations, particularly in regard to the neceſſary proviſions for men deſtitute of neceſſary ſubſiſtence, for widows and for orphans, for the repairing and rebuilding churches deſtroyed in the wars, and for eſtabliſhing tribunals for the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout his dominions [q]. But while he was thus employed, Griffon was very far from being idle. If his brother Carloman was diſguſted with ſovereignty, this was not at all his caſe, and therefore he took under-hand all the meaſures poſſible to ſucceed him. Having drawn many of the nobility to his intereſt, and reſolving to place himſelf at the head of thoſe who had ever been the enemies of his family, he ſecretly quitted his brother's palace, and retired to Theodoric, duke of the Saxons, who received him with open arms, and revolted, for the third time, in his behalf. His firſt exploits were ſome incurſions into Thuringia; but Pepin

A. D. 747.

[o] Annal. Metenſes. [p] Adon. Chron. [q] Contin. Fredeg.

did

Digitized by Google

did not give him much time, for he advanced speedily with an army towards the country of the Saxons, notwithstanding the forces of Theodoric were more numerous [r]. The great inequality of numbers made his conduct appear the effect of resentment, or of rashness. It was not long before it took another colour; the Sclavonians, whom in the war of Bavaria he had treated with great generosity, fell upon the Saxons with an army of one hundred thousand men. Pepin charged them at the same time, and Theodoric being a third time taken, he was not inclined to trust him any more, so that we hear nothing of him from this time. The miserable people implored mercy upon any terms; Pepin extended his compassion towards them, upon condition that they became Christians. Griffon having given shelter to the flying Saxons, chose a strong camp, and fortified it. Pepin advanced towards him; but when they were upon the point of engaging, Griffon sent to make him some propositions, to which Pepin answered, that if he would lay down his arms and return to him, he would, notwithstanding all that was passed, receive him as his brother; at the same time he retired with his forces, that he might have leisure to reflect upon his offer [s]. The true design of Griffon was only to gain time; he began to distrust the Saxons, and was desirous of quitting their country. It was not long before he did it, in a manner that revived his ambition and his hopes, but which, at the same time, did no great honour to his reputation [t].

A. D. 748. *On the death of Odilon, duke of Bavaria, Griffon usurps the duchy from his nephew.*

Odilon, duke of Bavaria, dying, left behind him an infant son Tassilon, by Hiltrude, the sister of Pepin, and the half-sister of Griffon. This princess, who had been always secretly in his interest, offered him a retreat in her dominions, which he accepted; and being quickly joined by a strong body of malecontent Franks, he seized his sister and her son, and caused himself to be proclaimed duke of Bavaria. He was, however, so apprehensive of Pepin's obliging him to desist from this usurpation, that he applied himself to pope Zachary, to the abbot Optatus, and to his brother Carloman, to intreat their interposition in his favour. They accordingly interposed their good offices, but they signified little; Pepin was inexorable; he said it was one thing to forgive injuries done to himself, and another to indulge an intruder, who had despoiled a widow and an orphan. He took, therefore, proper measures, in the first place, to prevent any trouble or dis-

[r] Annal. Metenses. [s] Adon. Chron. [t] Contin. Fredeg.

turbance

turbance in the kingdom during his absence, and then marched with a potent army into Bavaria; where, without listening to any propositions, he pushed Griffon from post to post, till at length, having dissipated his troops, he took him and the chief persons of his party prisoners. He restored his nephew Tassilon to the duchy, under the tuition of his mother, and he brought his brother Griffon along with him into France [w]: he did not so much as reproach him with any thing that was passed; he only advised him not to make any farther trials of his patience for the time to come: he explained to him the interests of their family; he shewed him that those who solicited him to these revolts would be the first to ruin him, when he had answered their purposes; and, that he might have no temptation to enter into fresh cabals, he gave him the town of Mans for his residence, with twelve counties for the maintenance of his household, and the title of duke. All this generosity had no effect, he began instantly to cabal again; and knowing that the German nations were so thoroughly humbled that they durst not stir, he addressed himself to the duke of Aquitaine, the only enemy his brother had, and therefore the only person he chose for his friend. We shall see in the next section what was the event of this new conspiracy [x].

Pepin comes to a resolution of assuming the title and dignity, as well as the power of king.

The empire of the Franks was now so firmly established, the tributary nations were so effectually humbled, the neighbouring states so little in a condition to disturb this strong and spreading power, that Pepin grew weary of the inferior titles of mayor of the palace, and duke and prince of the Franks, and therefore resolved to execute the design which his ancestor, of the same name, had formed. Having no farther use for the unfortunate Childeric, who had hitherto worn the empty title of monarch of the Franks, but with less pomp and much less respect than was shewn to any of his predecessors, he determined to lay him entirely aside, and put an end to the race of Merovingian princes, who, for a series of years, had been mere phantoms or idols of royalty, rather than kings [y]. To resolve and to execute in this case was for him equally easy, as costing him no other trouble than what it might give his conscience; the measures he took to effect this design, and to quiet his mind after it was effected, will appear in the next section.

A. D. 750.

[w] Annal. Metenses. [x] Adon. Chron. [y] Contin. Fredegarii

Digitized by Google

SECT. II.

The Reign of Pepin le Bref, or the Short, in whom began the second Race.

Pepin le Bref ascends the throne, and the remaining princes of the male line are shut up.

WHEN Pepin formed the design of seating himself on the throne of France he had all the advantages he could desire. He was in the very flower of his age, being in his thirty-eighth year; he had the bishops and clergy at his devotion, to whom he had been a great benefactor, and had amply repaired those injuries, which they pretended to have received from his father Charles Martel; most of the counts and dukes throughout the kingdom owed their preferments to him and his family; his gracious and affable behaviour had rendered him very acceptable to the people, who, on the other hand, were taught to contemn and despise king Childeric as a weak paralytic creature, infirm alike in mind and in body [a]. There is, therefore, nothing more easy, more natural, or more probable, than the simple and short account given in the old chronicle, that, in the annual assembly of the great men, in the month of March, it was proposed to remove Childeric, and to place Pepin on the throne; which measure being unanimously resolved, was with little ceremony [b] executed. The common account is better digested and more plausible. We are told, that the predecessor of Pepin had always entertained a fair correspondence with the popes; that he had himself practised the same policy, with the same view; that, by permitting the bishops of Rome to exercise authority in the dominion of the Franks, the way was prepared to gain an entire submission to that authority, when, in so capital a point as this, it should be exercised in his favour. It is also affirmed, that Burcard, bishop of Wirtzbourg, and Fulrade, abbot of St. Denis, were sent ambassadors to pope Zachary at Rome, to lay before him the state of affairs in France, and to intreat him to decide whether the regal dignity should remain in one so little capable to execute it, or whether it should be transferred to anther, upon whom the welfare of the state had so long depended, and who was capable of adding lustre to the crown he received from his personal merit [c]. It is added, that, to give the greater weight to these arguments, it was hinted

[a] Aimon, lib. iv. cap. 60. [b] Annales Bertinian. Annales Franc. Breves. [c] Adon. Chron.

to

Digitized by Google

to the pope how effectually he might be supported against the Lombards, and released from all dependence on the Greek emperors, if he paid a proper regard to this representation. Upon this representation, it is supposed, he declared it lawful to exclude one prince, and to set up another; and that this might be done in a manner the most satisfactory that could be to the people, St. Boniface, bishop of Mentz, the pope's legate, performed the ceremony of his inauguration at Soissons: some, forgetting that of Clovis, say that this was the first solemn coronation, with unction, that was ever seen in France; and that Pepin was particularly pleased to have this ceremony compared to the anointing of David by Samuel, upon the rejecting of Saul[d].

Objections to the history of his inauguration by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz.

But to the whole of this story there are some very strong objections. Such as, that the ancient chronicles are equally silent as to the concurrence of the pope, and as to this solemn coronation; that the pupil of this saint Boniface was an entire stranger to this transaction; and that, long after the supposed sanction and coronation, Pepin's conscience was uneasy till his scruples were cured by another pope. But, whatever incertainty there may be as to the means, there was none at all as to the fact[e]. Childeric, after having his hair cut off, was conducted to the monastery of Sithieu, in the diocese of Terovenne, now the abbey of St. Bertin at Omers. There he was received as a monk by the abbot Nanthaire, and breathed his last in this place, about three or four years afterwards; his consort Gesilie was likewise put into a convent; and their son Thierri, being shaved, passed the remainder of his days in the monastery of Fontanelle, or, as it is now styled, Vandrille, in Normandy[f].

Pepin reduces the Saxons, his brother Griffon is killed, and he humbles the Bretons and others.

The same vigilance and activity which Pepin had found requisite in acquiring the crown, became no less necessary to keep it. The Saxons, notwithstanding all they had suffered, were again in arms; against whom Pepin marched with an army, chastised them very severely, and augmented their annual tribute. At his return from this war he had an account of the death of his brother Griffon; in relating which, however, authors are not well agreed. Pepin sent a herald to demand him from the duke of Aquitaine; and that duke absolutely refusing to deliver him up, he remained some time at his court; but conceiving, as some say, a suspicion, that, if he should be once attacked, the

[d] Contin. Fredegar. Annales Metenses [e] Anast. in Vita Stephan. III. [f] Chron. Fontan. Chron. Sithuen.

Digitized by Google

duke would make his own peace at his expence, or else flattering himself with hopes of being better supported by Astolphus, king of the Lombards, he endeavoured to retire into Italy; but finding the pass of Maurienne guarded by a corps of troops commanded by Theodon, count of Vienne, and Frederick, governor of Burgogne Transjurane, or the Farther Burgundy, he boldly attacked him with a handful of forces he had with him, in which action all the three chiefs fell [g]. Others allege, that, falling in love with the duke of Aquitaine's wife, who was one of the handsomest women of that age, the duke became so jealous of him, that Griffon found it requisite, for his own safety, to retire into Italy, and was, by that prince's order, assassinated in his passage. Be that as it may, it was a great piece of good fortune to Pepin, who lost in this brother the most bitter and determined enemy he ever had, and who, as long as he lived, would never have desisted from giving him trouble. The Bretons having made some incursions during Pepin's absence, he made an invasion into their country, and forced the count to purchase peace by renewing his homage [h]. This success raised his reputation so high, that a noble Goth, whose name was Ansimonde, having seized the towns of Nimes, Magalone, Agde, and Besiers, and gallantly defended them against the Moors, demanded of his own accord the protection of Pepin, and became his vassal. This event opened a passage for the Franks into the country which the Goths formerly held, and which was now possessed by the infidels, and gave Pepin an opportunity of investing Narbonne; the siege of which his father had been forced to raise. He found it so strong, and so well defended, that he was obliged to turn his siege into a blockade, and, after it had lasted three years, it was rendered into his hands: an acquisition equally valuable in its nature, and honourable in the world's opinion [i].

Pope Stephen III. implores his protection, and comes into France to receive it.

An affair of greater consequence now demanded the king's attention. The popes had long thought themselves in a distrest and precarious condition, and Stephen the Third looked upon his case to be desperate. On one side, Astolphus, king of the Lombards, had made himself master of the exarchate of Ravenna, and almost all that the Greek emperors held in Italy, insisted upon being acknowleged king at Rome, and threatened the city with a siege if the

[g] Adon. Chron. [h] Aimon. lib. iv. Annales Franc. [i] Annales Metenses.

pope

Digitized by Google

pope did not comply [k]. On the other hand, the emperor Conſtantine Copronymus, treading in the footſteps of his predeceſſor, was zealous in the ſupport of the Iconoclaſts, or image-breakers, whom the pope treated as heretics, and from whom, therefore, he could expect but little aſſiſtance. In this critical conjuncture, he firſt deſired to have a ſafe-conduct to come to Pavia to treat with Aſtolphus; and when he found him not to be moved by preſents, prayers, or tears, he demanded leave to retire into France. In this demand he was ſeconded by the French ambaſſadors, ſo that Aſtolphus, though very unwilling, was obliged to conſent, and the pope accordingly proceeded in his journey [l]. On his arrival Pepin paid him all poſſible reſpect, lodged him in the abbey of St. Denis, and took all the care imaginable of him during a long ſickneſs. In return, the pontiff ſhewed himſelf ready to gratify him in whatever he could deſire, and particularly abſolved him for the breach of his oath to his maſter Childeric: he alſo crowned him in the church of St. Denis, together with his queen Bertrade, beſtowing at the ſame time the regal unction upon his ſons Charles and Carloman; adding to all this, the title of Romanorum Patricius, for him and each of his ſons, which was to be interpreted, declaring them patrons or protectors of the Roman people; an honour of which the pope ſufficiently availed himſelf [m].

Pepin conducts the pope back into Italy with an army, forces Aſtolphus to a peace, which he breaks ſoon after.

The king of the Lombards, who very eaſily ſaw what all this would end in, ſent for Optatus, abbot of Mount Caſſin, to whom, having repreſented the miſchievous conſequences that would attend a war in Italy, he compelled the abbot to enjoin Carloman to go with all poſſible ſpeed to his brother's court, to diſſuade Pepin from coming to extremities. Carloman obeyed his abbot, went into France, and, as a certain hiſtorian ſays, pleaded ſo zealouſly for his client, that he equally offended the king and the pope, inſomuch that the former, at the perſuaſion of the latter, put his children into convents, and ſhaved them; which ſeverity, with other ill uſage, had ſuch an effect upon the mind of that virtuous and honeſt prince, that he did not long ſurvive it. [n]. His diſcourſe, however, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the French lords, that they were by no means inclined to enter into the war, but inſiſted that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Aſtolphus, to try whether the diſpute might not be adjuſted. He made great conceſſions; but the pope would not be ſatisfied, and at length ſo

[k] Anaſt. in Vita Stephan. III. Paul. Diacon. Hiſt. Long. lib. vi.

[l] Contin. Chron. Fredeg.

[n] Annales Metenſes

Digitized by Google

wrought upon the nobility, by his intreaties, that the war was resolved. Pepin conducted the pope, with an army, back into Italy, and, having forced the pass of Maurienne, besieged Astolphus in Pavia, and obliged him not only to renounce all pretensions to the sovereignty of Rome, but also to relinquish the exarchate of Ravenna, and all his conquests: for the due performance of which treaty, in all its points, he took the king's oath, and that of his principal nobility [o]. Being thus master of Ravenna, he bestowed it, as a free gift, if the French historians may be credited, on the pope and his successors, and at the same time sent the pontiff to Rome, under the escort of a considerable body of troops, commanded by his natural brother Jerom. How generous soever Pepin's intentions might be, or how grateful soever the pope might seem for this benefit, yet he had a secret reserved right, by which he dispensed with the notion of accepting this, in the light of a donation [p]. The exarchate of Ravenna had belonged to the emperor Constantine Copronymus, whom he considered as a heretic; in that light he ceased to have any right to hold it; and, as the spoil of a heretic, it belonged to the church. This singular and extraordinary right could not be defeated either by the conquest of the king of the Lombards, or by the taking it from him by the king of the Franks; so that the bounty of Pepin, in the pope's sense, was only putting him in possession of a thing to which he had a just title, and which had been withheld from him by force. If the pope had his reserves, Astolphus had likewise his second thoughts, which were, that he had paid too high a price for raising the siege, and therefore, as soon as the Franks were retired, he refused to comply with the treaty, or to part with a single town of his conquests; the pope, as soon as he was informed of this refusal, dispatched abbot Fulrade to carry his complaints, and to demand fresh assistance from king Pepin [q].

Pepin returns to the pope's assistance, and compels Astolphus to a more ignominious peace.

Astolphus had foreseen the step the pope would take, and, therefore, to complete his scheme, invested Rome, in the month of January, demanding of the inhabitants to have the pope delivered into his hands; in which case he promised to do him no hurt, threatening otherwise to demolish the city, and put them to the sword. The people, having so recent an example of the king's preferring his interest to his engagements, rejected the proposition, and

[o] Cont. Fredegar. [p] Anast. in Vita Stephan. III. Adon. Chron. [q] Paul. Diacon. Hist. Long. Histoire de France, par Daniel.

prepared

Digitized by Google

prepared to make a vigorous defence. Aſtolphus deſtroyed all their country palaces, and ruined every thing in the neighbourhood of Rome; outrages which ſerved only to provoke them, and diſtreſs his own troops. Theſe acts of ſeverity took from the Romans all thoughts of ſafety but from a brave defence; which, with the help of the French officers, was ſo well conducted, that Aſtolphus was ſtill before Rome when he heard the news that Pepin had repaſſed the Alps, had inveſted Pavia, and that, in ſhort, he was on the point of loſing his capital, and perhaps his dominions [r]. He was conſtrained, therefore, to make peace a ſecond time, upon terms infinitely worſe than thoſe to which he ſubmitted before. Beſides abandoning Ravenna and all his conqueſts, with the addition of Comachio, he was obliged to pay a large ſum of money, under the title of the expences of the war, and to ſubmit to the revival of the old tribute, which had been relinquiſhed by Clotaire the Second. The peace being made, Pepin made a tour to Rome, where he was received with great pomp; but finding that his ſtay gave great uneaſineſs to the Greeks, and was not very acceptable to the pope, he quickly left the city, having renewed and confirmed his donation. Having conſtrained Aſtolphus to perform the treaty in every reſpect, he ſent the keys of Ravenna and the reſt of the cities, by the abbot Fulrade, who was his chancellor, to Rome; who offered them on the tomb of St. Peter, in anſwer, as it may be ſuppoſed, to the letter which the pope tranſmitted to him during the ſiege, and which was penned in the name of that apoſtle [s]. In all probability things might have once more changed their face, if Aſtolphus had not fallen from his horſe, as he was hunting, and broke his neck. This accident produced great confuſion; for he had mounted the throne upon the abdication of his brother Rachis, who, of his own accord, retired to the monaſtery of Mount Caſſin, and lived there with duke Carloman. The throne being now vacant, moſt of the nobility invited him to reaſcend it; while, on the other hand, Didier, general of Aſtolphus's forces, was very deſirous of exchanging his ſword for a ſcepter [t]. The taſk was difficult; he had not ſo much as the colour of a title; but, to ſupply this defect, he had recourſe to the pope, and began with fulfilling the late treaty to the utmoſt; next he made a preſent of the city of Bologna and its diſtrict; and

[r] Cont. Fredeg. Anaſt. in Vita Stephan. III. [s] Annales Fuldenſ. Adon. Chron. [t] Paul Diacon. Hiſt. Longobard.

Digitized by Google

lastly he promised the most profound obedience for himself and his successors. Upon these advances, the pope represented to Rachis, that his endeavour to resume the crown was a wicked and sacrilegious attempt; a declaration which his piety induced him to believe; so that, retiring back again to his convent, he left the kingdom to Didier, and the pope in possession of the places he had dismembered from it, with some other advantages arising from his sanction afforded to this settlement [u].

A. D. 756.

After his return the king settles the interior government of his realm, and regulates other affairs.

Pepin, after his return into his own dominions, employed himself chiefly in regulating public affairs; and, for this purpose, held the annual assembly of the states at Compiegne, not in the month of March, as the ancient custom was, but in May; which alteration, we are told, took place from their having now cavalry in their army; whereas, in the earlier times, the forces of the Franks consisted entirely of foot; and, as these assemblies were held immediately before they took the field, it was necessary they should wait till there was forage [w]. In the assembly of this year, Tassilon, Pepin's nephew, and duke of Bavaria, did homage for his dominions. The king of the Sclavonians, of his own accord, demanded the protection of Pepin, and did the like. The Greek emperor sent his ambassadors, to represent the injustice that had been done him, in giving the pope the exarchate of Ravenna and other districts in Italy, and at the same time made him very magnificent presents. Amongst these was the first organ ever seen in France, which was given by the king to the church of Compiegne. Next year died the pope; and his brother Paul, being chosen his successor, sent to intreat king Pepin to continue to him his protection; which the king very kindly promised, and very punctually kept his word [x]. In the course of the following year the Saxons made a general revolt, which constrained the king to turn the forces of his dominions on that side. This diversion gave the Lombards an opportunity of disturbing the pope, and endeavouring, in conjunction with the Greek emperor, to recover all the places that had been yielded to the see of Rome; but Pepin, returning victorious, and having constrained the Saxons, not only to submit, but to add likewise to their former tribute three hundred horse, to be presented annually in the assembly held in the month of May, had leisure to look abroad, and to give the pope that pro-

[u] Anast. in Vita Stephan. III. Adon. Chron. Metenses. Histoire de Fran. par P. Daniel.

[w] Annales

[x] Cont. Fredeg.

tection,

Digitized by Google

tection, of which he stood in great need. He sent for this purpose his ambassadors to Pavia, to declare to king Didier, that, if he did not immediately put all things on the foot of the treaty made when he was last in Italy, he would return thither with an army, and regulate them in such a manner as should put it out of his power to create any farther disturbances. Didier was constrained to submit, and to promise all that was demanded; but with a full intention not to keep his word, in case any opportunity should offer of breaking it with impunity [y].

A. D. 760.

War with the duke of Aquitaine.

Gaifre, or Vaifar, duke of Aquitaine, regarded the prosperity of Pepin with an envious eye; and, on the other hand, that monarch wanted only a fair opportunity to despoil him of his dominions. This disposition in both rendered them perpetually restless and uneasy. Vaifar spoiled some churches of their lands, the bishops of which had put themselves under the protection of France. Pepin demanded restitution by his ambassadors; but the negociation proceeding but slowly, he passed the Loire with an army, obliged him to promise what he had demanded, and to give hostages for the performance of what he promised [z]. Next year, when Pepin was at a great distance, regulating affairs in his German dominions, the duke of Aquitaine sent an army to Burgundy, where they ravaged the country as far as Chalons; and, having burned the suburbs of that city, returned loaded with booty. Pepin was, by no means, of a humour to endure such an insult; he returned, therefore, with all possible expedition, passed the Loire with his army, ravaged all the country as far as Limoges; and, that it might remain in a defenceless condition, razed all the castles in Auvergne [a]. Next year he passed the Loire for the third time, laid siege to Bourges, and, having made himself master of it after a long defence, repaired, and placed in it a good garrison. He pushed things so far this campaign, that Remistain, uncle to duke Vaifar, believing the ruin of his nephew to be inevitable, submitted to the king, and was extremely well received. The spring following, Pepin assembled a numerous army at Nevers; with which he passed the Loire, wasting all the country before him with fire and sword, under a full persuasion, that, before the end of the summer, he should drive the duke out of his dominions: and it is highly probable this would have happened if an unforeseen accident

[y] Paul. Diacon. Hist. Long. Adon. Chron. [z] Anast. in Vita Stephan. III. [a] Chron. Fuld.

had

Digitized by Google

had not, for the present, entirely changed the face of affairs [b].

A. D. 763. *The duke of Bavaria retires into his own dominions, and renounces his homage to Pepin.*

Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, his nephew, had remained at his court from the time he did him homage, and even had attended him in some of these expeditions; but, about the time of the rendezvous at Nevers, he feigned an indisposition, and, while his uncle was in the field, retired, with all possible speed and secrecy, into his own dominions. There he acted as an independent prince, married a daughter of the king of the Lombards, and discovered plainly, that he did not incline to be a tame spectator of the destruction of the duke of Aquitaine. Pepin, upon the first intelligence of his nephew's retreat, repassed the Loire, leaving behind him many flagrant proofs of his indignation against both dukes, and of his desire to make them feel the full weight of his resentment [c]. He was, however, far from departing, even in these circumstances, from the character which he had established for prudence; he determined to chastise these princes, but he would not take any such violent measures as, in their consequences at least, might chastise his subjects and himself. He augmented the fortifications and the garrison of Bourges; he repaired several other places on the frontiers, and filled them with troops. By this disposition he covered his own country, while that of his enemy was exposed to continual incursions. He reckoned himself, therefore, secure on this side, and, for the two succeeding years, held the annual assemblies in May, in the city of Worms; having always about him such an army, as obliged the duke of the Bavarians to respect the king of France, though he had visibly disregarded him as his uncle. Tassilon was a young prince of parts and of discernment; he had a mind to be independent, and he was jealous of the power of Pepin; he was sensible of his displeasure; but, as things stood, he saw it was not his interest to push farther, by committing hostilities [d]. Pepin had his reasons likewise for keeping on the defensive; he was endeavouring to detach the king of the Lombards from his alliance with the Greek emperor, and he had another negotiation on the carpet with that emperor, who had his ambassadors at his court, labouring to persuade him not to hinder his recovering Ravenna, and at the same time proposing a marriage between prince Leo and the princess Gesilie, daughter to Pepin. As to the first, he answered plainly, that he had conquered Ravenna from the Lombards, that he had given it to the see of Rome,

[b] Contin. Fredeg. Adon. Chron. [c] Annales Metenses.
[d] Anast. Biblioth.

Digitized by Google

and that he would maintain the pope in his poſſeſſion. As to the latter, he raiſed difficulties from the emperor's attachment to the Iconoclaſts.

In the mean time the duke of Aquitaine, perceiving how much he was diſtreſſed by this new manner of making war, and that Pepin was preparing to paſs the Loire again with a numerous army, had recourſe to a very ſingular and ſtrange expedient. He diſmantled moſt of the great towns that were neareſt the enemy, fortified a few of the ſtrongeſt places he had; and, aſſembling a great army, reſolved to try his fortune in the field. Pepin, having paſſed the Loire, began to repair and fortify the places which the duke had demoliſhed; to prevent which deſign Vaifar advanced directly towards him with his forces, and gave him battle [e]. He had the misfortune to be totally defeated; and this defeat had ſuch an effect upon his ſpirits, that he ſent to deſire peace, almoſt upon any terms that the victor ſhould preſcribe. Pepin paid little regard to his propoſition, purſued his own ſcheme of reſtoring the diſmantled towns, and receiving into his protection all who ſubmitted. His nephew, the duke of Bavaria, who had exact intelligence of his uncle's proceedings, thought it high time to make his own peace, and not run the hazard of being treated as the duke of Aquitaine was, when he ſhould be undone. The king made no difficulty of accepting his ſubmiſſion; which, indeed, was all that he wanted, and was, with good reaſon, well pleaſed with obtaining all the effects of victory, without ſo much as running the hazard of a war.

A. D. 765.

The king defeats the duke of Aquitaine, on which the duke of Bavaria demands peace.

To give ſome content to the Greek emperor Conſtantine Copronymus, and that his own proceedings might appear the more impartial, Pepin ordered a general aſſembly of the biſhops to be held at Gentilli, a royal villa about a league from Paris; where the great point of images in churches was ſolemnly diſcuſſed. But what, or, indeed, whether any reſolution was taken, does not appear [f]. This aſſembly ſeems to have been held about Chriſtmas; and ſoon after, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, the king made his ſixth expedition into Aquitaine, where he reduced Toulouſe, and all the adjacent country. He kept the feaſt of Eaſter at Vienne; and the ſummer being very hot, put his army into quarters of cantonment. At length, in the month of Auguſt, after having held another aſſembly of the nobility at Bourges, he ordered his forces to take the field, and advance towards the Garonne; where they gradually forced all the fortified poſts, and at length puſhed

A. D. 767.

Remiſtain returns to the ſervice of his nephew, invades France, is taken and hanged.

[e] Annales Metenſes. [f] Eginard ad an. predict. Adon. Chron.

their

Digitized by Google

their conquests as far as the Upper Auvergne [g]. In the course of this campaign, Remistain, who had been so well received by the king, returned again to his nephew; and to make an atonement for his desertion, as well as to convince his countrymen that he was in earnest in this new change, he acted against the French with cruelty as well as vigour, and instructed the Gascons how to make their incursions. As the length of this ruinous war had scarce left the possibility of subsistence in a settled condition, the country swarmed with men ready to undertake any thing that might preserve them from perishing; and, at the head of these, Remistain performed some considerable exploits. Pepin, equally piqued at the depredations he made, and at his ingratitude, not only dispatched several parties to repress him and his associates, but also gave express directions, that, if possible, they should seize his person; which, at length, they did; and, having brought him into Pepin's presence, he, after reproaching him severely, ordered him to be hanged.

A. D. 768.

The war in Aquitaine carried on with vigour, and with a view to absolute conquest.

Pepin seeing all things prepared to his mind, and having no reason to doubt the success of his schemes, marched next summer with a numerous army, to the banks of the river Garonne, fully determined to put an end to the war, by a judicious and vigorous exertion of the superiority he had in his hands. The people and the nobility, equally terrified and amazed, sent deputies to intreat his clemency towards those who were no longer able to resist him. The king offered to take them immediately into his protection, upon their submission, and taking an oath of obedience. They willingly accepted these conditions: upon which the mother, the sister, and the niece of Vaifar, came in, and were presented to Pepin, who received them kindly. Eoric, who had married another sister of the duke's, surrendered likewise, and met with the like treatment [h]. It now appeared plainly, that Pepin had in view the entire and absolute conquest of Aquitaine, a design which drove the unfortunate duke to despair. He retired, with a small body of determined men, into Saintonge, there to sell their lives and liberty as dear as possible; the smallness of his forces leaving him scarce a chance for victory, and the situation of the country taking from him all hopes of escape [i]. At Rome, a layman having seated himself in the chair of St. Peter, through the countenance of the king of the Lombards, addressed himself to Pepin for support, as be-

[g] Cont. Fredeg. [h] Aimon. lib. iv. cap. 67. [i] Cont. Fredeg.

lieving

lieving him the more powerful patron of the two[k]; but before this application was well made, he was depoſed, and Stephen the Fourth advanced to the ſee of Rome; who likewiſe ſent ambaſſadors to acquaint Pepin with his elevation, and deſire his protection [l].

Duke of Aquitaine ſlain, and king Pepin dies of a dropſy at S. Denis.

The king, eagerly deſiring to put an end to the war, and to accompliſh his great ſcheme of uniting Aquitaine once more to the crown of France, leaving his queen and court at Xaintes, marched to attack the duke in his fortified poſts. Authors relate very differently the iſſue of this laſt diſpute. Some ſay, that, after being defeated in battle, Vaifar was ſurrounded and cut to pieces as he endeavoured to make his eſcape. Others allege, that, ſeeing the day loſt, his own people, in hopes of making their court to the victorious monarch, and weary of ſharing the misfortunes of a prince, from whom they could now expect no reward, put an end to his ſorrows and his life. However, it is univerſally allowed, that he periſhed with his arms in his hands; and that he died unhappy, but unconquered. Thus, in the ſpace of nine years, Pepin finiſhed his conqueſts, and re-annexed Aquitaine to his dominions, from which it had been detached near half a century. He had ſcarce time to taſte the joy of this great event, being ſeized, at his return to Xaintes, with a fever, which increaſed upon his being carried to Tours, out of devotion to St. Martin; and, being conveyed from thence to St. Denis, he there expired of a dropſy, and a complication of diſorders, on the 23d of September, in the year 768, in the ſeventeenth of his reign, and in the fifty-fourth of his life [m]. He was interred in the church of that monaſtery, with all poſſible honours, and his death deplored by all ranks of people as a public calamity; for till that time the French had not ſeen a more wiſe, active, or fortunate prince; one who had maintained peace and tranquility at home, and at the ſame time ſupported, and even augmented, the credit of the nation abroad.

The meaſure he took to prevent the meaneſs of his perſon from rendering his adminiſtration contemptible.

His figure was ſo far from having any thing in it majeſtic, that it was rather the contrary. In point of ſtature, we are told, that he wanted ſix inches of five feet, whence he was ſurnamed the Short; but in regard to ſize, he was of ſuch a make as procured him likewiſe the appellation of Pepin the Groſs, or the Fat. The monk of St. Gal, amongſt many idle ſtories, has preſerved one of this prince, which

[k] Annal. Fuld. [l] Anaſt. in Vita Stephan. IV. [m] Eginard in Vita & Geſtis Caroli Magni. Adon. Chron. Aimon. lib. iv. cap. 67.

moſt

Digitized by Google

moſt of the hiſtorians have tranſcribed, and which indeed ought to be preſerved [n]. Pepin had been informed that ſome of his principal commanders had made themſelves merry with his figure; he invited them, therefore, to a ſpectacle at Ferriers, which, in that age was not uncommon. This was a combat between a lion and a bull: the king was ſeated on his throne, and all his great officers about him, when the beaſts were let out. The lion immediately leaped upon the bull, and brought him to the ground, and was on the point of ſtrangling him. "Which of you, ſaid Pepin, will make that beaſt let go his prey?" His great lords gazed in ſilence. "That taſk muſt be mine," added Pepin; and deſcending from his royal ſeat, advanced with his ſword drawn directly towards the beaſts. The lion, turning his eyes towards him, began to raiſe himſelf upon the bull, when, at a ſingle blow, the king divided the head from the body. As he turned to his throne, he ſaid, without any emotion, "David was a little man, and yet he triumphed over Goliath; Alexander too was a little man, but his arm was ſtronger, and his heart more intrepid, than thoſe of many of his captains, who were taller and handſomer than he." This taught his officers diſcretion, and his people reſpect. We may, from theſe remarks, with great certainty infer, that this founder of the ſecond race of French kings had great perſonal merit, and might, therefore, have deſerved a more honourable inſcription than that which is placed upon his tomb, *Cy giſt le Pere de Charlemagne*; that is, Here lies the father of Charlemagne [o]. It is true, this ſecond race are ſtyled Carlovingians; but it is not decided, whether in honour of Charles Martel, the father of Pepin, or of Charles the Great, his ſon. Be that as it will, Pepin atchieved what the one left imperfect, and opened that path to glory, which the other purſued with ſo great applauſe.

[n] Fauchet. [o] Mœurs & Coutumes des François, P. Daniel.

SECT.

Digitized by Google

SECT. III.

The Reign of Charles the Great, King of France, and Emperor of the Weſt.

CHARLES and Carloman ſucceeded their father Pepin, according to the deſire that monarch expreſſed to the nobility that were about him, at the time of his deceaſe, and were ſolemnly proclaimed ſixteen days after his death, Charles at Noyon, and Carloman at Soiſſons [a]. Charles was, at this time, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and as remarkably tall as his father was ſhort, being near ſeven feet in height, well proportioned, but rather inclining to fat, a freſh florid complexion, a majeſtic air, very robuſt in his conſtitution, gay and ſprightly in his temper, very active, and capable of bearing much fatigue. His mind was truly heroic; generally ſpeaking, equal and compoſed in his conduct, ſo much ſuperior to fortune as never to be either ruffled or elated; ſo comprehenſive a genius, that he not only aſpired to, but excelled in, all that became a great prince, an excellent officer, an able ſtateſman, and as well verſed in letters as any man of his time; zealous in religion, and exact in his devotion. His character, fair as it was, wanted not blemiſhes, which aroſe chiefly from his ambition, and a notion he received from thence, that many things might be diſpenſed with from reaſons of ſtate. In ſome inſtances he was certainly not maſter of his paſſions; in others he was miſled by the errors of the times; but take him in the whole circle of his character, with thoſe allowances that are commonly made for ſuch as act in ſo high a ſphere, and he muſt be acknowledged as wiſe and brave a monarch as that or perhaps any other age produced [b]. His younger brother Carloman reſembled him very little; his virtues or his vices were not very conſpicuous; but he was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by a contentious, ſuſpicious, peeviſh diſpoſition, which left him in the hands of ſuch of his courtiers as were leaſt worthy of his confidence, and who gained it by throwing doubts and fears in his way, which kept him perpetually uneaſy, and attached to thoſe who made him ſo. Both the brothers were married, in a manner not very ſuitable to their birth or intereſt, and both were too much ſtrangers to buſineſs, from

Charles afterwards ſurnamed Charlemagne, and Carloman ſucceed their father Pepin.

[a] Contin Fredegarii. [b] Vita et Geſta Caroli Magni, per Eginardum.

the

Digitized by Google

the warm and enterprising humour of their father, who loved to execute every thing himself. It seems to be, in some measure certain, that a division of Pepin's dominions was projected, and perhaps settled between them, but it is very uncertain in what manner; for the old writers contradict each other, and the modern historians, in order to reconcile them, suppose that there were two divisions, and that by the latter Carloman had Austrasia, which in the former had been given to Charles [c]. But it seems to be more probable that the division was never executed; but that, the brothers disagreeing, the dispute was left to be decided in the next assembly of the prelates and peers. This want of union between the two kings revived the hopes of those who were enemies to, or at least jealous of, both. Didier, king of the Lombards, and Tassilon, duke of the Bavarians, began to increase their forces, and to enter into intrigues; but the ice was broke, and a war begun by a prince of whom the kings had not the least jealousy, and with whom their enemies had little intercourse [d].

A. D. 768.

The old duke of Aquitaine causes the people of that country to revolt, but is quickly defeated.

Hunalde, or Hunaud, who resigned the duchy of Aquitaine to his son Vaifar, after spending between twenty and thirty years in a monastery, quitted it to return into his old dominions, supposing this a favourable opportunity of recovering his dignity, and restoring independency to that great principality [e]. He met in this attempt with more facility than he had any reason to expect; for though his being universally hated was one great cause of his resigning, yet he was now universally received with all the marks of reverence and affection, most of the great towns opening their gates to him; so that this great conquest, which had been the business of Pepin's life, was in a manner lost, in a few weeks time. Charles saw that the recovery of Aquitaine was not of greater importance to the French nation, than to his own, and to his brother's character. For this reason, he represented it in the strongest terms to Carloman, who consented to assemble his forces with the utmost expedition, and to march, in conjunction with his brother, against their common enemy: but by that time the army was assembled, he altered his sentiments, withdrew the forces under his command, and left his brother to act or to retire as he thought fit [f]. Charles, notwithstanding this strange behaviour, and the unexpected diminution of the forces that

[c] Vita Caroli Magni a Monacho Cafobii Engolismensis.
[d] Annales Rerum Francorum. [e] Eginard. Vita Caroli Mag.
[f] Adon Chron.

were

Digitized by Google

were to be employed in the war, marched directly into Aquitaine, and having defeated Hunalde, would have infallibly made him prisoner, but for his perfect knowlege of the country, the people abandoning him in his distress, as lightly as they had followed him upon his first coming amongst them; which defection obliged him to take shelter in the territories of Lupus, duke of Gascony, who had been his tributary; but who, during the war between Pepin and Vaifar, had erected his seignory into an independent principality [g]. Charles made the right use of his victory, in building the fortress of Fronsac on the Dordogne: while this was doing, he advanced with his forces to the frontiers of Gascony, sending a herald to duke Lupus, to demand the person of Hunalde, who was accordingly delivered up, and confined for the rest of his life. This expedition established the character of Charles at home and abroad, brought the nobility to court his favour, and all his neighbours to treat for his friendship [h]. A. D. 769.

Amongst these was Didier; who, though naturally an enemy to the French, and willing to have taken the advantage of Pepin's death, yet perceiving that Charles inherited his capacity together with his dominions, he demanded his sister Gillette for the prince his son, and offered his daughter Hermengarde either to Charles or his brother. This proposal alarmed pope Stephen IV. who wrote to Charles in the strongest terms, beseeching him not to bring a scandal on the catholic faith, by putting away his wife, for the sake of taking one out of a house which God had cursed with a leprosy; or, after refusing his sister to the first prince in the world, the son of the Greek emperor, bestow her on him, whose father became a king but by his favour [i]. The queen-dowager, however, had a better opinion of the match, went in person into Italy to negociate it, and had so strong an influence on Charles, as, notwithstanding the pope's letters, to induce him to comply with it. In the course of her progress she paid a visit first to her son Carloman, and afterwards to the pope, whom she pacified, by assuring him that she would use her interest with Didier to relinquish some places which he still withheld from the see of Rome; which promise having performed, she conducted her new daughter-in-law into France [k]. There she found things in some disorder; for, notwithstanding all the pains she had taken, Carloman had still so strong a distaste to his brother, that he was preparing

By the death of Carloman, Charles becomes the sole master of the French monarchy.

[g] Eginard. Vita Caroli Mag. Monach. Engolismenſis. [h] Annales Rerum Francorum. [i] Adon. Chron.

to attack him, when he was suddenly removed by death. His queen, in the first transports of grief and fear, being probably excited to it by those who had been the principal authors of the misunderstandings between the two brothers, and who were apprehensive of feeling the weight of Charles's resentment, withdrew, with her two sons, her husband's treasures, and these counsellors, into the dominions of the king of the Lombards[l]. Charles expressed some concern at the news; but he immediately advanced with a body of troops to the frontiers of his brother's territories; and, with the consent of the prelates and peers, took possession of the kingdom that was thus abdicated; and, to express his sense of Didier's protecting the widow and her sons, he repudiated the queen whom he had so lately married[m].

A. D. 771.

Revolt of the Saxons, on which Charles marches against them, and reduces them to submission.

The Saxons, who commonly revolted at the beginning of every reign, attempted to throw off the yoke at the entrance of this, a circumstance which obliged Charles to turn his arms on that side. As this war was the capital business of his reign, and lasted, though by intervals, for thirty-three years, it is requisite to say something succinctly of the country and the people, though this subject must be more largely treated of in another place. The territory of the Saxons, at this time, comprehended a country of vast extent, bounded on the west by the German ocean, Bohemia on the east, on the north by the sea, and on the south by the Germanic France, extending along the Lower Rhine, and from the Issel beyond Mentz. This was divided into three parts; the Westphalians inhabited that towards the ocean, from whence the name of Westphalia remains to a small part of their country: the Oft, or Eastphalians held that part bordering on Bohemia; the middle belonged to the Angrians, who were the immediate neighbours to the French. Under each of these names, many nations, or, generally speaking, tribes, were comprehended, each commanded by its own chief or duke[n]. Hence their readiness to revolt, and the difficulty of holding them to any terms; because, whenever a few mutinous dukes conspired together, they made inroads into the French territories; and when the troops of that kingdom invaded their country in return, the whole Saxon nation was involved in the revolt, from a principle of self-defence. Their religion was another cause of these frequent insurrections,

[l] Monacho Engolismensis. [m] Eginard. Vita Caroli Mag. [n] Pacta Saxonicus.

for

Digitized by Google

for they were Pagans, their principal deity being the god of war. Charles no sooner heard they had refused the usual tribute than he entered the country with a numerous army; and having worsted them in several small engagements, advanced to their capital post of Eresbourg, near Paderborn, where was the temple of their god, Irminsul, represented as a man completely armed, with a standard in one hand, placed on a column [o]. The natural courage of the people, joined to their religious zeal, animated them to make an obstinate defence; the place too being strong by situation, and fortified to the best of their skill. Charles forced it at last, but not without considerable loss, and employed his army three whole days in demolishing effectually this monument of superstition, in which great treasures were found in gold and silver. This work being performed, Charles continued his march directly towards the Weser, resolved to break the force of this intractable nation so effectually, as to deprive them of the power of disturbing him again [p]. But they were already so terrified with the destruction of their temple, and saw so little hopes of opposing in the field troops who had defeated them with such advantages, that they sent deputies to implore his clemency. Charles, upon their submitting to the terms he prescribed, and delivering twelve hostages for the due performance of them, granted them peace; the change of affairs in Italy making that measure as expedient for him as for them, at this juncture [q]. But, before his return, he gave directions for fortifying proper posts, and establishing a certain number of troops on the frontiers, to keep these people in awe. The next favourable opportunity, however, tempted them to excite fresh troubles, though, in consequence of such continual wars, some part of their country was but thinly peopled, and the subsidies they sometimes drew from the enemies of France, made but poor amends for the losses they suffered [r].

He makes an irruption into Italy, by two different routes, with a great army.

Didier, king of the Lombards, haved seized and frighted Stephen IV. into his grave, laboured all he could to reduce his successor pope Adrian I. to a state of dependence: he not only resumed a great part of what had been yielded by the treaty of Pavia, but also tried to surprise the person of the pope; and, failing in that design, made an attempt upon the city of Rome. Adrian, in this distress, sent ambassadors by sea into France, to give a true account of the distress he was in, and to implore the protection of

[o] Eginard. Vita Caroli Mag. [p] Annales Rerum Francorum. [q] Monacho Engolismensis. [r] Adon. Chron.

Digitized by Google

Charles. It was this particular that induced him to listen so readily to the Saxons; and if he had followed his own inclinations, he would immediately have poured his forces into Italy: but the nobility of France, always averse to these expeditions, shewed so much backwardness on this occasion, that he was obliged to act with great caution and circumspection. He sent therefore several embassies to Didier, in which he expressed a great desire to preserve a perfect harmony between the two nations, made very moderate demands, and, at length, offered to give him a large sum, in ready money, if he would restore the places he had taken from the pope [s]. All these propositions were civilly rejected, a refusal which was what Charles expected and desired, for it gave him sufficient leisure to form magazines, to draw together a great army, and to make his subjects believe that he did not embark in this war so much through choice as by force. The motives that induced Didier to act as he did, were, the hope of reducing the pope before he could be succoured, his ambition to become lord of all Italy, and his resentment against Charles for repudiating the queen. On the other hand, that monarch, exclusive of his zeal in the cause of the pope, had some reasons of a personal nature: Didier had given him cause to be offended with the correspondence he had held in France from the beginning of his reign; and the peremptory manner in which he had demanded of Adrian the crowning of Carloman's two sons, had given Charles
A. D. 772. inexpressible uneasiness [t]. For these causes, therefore, he held the general assembly in the month of May at Geneva; where, by a pathetic representation of the pope's distress, and the indignities himself had received, he procured the consent of the nobility to the war, and immediately marched with a potent army to enter Lombardy, by mount Cenis, while he sent a small, but choice corps of troops, under the command of duke Bernard, natural son to Charles Martel, to force the passage of mount St. Bernard, having taken all possible methods to render his expedition successful [u].

Besieges Verona and Pavia, the only places of strength the Lombards had at that time.

Didier, who was well informed of the general dislike the French nobles had expressed to this expedition, persuaded himself that, by occupying and fortifying the several passes into Lombardy, and opposing their entrance with the whole force of his dominions, he should defeat this invasion, and obliged the forces of Charles to retire. He

[s] Eginar. Vita Caroli Mag. Annales Loiselliani. [t] Anast in Vita Hadriani. [u] Adon. Chron.

was

was very near carrying his point, which he pursued with such skill and steadiness, that, upon viewing the dispositions he had made, the French officers almost unanimously declared that it was impossible to force them [a]. Charles himself had almost taken a resolution of decamping in the night, when a sudden panic prevailing in Didier's army, they abandoned all their posts, and retired with precipitation. This was occasioned by duke Bernard's having forced a passage into the plain with a handful of men, a circumstance which would have been of no consequence at all, if they had remained firm. As it was, they abandoned all; for Charles pursued them with such impetuosity, that numbers fell in their retreat [b]. Didier, with the best part of his troops, took shelter in Pavia; the rest, under the command of his only son Adalgise, threw themselves into Verona. With the king was the old unfortunate duke Hunalde, who, having made his escape out of prison, had taken refuge in his dominions; and with the prince were the sons and the widow of Carloman, a consideration which very probably induced Charles to form the siege of both places at once, in hopes of destroying all his enemies together [c]. Success justifies every measure; the French were so charmed with their good fortune, that, notwithstanding their hatred of the climate of Italy, and the fatigue of sieges, they persisted in these for many months, though the places were well defended, had numerous garrisons, and magazines perfectly well supplied. Verona fell the first; for Adalgise, seeing no hopes of succour, resolved to take care of himself, and, with this view, making his escape in the night, he found means to retire to Constantinople [d]. By the surrender of this place, his sister-in-law and nephews fell into the hands of Charles; but what became of them is a secret that history has not discloſed. Milan, and most of the great towns of Lombardy, submitted. The March of Ancona demanded the protection of the pope; and Didier, who but a few months before had so large a kingdom, found his dominions now restrained within the walls of Pavia, where, as he had nothing to hope, he continued to make an obstinate defence. Charles, after taking the necessary measures for continuing the siege, or at least blockade of the place, made a tour to Rome [e].

A. D. 773.

[a] Annales Loiselliani. [b] Anast. in Vita Hadriani. [c] Eginarum in Vita Caroli Mag. [d] Adon. Chron. [e] Monach. Engolis.

Digitized by Google

Pavia surrenders, Didier submits, and Charles becomes master of the country of the Lombards.

As to the motive of this journey authors differ; some ascribe it to pure curiosity, others to devotion, but the more intelligent believe there was some secret scheme concealed. The pope was certainly not very well pleased, for the king brought with him a strong corps of troops; and though their first conference was in the suburbs, yet Charles having demanded entrance into the city, it could not be refused. He shewed himself upon this occasion a wise and great prince: he promised the pope, under the sanction of an oath, to do nothing to his prejudice; he performed that promise punctually, a circumstance which confirmed the pontiff in his interests. He visited the churches with such a shew of devotion, as gained him the hearts of the people; and, at the request of the clergy, he confirmed and enlarged his father's donation, depositing one copy of the instrument on the great altar, and another upon the tomb of St. Peter[f]. In fine, as he entered Rome in triumph, he left it more than a conqueror, having captivated all ranks by his generous behaviour, and established his reputation with them in such a manner, as fixed his sovereignty in their hearts. At his return to Pavia, he found the siege little, if at all, more advanced than when he left it, yet the place surrendered very soon after: this was owing to an enemy within, for the plague made such devastation, that the people lost all patience, and daily pressed the king to implore mercy of Charles for himself and them[g]. The old duke of Aquitaine opposing the surrender, they beat his brains out, an outrage which induced Didier to submit. Thus the kingdom of the Lombards were extinguished, after having subsisted somewhat more than two hundred years. We know not well what became of the unfortunate king, except that he was carried into France, where some say he was beheaded, others, that, being transferred to Liege, he became a monk, and some assert that he died of sickness soon after his arrival[h]. By the surrender of Pavia, Charles became master of two-thirds of Italy, where he scarce altered any thing, except their taxes, which he diminished considerably. He caressed and employed their nobility; and, except in some places in Tuscany, and in the city of Pavia, he left no French garrisons. He caused himself to be crowned, by the archbishop of Milan, king of Lombardy, with the famous iron crown preserved at

[f] Annales Loiselliani. in Vita Hadriani. [g] Monacho Engolif. [h] Anast.

Modece,

Digitized by Google

Modece, not far from that city: finally, having recommended to the people to make a right use of the benefits he had bestowed, and assured them of his intention to govern mildly, and according to their own laws, he repassed the mountains with his army [l].

A. D. 774.

He repasses the mountains speedily, and arriving unexpectedly in Germany, quells the Saxons.

The true reason of his quitting Italy so soon, was the intelligence he had of some fresh stirs amongst the Saxons, who, hearing of the siege of Pavia, and believing that the Lombards, with whom they had some intercourse, could not be ruined in a single campaign, began to flatter themselves with hopes of recovering Eresbourg, and repairing, by expeditions into the French territories, the losses they had sustained in the last war [k]. They were not slow in taking their resolution, or in executing it when taken: they surprised Eresbourg, and the garrison left in it; but, instead of keeping, they demolished the fort that Charles had erected: they ravaged a large tract of country, and carried away a great booty. They were scarce returned into their own country, when Charles arrived at Ingelheim on the Rhine, with his army [l]. He entered Saxony by three different passages at the same time, made a great slaughter, and brought back his forces loaded with plunder. He held the great assembly in May, at Duren, in the county of Juliers, where a resolution was taken to push the Saxons to the utmost. Accordingly he passed the Rhine, besieged and took Sigebourg, recovered Eresbourg, passed the Wesser, and defeated the whole force of the Saxons on the other side with great slaughter [m]. But the greatest part of a considerable corps, whom he had left to guard the passage of the river, were cut off by their own inattention, and by their having a contempt for a barbarous enemy, though equal to them in courage, and superior in cunning. This check, perhaps, might be one motive, though the turn of affairs in Italy was another, that determined Charles to treat once more with these people, to accept of their submission, and of the hostages they offered from every one of their tribes; but what he chiefly depended upon, was the new fortress at Eresbourg: for upon a strict examination, he found the Saxons had made a right choice, and that it was capable of being made the strongest place in their country, a consideration which induced him to order that it should be fortified with all possible care [n]. The peace being concluded,

[l] Eginard. Vita Caroli Mag.
[l] Alfridus in Vita S. Ludgeri.
[k] Annales Eginard.
[m] Adon Chron.
[n] Monachus Engolismensis.

Digitized by Google

and the hostages delivered, he advised the Saxon deputies to keep this treaty better than they had done the last, if they expected either favour or mercy from him, and received on their part the strongest assurances that words could give.

A. D. 775. After the departure of Charles from Italy, things quickly fell into disorder. He left indeed no room to complain; he had made many of the Lombard lords great, but most of them had a mind to be greater. The archbishop of Ravenna put a new construction upon the king's donation; he said, that, as the pope enjoyed the temporalities of the duchy of Rome, he thought the title, if not the revenue of the exarchate, should be annexed to the archbishop of of Ravenna. Adalgise encouraged these misunderstandings from Constantinople; the Greek emperor, who had still a considerable stake in Italy, being as desirous of setting up the kingdom of the Lombards again, as his predecessors had been to pull it down. Charles sent his ministers into Italy, to let several of the great lords, particularly Hildebrand, duke of Spoleto, the duke of Beneventum, and the duke of Cluise, know the reasons he had to suspect them of infidelity and ingratitude, and to learn from themselves what he was to expect. As the emperor Constantine Copronymus was just dead, they doubted of Adalgise's power to support them, and therefore they gave all possible assurances to Charles of duty and submission [o]. It was otherwise with Rotgaude, duke of Frioul, who intended to deceive both parties: he had for himself already raised forces, assumed the airs of a sovereign, and found several of the lesser nobility simple enough to rely upon his promises. While things were in this state, Charles passed the mountains with a small corps of choice troops, routed the duke of Frioul, took him prisoner, caused him to be beheaded [p], put French governors and garrisons into all the places that had revolted, composed the differences between the pope and the archbishop of Ravenna; and having, in the space of four months, once more settled his new dominions, returned into Germany, where his presence was again necessary [q].

Troubles break out afresh in Italy, which by his quick return, Charles quite suppresses.

The Saxons revolt again, are compelled to submit, and to promise to become Christians.

The Saxons, while Charles was in Italy, revolted again, destroyed the new works that were raising at Eresbourg, and made an attempt to recover Sigebourg, which was a place of force. The garrison being very numerous, made

[o] Epist. ad Carol. 51 in Cod. Carolin. [p] Annal. Metens. Chron. Verdunense. [q] Eginard. in Annal.

a sally,

Digitized by Google

a ſally, ſo well conducted, as obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and purſued them as far as the ſources of the Lippe. Things ſtood thus when Charles, with his forces from Italy, arrived in the French camp [r]. The Saxons ſuſpected the firſt rumour of his arrival for a ſtratagem; but as ſoon as they knew it to be a truth, they diſbanded, and ſent deputies to demand pardon, and to make an offer of becoming Chriſtians. The king, after much intreaty, accepted of this propoſition, and took new hoſtages; but, at the ſame time, determined upon other precautions, that they might be deterred from breaking their faith. The fortreſs of Ereſbourg he cauſed to be rebuilt under his eye, and, at the ſame time, ordered a new fort to be erected upon the Lippe; into both theſe he put ſtrong garriſons, and went afterwards to paſs the winter at Heriſtal, the patrimony of his family [s]. In the ſpring he marched into the heart of Saxony, with a very numerous army, in order to oblige the moſt conſiderable of their chiefs to be preſent, as his ſubjects, at the aſſembly in May, which was held at Paderborn, in Weſtphalia. There the Saxons renewed their homage, and the promiſe they had made of being inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith; to which they now added their conſent to be made ſlaves, or to be expelled their country, if they ever took up arms again [t]. Witikind, the moſt capable, and the moſt enterpriſing of their chiefs, to avoid being preſent in this aſſembly, fled to Denmark. Here it was that Ibinala, lord of Saragoſſa, preſented himſelf to demand the protection of Charles, not barely on his own behalf, but alſo for many other Mooriſh lords, who were deſirous of becoming his vaſſals. The French nobility, in general, were aſtoniſhed at this application; but Charles, who was deſirous of extending the bounds of his dominions on that ſide, alſo readily accepted the propoſition. The influence he had in the aſſembly was ſo great, that, upon mature deliberation, it was approved, and the king immediately iſſued the neceſſary orders for aſſembling an army in Aquitaine [u]. A. D. 778.

Charles being invited by ſome Mooriſh lords, makes an expedition into Spain.

The king paſſed his Eaſter at Caſſeneuil, a palace of his in the Agenois; and having divided his army into two corps, he ordered one to march on the ſide of Narbonne, to enter into Rouſillon, while himſelf, with the other, took the route of Gaſcony, in order to penetrate that way into Navarre. Pampeluna being taken, he paſſed the

[r] Annales Loiſelliani. [s] Monacho Engoliſmenſis. [t] Eginard. Vita Caroli Mag. [u] Annales Metenſes.

Ebro

Ebro with his forces; and his whole army being joined, invested Saragoſſa, which, after a ſhort ſiege, ſurrendered, and received Ibinala in quality of governor: the emirs of Hueſca and Jacca came voluntarily and did homage, as did alſo the governors of Barcelona and Gironne[w]. Charles, having taken the beſt methods he could deviſe for ſecuring his new conqueſt, diſpoſed every thing for his return, ſatisfied with having extended his frontier from the Pyrenees to the Ebro. It was in repaſſing the mountains before mentioned that the rear of his army was attacked by the Gaſcons, who making a great impreſſion on troops unacquainted with their manner of fighting, many of the principal officers were ſlain[x]. This is that famous defeat in the valley of Roncevaux, of which ſo many and ſo ſtrange accounts are given in romances; and here fell the famous Roland, of whom hiſtory only records, that he commanded on the frontier of Bretagne. Charles, exact in all works of piety, ordered a chapel to be erected near the place, under which there is a large, ſtrong, and very beautiful vault, with thirty tombs of white ſtone, but without any inſcriptions[y]. He proſecuted his march after this diſaſter into Aquitaine, which he divided into ſeveral diſtricts, appointing a count in each, who had the chief power in civil as well as military affairs; and, having cantoned a ſufficient number of troops on the frontiers for their ſecurity, he returned into the heart of his own dominions. The French are very inquiſitive why he penetrated no farther into Spain? The anſwer is not difficult: he meant to preſerve what he had acquired; and, for this purpoſe, it was requiſite to preſerve his army; which ſervice, and a Spaniſh ſummer, would infallibly have ruined[z]. His aim, therefore, was to raiſe in his new conqueſts a body of troops, capable of enduring the climate, and who, by their being acquainted with the manner of making war, might be more ſerviceable againſt the Moors. It was with this view that he diſtributed great quantities of land, indifferently, to Gauls, Goths, and Gaſcons, as well as French, to be held by military tenures; and was alſo very beneficial to the prelates and abbots, in order to attach them to his perſon and government[a].

He was ſcarce out of the confines of Aquitaine, when he was informed that Witikind, being returned from

[w] Annales Moyſſiac. Monach. Engoliſ.
[x] Eginard. in Annal.
[y] Annales Rerum Francorum.
[z] Baluz. Lim. Hiſpan.
[a] Eginard. Vita Caroli Mag.

Denmark,

Digitized by Google

Denmark, had engaged the Saxons in a general insurrection. His forces were so fatigued, that he was obliged to put the best part of them into winter-quarters: however, having sent his officers into Austrasia to assemble troops, and being informed that the enemy had committed the most barbarous cruelties on the Rhine, he, with a small corps, marched with all possible expedition to join the Austrasians. He, in conjunction with them, pursued the Saxons with such vigour, that he came up with them in the country of Hesse, defeated them, and ordered his troops to give no quarter. He held the next assembly at Heristal, where a great number of prelates, dukes, and counts, being present, he made some of those laws or statutes which are to be found amongst his capitulars [b]. As soon as the season would permit, he passed the Rhine, and advanced towards the Weser, where he received once more the submission of the Saxons; and having held a diet, at which most of their dukes were present, he then directed his march to the Elbe, that he might have an opportunity of being present likewise in a diet of the Sclavonians, where he regulated several points of great moment. At both these diets he insisted upon having securities for the persons of those whom he sent to preach the gospel amongst them; and having obtained these, he sent bishops, abbots, and priests, to convert these barbarous nations, recommending it to them chiefly to insist upon the excellency of the Christian morals, to possess these people with a sense of virtue and decency, and to use their utmost endeavours to reduce them to a state of civility [c]. As the country was, in a great measure, uncultivated, and had scarce any considerable towns, it was impossible for him to take the same precautions he had done elsewhere; and therefore, exclusive of his zeal for religion, this was a measure dictated to him by the maxims of true policy [d].

New disturbances in Saxony, which are quelled, and they are obliged to give fresh hostages.

A. D. 779.

By this time all things were again disordered in Italy. Pope Adrian had a quarrel with the Greek emperor's governor of the kingdom of Naples, several of the great lords of Lombardy held a correspondence with Adalgise, and the people in general, because less oppressed than they had formerly been, were grown wanton, and ready to join in favour of any innovation [e]. Charles had intelli-

New troubles breaking out, he returns into Italy.

[b] Adon. Chron. Monach. Engolis. [c] Annales Loisel. Hani. [d] Eginard. in Vita Caroli Mag. [e] Monach. Engolis.

gence

gence from all parties, and determined to make a new tour into that country with an army. He carried with him his queen, and his two younger sons Carloman and Lewis; his eldest son Pepin, by his first queen, and Charles the eldest by the consort he then had, were left in France. His journey, after he passed the mountains, was a continued triumph; all disorders ceased at his approach, and all the dispute that remained was, who should be the most forward in paying their duty. Charles took all in good part, and dissembled the informations he had received. He treated the people with great kindness and favour; the nobility with an obliging familiarity, and a flowing bounty; the clergy with much affection and profound respect. He passed the winter at Pavia, in great splendor, and went to keep his Easter at Rome. There his son Carloman was baptized by the pope, who changed his name to Pepin, and immediately after gave the regal unction to him, and to his brother Lewis; the former being declared king of Lombardy, and the latter of Aquitaine [f]. This ceremony was performed on Easter-day, immediately after high mass, with the loud acclamations of the people. Considerate people held it strange that the father, being but in the thirty-ninth year of his age, should already divide his dominions [g]. But Charles had framed a system, according to which this seemed to be necessary: in his return, therefore, he left his son Pepin at Pavia, with a council on whom he could depend, in hopes that the Lombards, having now a king of their own, a splendid court, and an easy government, would at length learn to be faithful. He concluded, about this time, a treaty with the empress Irene, by which he promised his eldest daughter to the young emperor Constantine VI. He settled also the dispute between to the pope and the governor of Naples, conferred fresh favours on the dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum, though they little deserved them, and left the tranquility of Italy, in all appearance, firmly established [h].

Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, awed by the power of the king, comes into France to do him homage.

As soon as he arrived in France, he conducted his son Lewis to Orleans: there having formed a household for him, and appointed one Arnold, a lord of great wisdom and integrity, to be his governor, he sent him armed, and on horseback, though a perfect child, with a numerous escorte into Aquitaine, that he might learn the lan-

[f] Eginard. in Vita Caroli Mag. [g] Adon. Chronicon. Monach. Engolis. [h] Annal. Loiselliani.

guage

guage and the manners of the people; and that, by being accustomed to see, they might learn to love and respect their sovereign. He persuaded himself that this division would prevent all disputes in his family, as the ancient empire of the Franks was reserved entire; as the two new kingdoms were separated from them, by the natural bounds of the Alps and the Loire; and as it would be the interest of his two elder sons, to have their brethren for their neighbours rather than strangers. To the satisfaction he enjoyed from this pleasing idea, was joined another favourable event, which could not but be very acceptable. Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, had hitherto maintained a kind of equivocal conduct, never acting openly against Charles, and yet declining to resort to the assemblies where his presence was expected, or to renew his homage. The king had signified his displeasure to the pope, and desired him to let the duke know, that if he did not prevent it by an immediate change in his behaviour, he must expect to see the whole forces of his cousin thunder on his dominions. Tassilon, excited thereto by his wife, the daughter of the deceased king of the Lombards, hated the French nation implacably: he had been, for many years, heaping up treasure, augmenting his troops, and fortifying his frontiers, with an intention not to let slip the first favourable opportunity of resenting the death of his father-in-law. But the message delivered him by two bishops sent from the pope, and the summons that immediately followed from Charles, softened him so much, that he sent to demand a safe conduct, and promised to repair to court [a]. This being readily granted, he was constrained to keep his word; and having sworn fidelity to Charles and his sons, and given such hostages as were required, he returned more incensed than ever, though treated with great respect, and loaded with presents; while the king, pleased with a prospect of peace, which he had scarce ever enjoyed, determined to hold the next assembly in May, at Cologne, that, by being at no great distance from the Saxons, he might hinder them from creating any fresh disturbances. A. D. 780.

A fresh insurrection by the Saxons.

The season of the year no sooner rendered it practicable than he marched with his army to the sources of the Lippe; having encamped as advantageously as possible, he there summoned a diet of the Saxons, and therein gave audience to ambassadors from the king of the Danes or

[a] Annales Loiselliani.

Normans,

Digitized by Google

Normans, as they were then ſtyled, and from the monarch of the Huns or Abares; who, in the moſt reſpectful manner, intreated his friendſhip, which Charles readily promiſed, provided his ſubjects received no injuries from their's [b]. He was no ſooner returned into France, than Witikind came back into his own country, where he took great pains to perſuade the Saxons, that embracing the Chriſtian faith would pave the way for abſolute ſubjection, if not ſlavery, and in a little time raiſed a new rebellion; to cover which from the French he cauſed it to be reported, that the Sclavonians had made an irruption into their country, and that they were taking up arms to repel theſe invaders [c]. Charles, upon the firſt notice of theſe commotions, ſent Adalgiſe, his chamberlain, Geilon, his conſtable, and Worade, count of the palace, to aſſemble the militia in Auſtraſia, with orders to paſs the Rhine, to join the Saxons, and carry the war into the enemy's country; but being quickly informed of the truth, he ſent count Theuderic, or Thierri, with an army, to ſupport the forces already aſſembled [d]. The four generals advanced to the Weſer. Having information that the Saxons were encamped at the foot of Mount Sontal, on the other ſide the river, it was agreed, that the firſt army ſhould paſs, and, marching round the mountain, fall upon the enemy, though much ſuperior to them in number, while count Thierri remained on the other ſide, till, upon a ſignal given, he ſhould likewiſe paſs, and fall upon the enemy's back [e]. But the three generals, jealous of the reputation of Thierri, who was the emperor's relation, attacked the Saxons, without making the ſignal, and, by this wiſe contrivance, were totally defeated. The conſtable, and thoſe who eſcaped, fled to count Thierri, who entrenched his forces on the banks of the river, and ſent notice to the king of what had happened [f]. Charles, with his uſual expedition, aſſembled a numerous army, diſengaged count Thierri, and marched into the heart of Saxony; where his very name diſſipated the rebellion, and the principal dukes of the nation came to meet him trembling, laying all the fault upon Witikind, and beſeeching him to grant
A. D. 782. them pardon. This the king offered, provided they would deliver him up; but they anſwered, he was again fled to Denmark. "That may be (anſwered Charles); but he

[b] Eginard. Vit. Car. Mag. [c] Anſcharius in Vita S. Willehadi. [d] Annales Loiſelliani. Egin. Vita Car. Mag. [e] Poet. Saxonicus de Geſt. Car. Mag. [f] Monach. Engoliſ.

did

did not take with him all his associates." Upon a signal given his army invested the Saxons; and having seized four thousand five hundred, who had been in that battle, and caused them to be conducted to a little river that run into the Weser, there cut off their heads. An execution of which scarce any example appears in European history.

This massacre struck a general consternation at first; but Witikind and Albion, who had been likewise embarked in the former affair, returning, a general revolt ensued, and employed the king three whole years, notwithstanding he defeated them totally in three general engagements. One winter he spent at the fort of Eresbourg, from whence he made several expeditions into the heart of their country, and spilt rivers of blood; his two elder sons being also in the field [g]. At length, tired with this carnage, and vexed with a conspiracy that had been discovered in Thuringia, and whispers of other dark designs against him, he sent for some of the Saxon prisoners of rank, and told them, that he was amazed at the folly and madness of their countrymen, whom he had formerly regarded as his subjects, and to whom, notwithstanding what was passed, he was still far from having an aversion. He requested them to go into the northern parts of Saxony, to find out Witikind and Albion, and desire them to come to him, that he might learn upon what terms the rest of their nation might be spared [h]. They went accordingly, and the two chiefs, surprised at the proposition, unwilling to put themselves into the king's hands, but still more unwilling to be the authors of the total ruin of their country, demanded hostages for their security. The king returned into France, that they might have time to recover from their consternation, and sent one of the lords of his court with hostages on the other side the Elbe; upon which Witikind and Albion came and presented themselves to the king. He received them with great respect, commended their courage, conduct, and constancy; applauded their love of liberty, and assured them of his protection and favour. In a short time they were both converted to Christianity; and, after being baptized, returned into their own country, where they kept the people in quiet, and assisted the progress of the gospel, with great zeal and fidelity, for several years [i]. The king, free from this trouble, obliged the Bretons to submit, quashed some

The resentment of this excites a general insurrection.

A. D. 785.

[g] Annal. Fuld. Monach. Engol. [h] Poet. Saxonicus, Adon. Chron. [i] Egin. Vit. Car. Mag.

commo-

Digitized by Google

commotions in Aquitaine without bloodshed, and awed the duke of Bavaria, who had been all along intriguing with the Saxons, to silence and submission [k].

Charles makes another tour into Italy.

As soon as he had thus established domestic tranquility, he made a tour into Italy, passed his Christmas at Florence, which he ordered to be rebuilt, and went to keep his Easter at Rome. The people received him with loud acclamations of joy, which, perhaps, might be very sincere; but the pope, and all the principal persons at Rome, felt a sensible uneasiness at the sight of their master. Charles knew very well what intrigues there were subsisting, and was well satisfied that those who soared highest in compliment, were deepest in the design of his destruction. He was aware that the empress Irene, who sent to renew the engagements subsisting between them, had entered into contrary engagements for the support of Adalgise, the son of Didier; he knew that Aregise, duke of Beneventum, who had married the sister of that prince, had entered into this treaty; he was sensible that Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, who had married another sister, was embarked in the same design; and he was not at all ignorant that pope Adrian, and the Romans, for whom he had done so much, were no strangers to these intrigues [l]. He had appeared in Italy as a great captain before; he distinguished himself now as a great politician. He desired the senate of Rome might be assembled; he laid before them the treasons of the duke of Beneventum, and the proofs; he desired their advice how he should act. They who were accomplices in the conspiracy, to preserve an appearance of innocence, declared, that no treatment could be too severe. The king entered his dominions with an army; the duke fled; but, by his deputies, intreated Charles's clemency. Some prelates, by secret instructions from the pope, joined in the request [m]. The king granted it, upon condition he sent him his two sons; the princes were sent. The king gave the eldest leave to return to his father, and kept Grimoalde, who was the younger, whom he educated with the same care, and treated with the same tenderness, as if he had been his own [n]. Tassilon, fearing he had been discovered, moved the pope, by ambassadors, to intercede on his behalf; he did so. Charles asked the ambassadors, in his

[k] Annales Loiselliani. Egin. in Annal. [l] Eginard. in Vit. Car. Mag. Poet. Saxon. Annales Loiselliani, Adon. Chron. [m] Anast. in Vit. Hadriani. [n] Annales Loiselliani.

presence,

presence, if they had full powers from their master to engage for his future conduct? They acknowleged they had none. As this declaration exposed the pope, he told them, that if their master failed in his obedience, he would excommunicate him, and release his subjects from their oaths. Charles accepted this offer, without considering that the power which he thus acknowleged might be turned against himself or his posterity. In his return he stopped for some time at Pavia, to give instructions to his son and his ministers, and afterwards passed the mountains into his own dominions, where all was tolerable quiet.

Tassilon reduced and pardoned; relapses, is seized, and deprived of his dominions.

The next general assembly was held at Worms; where he laid before the nobility the behaviour of his cousin, the duke of Bavaria, and declared, that since clemency had so little effect, he was determined to chastise him. His measures had been taken before hand; he advanced in person with a well appointed army, towards the Lech; but at the same time the Austrians and the Saxons appeared, with a greater number of forces, on the Danube, and the forces of Pepin, king of the Lombards, were on the point of entering Bavaria, through the valley of Trent[o]. Tassilon saw his destruction inevitable; instead, therefore, of attempting a defence, he came privately into the king's camp, and threw himself at his feet. Charles beheld him with pity: he recapitulated all his treasons; he demanded his eldest son as a hostage; and, having once more taken his oath of fidelity, dismissed him, with an assurance that all that was past should be forgot[p]. This prince instantly resumed his intrigues, negociated with the Huns to make an irruption into Germany, while he himself, with all his forces, invaded France, and Adalgise, with a Greek army, and the lords of his faction in Lombardy, fell upon Pepin. His own subjects, whom he trusted, foreseeing the ruin of their country, discovered all to the king. The duke, who did not the least suspect them, went to the next assembly at Ingelheim, that Charles might conceive no umbrage; and no sooner arrived than he was arrested. On the testimony of those he trusted, he and his two sons were condemned to lose their heads. The king commuted this into passing the remainder of their days in a convent. His duchess, the cause of all his misfortunes, is supposed to have shared the same fate, and Bavaria was annexed to the crown[q]. In all probability succeeding times would

[o] Annal. Fuld. Egin. in Vit. Car. Mag. [p] Annales Loiselliani. [q] Adon. Chron.

Digitized by Google

have doubted the truth of this conspiracy; but the events that followed put it beyond question. The Huns made a prodigious irruption; and, after being twice defeated with great slaughter, invaded Bavaria to revenge the duke and themselves. But the Bavarians, secure of support, gave them such a reception, that very few of them returned. Adalgise, with a Greek army, appeared likewise in Italy, notwithstanding Aregise, duke of Beneventum, and his eldest son, were both ready, and Charles, contrary to the sentiments of all his nobility, bestowed his territories on Grimoalde. The mother of that prince depended upon her influence over him; Charles, on the obligations he had conferred upon him. Grimoalde did justice to the king's sentiments; he commanded the van of the French army. The Greeks were totally defeated, their general killed, and Adalgise, being lucky enough to make his escape, laid aside all hopes of reviving the kingdom of the Lombards [r]. This was one of the most fortunate years of the king's life. Towards the close of it he went to Aix la Chapelle, where, in a general assembly, he made many excellent laws for the government of his extensive territories, and caused many canons to be made for regulating the discipline of the church [s]. At his last being at Rome the pope had made him a present of a code, containing the canons of the Oriental and African churches; out of this code he took such as he most approved, and, having properly adapted them to the use of the clergy in his own dominions, procured them the sanction of that assembly [t]. He also introduced what was commonly called the Gregorian song, or manner of chanting, which was the mode in Italy, instead of that method of singing which had prevailed till then in France; and this not so much by the exertion of his authority, as by the force of his example; for he suffered his own choir to contend with that of the pope's at Rome, and, upon his preferring the latter, it gained the approbation of his clergy.

The constant and assiduous application of this monarch to all affairs of government.

The leisure, which the king now enjoyed, enabled him to carry many things into execution, which hitherto had only floated in his mind. We have observed, that he was a universal genius; it is but fit we should give some proofs of it. The plans of government he laid down in every

[r] Annales Loiselliani, Anast. in Vit. Hadriani, Egin. in Annal. [s] Concil. Gall. tom. ii. in Capit. Aquisgran. [t] Monach. Engol.

country

Digitized by Google

country immediately followed his conquests, and it was by these that he secured them. He took care to be well informed of the errors and mistakes in the preceding government, and he took no less care to remove these effectually. He shewed particular attention to whatever regarded religion, and was very respectful, as well as very beneficent, to the clergy. He reviewed the laws, and made in them such alterations as he thought absolutely necessary, without going farther. He knew, that the people reverenced old customs, and the constitutions they had lived under from their youth; he took, therefore, all the care possible to preserve them; but he would have the law every where animated, and suffered none to be exempt from its reach. He was particularly tender of the common people, and studied their ease and advantage. This disposition induced him to repair public roads; to construct bridges where they were wanted; to render rivers navigable; and to encourage agriculture and commerce[u]. His being in continual motion enabled him to see his orders were complied with; and, as he made the public service the sole road to favour, his counts and dukes vied with each other in making improvements. In the summer, he was commonly in the field; where his habit and his table were little superior to those of private men. He was naturally very temperate, patient of fatigue, and always took his full share in every kind of hardship. In the winter, and in the spring, he held his great courts and general assemblies; there he affected a display of royal magnificence, proposed himself such laws as were for the public benefit, and indulged the same liberty to others[w]. But in the camp, and in the court, he had his set hours of study, which he seldom missed. He spoke and wrote Latin well; he composed verses in that language; he understood Greek; he had a tincture of most sciences; but his favourite study was astronomy[x].

His love of learning and zeal for promoting and encouraging it among his subjects.

He invited Alcuinus, or Albinus, over from Britain, and made him his compaion and favourite: by his advice he established public foundations for the encouragement and support of literature. He had a kind of private academy in his court; every member of which took the name of his favourite author; one styled himself Aristotle, another Augustin, a third Horace; Albinus assumed that of

[u] Flac. Albin. Epist. [w] Egin. Vita Car. Mag. [x] Monarch. Encol.

Digitized by Google

Flaccus, and the king himself took the name of David [y]. He condescended to examine all the young noblemen about their progress in learning; rewarded such as were diligent, and made others so by promises; for he dealt not at all in reproofs and punishments. In all the great abbies and cathedrals, he caused schools to be set up for teaching writing, arithmetic, and the elements of polite learning; and, to shew of how much importance he thought these things, he himself composed a grammar. In a word, he believed ignorance and idleness the greatest vices; and, to explode them, he took care to shew he held nothing beneath his own notice. Inquisitive and judicious he was; continually improving his stock of science; and yet had so little of jealousy or of envy, that, to foil him in a dispute was the surest way to his favour. His father Pepin, who felt the want of it, had given him, for those times, a good education; his frequent journies into Italy, and his conversation with learned men of all nations, had given him a correct taste; and the signal advantages derived to him from his application to letters, induced him to look upon the restoration of learning as the great glory of his reign [z].

The war with the Abares; the conspiracy of prince Pepin, and punishment of him and his associates.

As his dominions augmented, he found himself embarrassed with new enemies. The Abodrites or inhabitants of the country now called Mechlenburgh, were either his subjects or his tributaries; they were extremely harrassed by some of the tribes of the Sclavonians, called, by some authors, Wilse, seated on the shore of the Baltic [a]. They sent their complaints to Charles; who marched immediately to their relief, passed the Rhine at Cologne, and, taking with him the whole force of the Saxons, he constructed two bridges on the Elbe, which he took care to fortify: having left a corps of good troops to guard them, he gave the Saxons licence to enter the enemy's country, and take what they could find. This irruption terrified the Barbarians to such a degree, that they submitted to any conditions he prescribed, and gave hostages for the performance of them; so that his dominions were now bounded by the Baltic [b]. The Huns gave him much more trouble; they haraſſed Bavaria in such a manner, that he found it necessary to penetrate into their own country, with a numerous army, composed of most of the nations

y Joan. Leland de Script. Brit. cap. 88. Car. Mag. & Metens.
a Egin. in Annales.
z Egin. Vit.
b Annal. Fuld.

that

Digitized by Google

that were subject to his government [c]. The Huns had a singular method of fortifying their country, with entrenchments of vast extent, defended by the whole tribe whose territories they covered: these were attacked and defended with equal resolution, and, wherever they were forced, a prodigious slaughter ensued. He pushed this expedition as far as Raab upon the Danube; and by marching his troops on both sides of that river, which the Bavarians had covered with boats, they were plentifully supplied with provisions; but, a distemper breaking out among the cavalry, he was constrained to return to Ratisbon, where he passed the winter; in which he met with more chagrin than he had hitherto suffered in the course of his life. One night, after he was retired to rest, he heard a disturbance in the outward apartment; and rising hastily to know what was the cause of it, he found a priest, whose name was Ardulfe, by nation a Lombard, of an unpromising figure, and in a very mean dress, who was very clamorous to speak with the king. Charles called him immediately into the room; where he told him, that, dropping asleep in the corner of the church to which he belonged, he was waked by a number of voices, and found that his eldest son, prince Pepin, was there taking the last measures with his associates, for executing a design against his father's life; that this assembly discovered him as they were breaking up, and most of them were for securing themselves, by putting him to death; but the prince, having sworn him at the altar not to divulge what he had heard, let him go. The king caused Pepin, and the rest of the conspirators, to be arrested immediately; and, being convicted on full proof, they were condemned to suffer death; but the king chose rather that his son should live as a penitent, than die as a parricide; he sent him, therefore, to spend the rest of his days in a convent. He soon after rewarded the priest for this service, by making him abbot of S. Denis [d]. His sons, Pepin, king of Lombardy, and Lewis, king of Acquitaine, hearing of this conspiracy, hastened to Ratisbon, where they found things tolerably quiet; but a train of fresh misfortunes followed [e].

It was expected that the Abares, after what they had suffered from the last expedition, would have sent their deputies to demand peace; instead of that they returned

[c] Annales Loiselliani. [d] Annales Metenses. [e] Chron. Moissac.

Digitized by Google

A. D. 793. to their habitations, restored their old works, threw up new retrenchments, and declared their definitive resolution, to cover with their dead bodies, rather than desert, the country in which they were born. Charles saw, with concern, the necessity he was under of acting against this determined nation [f]. He ordered count Thierri to march, with a considerable body of forces, composed chiefly of Frisons, to join the Saxons, who had behaved well the last campaign; but the first news he had, was, that this whole nation was revolted, count Thierri's army defeated, and the best part of them cut to pieces. Immediately after, he received intelligence, that the Moors had overrun most of his conquests in Spain; and made incursions into Languedoc, as far as Narbonne [g]. His accounts from Italy were far from being pleasing; insomuch that, from a state of absolute peace and tranquility, he found his dominions, on a sudden, attacked almost on every side. His conduct on this occasion was great beyond example; he sent some able officers, with instructions to his sons Pepin and Lewis; he recruited and augmented his own army till it became very numerous; but he undertook nothing against the barbarous nations, that he might see what turn affairs would take [h].

A new revolt of the Saxons, which is attended with great slaughter on both sides.

As he hated idleness, and knew that a great army, inactive, would soon grow seditious, he employed them in the execution of a design which he had long before formed, and which will ever do honour to his abilities: this was opening a communication between the ocean and the Euxine sea, by uniting the Danube and the Rhine. He foresaw the vast advantages that would result from thence to numberless nations, in succeeding times, and had likewise in view the facilitating the present object of his politics; which was the absolute reduction of the Abares, whose spirit and courage he admired, and therefore wished to see them converted to Christianity and civilized [i]. His scheme was to draw a canal from the river of Rednitz, the source of which is not far from Weissembourg, to the river of Altmul. The first of these rivers falls into the Mein, near Bamberg, and the Mein into the Rhine, at Mentz, and the river Atmul joins the Danube between Ingolstadt and Ratisbon. The canal he projected was to have been three hundred feet in breadth, and was to extend from

His generous scheme for uniting the Danube with the Rhine, for the benefit of commerce.

[f] Egin. in Annal. Annales Loiselliani. [g] Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispaniæ. [h] Egin. Vit. Car. Mag. [i] Chron. Moissac.

Weissemberg

Weiſſemberg to the river of Altmul, which is little more than ſix miles; but the ſoil, partly rocky and partly marſhy, and the rainy ſeaſon, with the want of thoſe machines, which art has ſince invented, rendered his endeavours abortive, by ruining all his works as faſt as they were made; but the glory of forming this deſign, and the honour of having attempted it, were out of the power of accidents; and poſterity muſt do juſtice to his memory, in acknowleging that he was one of thoſe few heroes who had the advantage of mankind at heart, and who laboured to diſtinguiſh his conqueſts by monuments of his munificence and true public ſpirit [k]. In the mean time, what the king expected came to paſs; the Moors, being totally defeated in Spain, by Alonſo the Chaſte, king of Leon, were obliged to abandon all their conqueſts; ſo that Lewis, king of Aquitaine, and his miniſters, found no great difficulty in reſtoring things on that ſide. In Italy the malecontents fell out among themſelves; and pope Adrian was firm to the French intereſt, being convinced, by experience, that he could depend upon no other ſupport: the clouds on that ſide likewiſe diſappeared, and afforded Charles an opportunity of renewing his former extenſive projects; but that he might execute them with more eaſe, and at the ſame time efface the memory of paſt diſaſters, he reſolved to hold a council at Francfort; where he preſided with all the majeſty of the ancient emperors [l]. The monk Taſſilon reſigned here, in the moſt ſolemn manner, all his rights to Bavaria; and Charles's fourth queen, Faſtrade, died little regretted, on account of her vices and vindictive temper.

The Saxons again reduced, and a third part obliged to quit their country.

All things being now diſpoſed for chaſtiſing the Saxons, the king marched in perſon againſt them with his army, at the ſame time that his ſon Charles paſſed the Rhine at Cologne, with the beſt part of the forces that were left in France. The Saxons, on the other hand, aſſembled the whole force of all their cantons, determined to put all upon the fortune of a day. But the preſence of this monarch had ſuch an effect, that their army began to diſband; ſo that their chiefs were forced to have recourſe again to ſubmiſſion, and to deſire peace upon what terms he pleaſed [m]. Charles preſcribed only two conditions; the firſt was, that they ſhould again admit the Chriſtian cler- A. D. 794.

[k] Egin. in Annal. [l] Anaſt. in Vit. Hadriani. Concil. Gall. tom. ii. Egin. in Annal. [m] Egin. Vit. Car. Mag. Annal Fuld.

Digitized by Google

gy, and give hoſtages for their ſafety; the other, that they ſhould deliver up one third part of their army, to be ſent wherever he pleaſed. Hard as this laſt article was, they obeyed, and Charles diſtributed theſe Saxon troops on the maritime coaſts of Holland and Flanders, where they did admirable ſervice [n]. Next year, the king marched into the country of the Saxons, with a numerous army, in order to hold an aſſembly upon the Elbe; to which reſorted, amongſt other princes, the king of the Abodrites, at whoſe requeſt he had chaſtiſed the Sclavonians, and who, in times of greateſt danger, had invariably adhered to him; for which he was hated by the Saxons, who aſſaſſinated him upon the road. This outrage provoked Charles to ſuch a degree, that he abandoned the tribe who were guilty of it, to the diſcretion of his army; who ſlaughtered many thouſands, and took every thing that was worth carrying away [o].

After an obſtinate war, the Abares are reduced, and the Moors humbled.

The death of pope Adrian gave the king real concern, which he expreſſed particularly in an epitaph in Latin verſe; in which there is leſs of elegance than paſſion [p]. Leo the Third was choſen the ſame day that his predeceſſor died; he ſent immediately his legates to Charles, with rich preſents, the keys of St. Peter's tomb, and the ſtandard of Rome; deſiring that he would ſend ſome perſon of confidence to receive the oaths of the Roman people, in quality of patrician, or protector of the holy ſee. The king immediately diſpatched his ſecretary Engilbert, abbot of St. Riquier; and his inſtructions, written with great piety and dignity, are yet extant. The war with the Abares, or Huns, was by this time, in a manner, finiſhed: Henry, duke of Frioul, defeated them in a general engagement, and made himſelf maſter of their capital, called Ringa, with prodigious ſlaughter of the inhabitants. There he found immenſe riches, conſiſting in the ſpoil and plunder of various nations, which they had been amaſſing for many years [q]. Pepin, king of Italy, completed this conqueſt, and in another battle killed the khan, an incident which put an end to the war; and, as ſome writers ſay, to the people, who were in a manner extirpated. Only one canton, of which Theudin was the chief, ſubmitted, were baptized, and received into the king's protection. This extirpation did not hinder the northern Saxons from taking up arms again, and murdering one of

[n] Monach. Engol. Vit. Car. Mag. [o] Annal. Fuld. [p] Egin. in [q] Annal. Fuld. Monach. Engol.

the

the lords of Charles's court, who was returning from an embassy; which revolt was attended with the usual consequences, rapine, slaughter, and, at length, a forced submission. The king now spent his winter at Aix la Chapelle, with his fifth queen, and there received many embassies, that did him great honour, and some that must have given him great satisfaction. Amongst the former, we may reckon that from Irene, empress of Constantinople, to apologize for her own conduct in putting out the eyes and deposing her own son, and to propose a marriage between herself and the king. These ambassadors were entertained very honourably, though Charles very well knew she was at that time embarked in several intrigues that were prejudicial to his interests [r]. On the other hand, we may comprehend, among the latter, the submission of several Moorish lords, and application for protection on the behalf of others, whom he referred to his son Lewis, king of Aquitaine. That prince, by his direction, sent an army to their assistance, and, with the help of the natives, recovered the islands of Majorca and Minorca; which, by these means, were annexed to his dominions [s]. But if these events gave him joy, there was another that gave him pain: Pascal and Campule, nephews of the late pope Adrian, attacked pope Leo in the streets of Rome, on the feast of St. Mark. They dragged him into the church, with an intent to put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue, and from thence remove him into a monastery, where they intended to have kept him prisoner; but he was happily delivered by his friends; the duke of Spoleto, then general of the French forces, came and took him into his protection, and soon after, with a good escort, he set out to lay his own case before the king. Charles, at the time of his arrival, was at Paderborn; from whence he set out to meet him, and shewed him, upon this occasion, all possible marks of respect. He sent him back some time after with numerous guards and attendance, and appointed commissaries to enquire into this affair at Rome; at the same time he promised him, that he would come in person to render him justice, and to settle the affairs of Italy, which were again in great disorder [t]. A. D. 799.

At this time the Normans, that is, the inhabitants of the northern nations (for some tribes of the Saxons, as well

[r] Annal. Fuld. [s] Baluz. Limes Hispan. [t] Anast. in Vita Leonis.

The measures taken to secure all the frontiers of his dominions.

as the inhabitants of Denmark, and perhaps some other nations, were included under that name), began to render themselves famous by their piracies. These depredations obliged the king to be very attentive to the safety of the sea-coasts, for which he provided very effectually; establishing fortresses at the mouths of most of the great rivers; a regular militia, destined for that purpose only, along the shore; and squadrons, properly stationed, to cruise in quest of these invaders. That he might see how well his intentions were executed, he went in person, and examined them with the strictest attention. In the month of March he finished his tour; and, having passed the Seine at Rouen, went to perform his devotions at the tomb of St. Martin; where the counts of Bretagne, who had been in rebellion, and were but lately reduced, came to pay their respects, and to make their presents. He made a longer stay than he intended at Tours, by reason of the sickness and death of his last queen Lutgarde. He returned from thence, by Orleans and Paris, to Aix la Chapelle, and in the month of August held a general assembly at Mentz; where he declared the motives which induced him to make a journey into Italy. He set out soon after, though we have no distinct account of his route, and arrived with an army at Ravenna; from whence he dispatched the king of Italy to reduce Grimoalde, duke of Beneventum; a service which he performed, or, at least, we learn of no considerable resistance made by that duke.

Is crowned by pope Leo III. emperor of the West, at Rome, with universal applause.

Charles in the mean time proceeded to Rome, with a small corps of troops, was met at some distance by pope Leo, and made his entry with him into that city on the 24th of November. After some days spent in proper enquiries, the cause was solemnly heard; and none appearing to prove the crimes that had been alleged against the pope, he rose up of his own accord, and declared in the most solemn manner, upon oath, that he was not guilty of them, by act, order, or connivance. The trial of the assassins was next brought on; and, being convicted in the presence of the king, they were condemned to death; but the pope interposed, and desired that he would spare their lives: he went farther, and entreated that they might not suffer in their persons, but that they might be exiled, so as to give him no farther apprehensions. This was in itself a very extraordinary scene; but there followed, on Christmas day, one much more extraordinary. The king going to assist at mass, while he was upon his knees before the altar, the pope came and placed a rich crown upon his head;

Digitized by Google

head; upon which the people cried aloud, "Long live Charles the auguſt, crowned by the hand of God! Long life and victory to the great and pacific emperor of the Romans." During theſe acclamations, the pope conducted him to a throne, which had been prepared for him; and, as ſoon as he was ſeated, paid him thoſe reſpects which his predeceſſors were wont to pay to the ancient emperors. He then declared, that, inſtead of the title of patrician, he ſhould ſtyle him for the future emperor and Auguſtus, and at the ſame time preſented the imperial mantle; with which being inveſted, he returned, amidſt the acclamations of the people to his palace [u]. His ſecretary Eginard affirms, that he was ſo far from ſhewing either joy or ſatisfaction upon this occaſion, that he declared he was not in the leaſt appriſed of the pope's intention; and that, if he had, he would, notwithſtanding the ſolemnity of the feaſt, have forborn going to church. The reaſon he aſſigned was, that this ceremony added nothing to his power, and would only confer on himſelf and his poſterity a pompous title, that might be attended with many inconveniencies [w]. Notwithſtanding this declaration, certain it is, that Charlemagne was ever after very tenacious of that title, and inſiſted upon being owned in this quality by the emperors of the Eaſt, whom he treated thenceforward on the foot of equality. In his return he took Pavia in his way, where he made ſome amendments and additions to the laws of the Lombards. A. D. 800.

The war againſt the Moors, who had lately thrown aſide the reſpect they had ſworn to maintain towards his father, obliged Lewis, king of Aquitaine, to take up arms againſt them; and though it was at the expence of a long and bloody war, yet he compelled them to ſubmit, and brought things into very near the ſame ſtate in which Charles had left them. Pepin, king of Italy, met with more ſpeedy ſucceſs. The town of Rieti, which was near the territory held by the Greeks, revolted at their inſtigation. It was ſtrong, and had ſome good poſts in its neighbourhood; but Pepin quickly took theſe, and reduced that: upon which, having ordered the people to withdraw, he burnt it to aſhes. The governors of Barcelona and Rieti, who had been the authors of theſe diſturbances were ſent priſoners by the two young kings to the emperor their father. Charlemagne had the additional ſatisfaction of ſeeing ambaſſa- *The Perſian monarch, by his ambaſſadors, makes a ceſſion to Charles of the holy place.*

[u] Annal. Metenſ. Adon. Chron. Egin. in Annal. Anaſt. in Vit. Leon. [w] Egin. in Vit. Car. Mag.

dors

dors from the Persian monarch at his court, whom he brought with him out of Italy, and carried them through France into Germany. Amongst other entertainments, he diverted them with the fighting of wild buffaloes, which, however, put them in great danger of their lives, and the emperor, who relieved them, in much greater; insomuch that he would certainly have lost his life, if a nobleman, called Isembart, who had lost his favour, and had all his estates taken from him, and was present in disguise, had not killed one of those furious creatures, at the very instant he was on the point of bearing down the emperor and his horse; for which service Charles not only restored to him his honours and his fortune, but loaded him also with many additional favours [x]. By these ambassadors, their master made a cession of the holy places at Jerusalem to Charlemagne, a circumstance which furnished the romance writers with an opportunity of pretending the emperor went thither in person, and conquered them from the infidels; not discerning that the matter of fact, plainly and simply related, was infinitely more honourable to Charlemagne than their ridiculous fiction [y]. These ambassadors were men of sense; and having been treated with some contempt in the places through which they passed in France, complained to the emperor that he was least respected in the heart of his dominions; upon which he removed the governors, and fined the bishops who had afforded occasion for this complaint [z].

Charlemagne compels the emperor Nicephorus to acknowlege him, and conclude a peace.

The restless behaviour of Grimoalde, duke of Beneventum, and his continual intrigues with the Greeks, induced Charlemagne to entertain serious thoughts of depriving him of his duchy, and the Greeks of their territories, or, in other words, to render himself sole master of Italy [a]. He could not conduct this design with so much secrecy, as to prevent its coming to the notice of the empress Irene, the most artful woman of her time, who flattered herself that she had more than once overreached him in negociation [b]. To prevent him therefore, and to secure herself, she sent a nobleman of great consideration, to make him a proposal of marriage. This, Charlemagne, who had then been a widower two years, and had a great passion for the sex, very readily accepted, and sent two ambassadors of his own to conclude the terms. On

A. D 802.

[x] Monach. Sangal, de Reb Caroli Mag.
[y] P. Daniel.
[z] Monach. Sangal, de Reb. Caroli Mag.
[a] El Macin, Hist. Saracen. lib. vi.
[b] Theophan. Confessoris Chronographia.

this

this occasion, therefore, Irene, with all her skill, was mistaken; for Charlemagne was not to be outwitted, since, whenever he undertook any thing of importance, he provided at the same time for the measures which were fit for him to pursue, in case he did or did not succeed, which was the great secret of his administration, and prevented its being ever disappointed [c]. In this very affair he took such precautions, that, in all probability, Irene, whatever her first design might be in the treaty, must have espoused him, if by a conspiracy, undertaken and executed in a night, she had not been deposed by Nicephorus, who banished her to the island of Mitylene. Yet this event did not baffle the schemes of Charlemagne, whose preparations for war were so formidable, that Nicephorus found himself under the necessity of giving him the title of Augustus, and of settling the boundaries between the two empires by a treaty, to his satisfaction, though the peace did not last long [d].

Obliges also the king of the Normans to desist from hostilities, and to conclude a treaty.

While Charlemagne was thus employed, Godfrey, king of the Danes or Normans, projected a very dangerous invasion on his dominions, both by land and sea; previous to which, by his intrigues, the Saxons, for the eighth time, betook themselves to arms; but the emperor entered their country so unexpectedly, and with so great a force, that, after sustaining great loss, they were obliged to submit [e]. He punished them by transporting many thousands into Switzerland, and a much greater number into Picardy and the Low Countries; at the time he removed the Abrodites out of their own country into Saxony, a step which entirely broke the spirits of the Saxons, or rather weakened their force to such a degree, that they were never afterwards able to rebel [f]. At the same time the guards he posted along the coasts behaved with such vigilance and intrepidity, that the Normans, finding it impossible to make any impression, thought it most expedient for their own interest, to conclude a peace, which Godfrey once thought of negociating in person, and to facilitate which, Charlemagne advanced with a corps of troops to the Elbe. Godfrey went thither also with a very numerous body of horse; but fearing, or pretending to fear, that his person might be seized, they treated by deputies, by whom a kind of convention was concluded,

A. D. 805.

[c] Hadriani Valesii Gesta Francorum. [d] Adon. Chron. Theopan. Chronographia. [e] Historia de Conversione Boiorum. [f] Eginard. Annal.

whereby

whereby the emperor's subjects were restrained from making incursions into the territories of the Normans, who, on the other hand, engaged, that his fleets should respect the territories of Charlemagne [g]. An agreement founded in the interests of both parties, and which subsisted so long as they considered these in the same light.

Settles the distribution of his dominions, amongst his three sons.

The emperor beginning to feel himself, notwithstanding the vigour of his constitution, by his continual fatigues, and by his excesses in respect to women, much decayed, held an assembly at Thionville, where he made an authentic disposition of his dominions, by which he gave Aquitaine and Gascony, together with the Spanish marches, to his son Lewis; his Italian dominions he confirmed to Pepin, together with the best part of Bavaria, and the countries at present inhabited by the Grisons; the countries in those days styled Neustria, Austrasia, and Thuringia, were left to Charles, who, as the eldest, was also the most powerful of the three. This disposition having been publicly read in the assembly, was subscribed by the emperor, and by the principal nobility that were present; then it was sent by his secretary to Rome, in order to render it more authentic by the subscription of the pope [h]. It is very remarkable that in this instrument there is not only no notice taken of the imperial dignity, but also, there is an express reservation of the sovereign authority to the emperor during his life, as well from the three kings, as from all their respective subjects. The very same year, the two kings of Aquitaine and Italy, who had been present in the assembly, returning into their dominions, obtained several advantages against the infidels, whom Pepin drove out of Corsica, and Lewis defeated in Catalonia [i]. Charles also made an expedition into Bohemia, where he defeated a tribe of the Sclavonians, that had rebelled and killed their duke. In the winter several ambassadors arrived at Aix la Chapelle, from that great prince whom the French style monarch of Persia, and who makes so great figure in Oriental authors under the name of the khalif Aaron al Raschid. They were kindly received, and most magnificently entertained: amongst their presents was a clock, the first ever seen in France [k].

A. D. 806.

Next year Lewis, king of Aquitaine, found himself involved in a war with the Moors in Catalonia, which he managed with indifferent success, and was, at the same

[g] Annales Rerum Francorum. [h] Goldast. tom. i. p. 145.
[i] Adon. Chron. [k] Monach. Sangal. Poeta Saxon.

time,

Digitized by Google

time, embarraſſed with ſeveral ſquadrons of Norman pirates: but having received early intelligence of theſe from his father, he took ſuch precautions for the ſecurity of his coaſts, that they were able to give his ſubjects but little trouble. There happened, about this period, ſome new broils in Italy, which hiſtorians attribute to the Venetians, who, by the laſt treaty were left to live under their own laws and their own dukes, but, at the ſame time, were to render juſt homage to both empires; which, as they found it difficult to do, and were deſirous of independency, they conceived it their intereſt to embarraſs them in new diſputes. Pope Leo, who foreſaw the conſequences of their intrigues, judged it requiſite to make a journey into France, to give the emperor a right idea of the ſtate of things in Italy. In conſequence of his informations, Charlemagne ſent inſtructions to his ſon Pepin, to keep his naval force in conſtant order, as the moſt effectual means to preſerve the peace of his dominions; and it was by following this advice exactly, that he repelled both the Moors and the Greeks, as often as they gave him any diſturbance [l]. In like manner Charlemagne covered the reſt of his extenſive territories, having ports at the mouths of all conſiderable rivers [m], guardſhips on the coaſts, fortifications along the ſhore, and a militia properly diſpoſed for the defence of theſe fortifications.

By his wiſe and firm conduct the Norman, and other pirates, are kept from making any impreſſions.

A. D. 807

It quickly appeared that the emperor had judged rightly of the precautions neceſſary againſt the Normans. Their king Godfrey, though, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place, the Norman nations give him another name, had the courage not only to break again with the French, but to project and to undertake a war of continuance. He began with making an irruption into the country of the Abodrites, than whom no German nation had ever more ſteadily adhered to Charlemagne, and not only drove Traſicon, one of their dukes, out of his dominions, but alſo cauſed another, whoſe name was Godelaibe, to be hanged up, merely for oppoſing his paſſage. He afterwards reduced a great tract of country, and would have certainly puſhed his conqueſts much farther, if the emperor had not ordered his eldeſt ſon Charles to advance, with a great army, towards the Elbe [n]. This meaſure had the effect that was expected; for the Norman, who, in the courſe of the campaign, had bought his victories dear, retired into his own

A war breaks out with Godfrey, king of the Danes or Normans, who proves a formidable enemy.

[l] Vita Ludovici Pii. [m] Eginard. Annal. [n] Annales Metenſes.

dominions,

dominions, where he ſhewed both his ſpirit and ſkill, by providing at the ſame time, with equal vigilance, for the defence of his own territories, and for a freſh irruption into thoſe of the emperor in the ſpring; while prince Charles, having erected a fortreſs upon the Elbe, at or near the place where Hamburgh is now ſituated, returned
A. D. 808. and put his troops into winter-quarters [o]. Lewis, king of Aquitaine, made another expedition in perſon againſt the Moors, from whom he recovered ſeveral places; Pepin, king of Italy, with the aſſiſtance of his father's ſquadrons, repreſſed both the Moors and the Greeks, and gained ſome advantages over the Venetians.

The progreſs of the war, other incidents, and the domeſtic employments of Charlemagne.

In the ſpring there was a negotiation for peace, between the emperor and the king of the Normans, which was broke off by the latter; and upon Charlemagne's threatening to come and ſettle theſe diſputes on his frontiers, Godfrey gave him to underſtand, that poſſibly he might ſave him that trouble, by coming with an army to the gates of Aix la Chapelle [p]. He was indeed the moſt formidable enemy that, in the courſe of his long reign, the emperor had to deal with; who, notwithſtanding, prevented his making the irruption he intended, by ſending count Egbert, with a numerous army, on the other ſide the Elbe, while duke Traſicon, at the head of his own ſubjects, the Saxons, and other vaſſals of the empire recovered the country he had conquered the preceding year, and gave him full employment at home. The Greeks made a deſcent not far from Ravenna, with an intent to beſiege the city of Comachio, but were defeated, and obliged to retire to their ſhips. The Moors alſo made a deſcent upon Corſica, and ravaged a great part of the iſland [q]. In Spain, the king of Aquitaine attempted, without effect, the recovery of Tortoſa, which had been ſurpriſed in the winter, and one of his generals was alſo obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Hueſca [r]. In the mean time Charlemagne held a council at Aix la Chapelle, with all the ſtate of a Chriſtian emperor, in which he ſhewed great zeal for the doctrine and diſcipline of the church. He ſpent alſo no ſmall portion of his time in reviſing the ſeveral codes of laws, by which his ſubjects, in different parts of his empire, were governed, and made ſuch alterations in them as he thought neceſſary [s]. He likewiſe heard the re-

[o] Poeta Saxon. [p] Annales Bertin Theophan. Chronographia. [q] Vita Ludovici Pii. [r] Adon. Chron. [s] Eginard. Vita Caroli Mag.

porte

ports that were made to him by the governors of provinces, and such as administered justice. He heard also the complaints of all such as held themselves aggrieved, whether laity or clergy, and had set times for receiving and answering petitions. It is very wonderful that, with all these great affairs upon his hands, he should find leisure to collect, as he did, all the old poems and historical songs, relating to the exploits of his predecessors, which he did with a view to a complete history of the monarchy; and it is a great misfortune to posterity, that these collections are dissipated and gone[t].

The successes of the kings of Aquitaine and of Italy, against the Moors and Greeks.

Things at the opening of the year had but an unpleasant aspect. The officer who commanded in the marches of Spain dying, the Mooriſh governor of Saragoſſa and Huesca easily over-ran them, more especially as he pretended to hold them as a vassal of the empire. The Gascons likewise began to murmur, and to pay little or no obedience to king Lewis: the party of the Greeks also became the strongest in Italy; and this superiority obliging Pepin to withdraw some of his forces out of the islands, the Moors took the advantage, and in a short space of time made themselves masters of the best part of Corsica. To heighten this gloomy prospect, the whole North was in motion, to put it out of the emperor's power to send either of his sons the succours which the situation of their affairs required. Charlemagne, however, without being disconcerted, applied himself with vigour to dispose all things on every side for the support of his government; and, while he was thus employed, the cloud gradually dispersed. Lewis, king of Aquitaine, entered the rough country of the Gascons with a well appointed army, from which, as they were not able to resist, they fled, but with a full resolution to attack his rear, upon his return out of Spain. Lewis took no pains to pursue; but, having taken a single man, caused him to be hanged up, and declared his resolution to treat all in the same manner who did not submit. He seized their old men, together with the women and children, as hostages, for the safety of his troops in their return. Having recovered the frontiers from the Moors, he repassed the mountains, without any loss, upon which the Gascons thought it their interest to submit. Pepin had the like success against his enemies, insomuch that Nicephorus judged it expedient to send ambassadors to Charlemagne, with whom they concluded a

[t] Monachus Sangal. Adon. Chron.

Digitized by Google

peace. But it was otherwise with respect to Godfrey, king of the Normans, against whom the emperor provided, as he had done formerly, by causing a numerous army to pass the Elbe, and advancing several other corps towards the frontiers [u].

Godfrey king of the Normans, makes a dangerous irruption, but is assassinated.

That king, who was not inferior to Charlemagne in martial abilities, having left a considerable army to support the Sclavonians, with proper instructions how to act, embarked his best troops on board a fleet of two hundred sail, and, before the emperor had any intelligence of his design, attacked the islands on the coast of Friezland, reduced them, and then made a descent, with all his troops, upon the continent. The French and the Frisons, that is, the marine, militia, and the natives, assembled as great a force as they could to oppose his passage; but Godfrey having attacked and defeated them, filled the adjacent provinces with consternation [w]. Charlemagne assembled all the troops he could raise, which were not very considerable upon the Rhine, in order to make head against this bold invader; but, when he expected a decisive battle, he had intelligence that the enemy had abandoned their conquests, and were embarking on board their fleet. This strange turn was occasioned by the assassination of Godfrey, by one of his guards. His son was of a different temper; his first care was to acquaint Charlemagne, that he was sincerely disposed to peace: the emperor assured him, in return, that he had the same inclination; upon which a cessation of arms ensued, the conferences being deferred to the spring [x]. The satisfaction he received from hence was very much lessened by the death of his beloved daughter, the princess Rotrude, and by that of Pepin, king of Italy, who, with great courage and abilities, had a profound respect, and a most tender affection for his father. He left behind him a son, Bernard, and
A. D. 810. five daughters. The emperor expressed more grief than some thought consistent with his dignity; but Charles was none of those heroes who are unaffected by the softer passions, or of those politicians who thought it requisite to dissemble them. He wept for his son, and, at the same time, he declared Bernard, though an infant, and a natural son, king of Italy [y]. In this step it seems he had the consent and concurrence of Lewis, king of Aquitaine, upon which he very much depended.

[u] Eginard. Vit. Caroli Mag. [w] Annales Rerum Francorum. [x] Adon. Chron. [y] Eginard. Vit. Caroli Mag.

The

Digitized by Google

The spring opened with the negotiations with the new king of the Normans, and a congress was held in Jutland, at which twelve ministers from each of the monarchs assisted, who concluded a solid peace. This did not hinder the emperor from sending two numerous armies, one on the other side the Elbe, the other into Pannonia, to settle a dispute between the Huns and the Sclavonians: at the same time, a third marched into Bretagne, where they put an end to some commotions that had happened, when the emperor's affairs were thought to be in a bad posture. In the mean time, Charles went in person to see all things restored on the sea coast; and having passed as far as Bologne, caused the port to be fortified, made it a capital station for one of his squadrons, and erected a noble pharos, to prevent any accident by vessels entering in the night[z]. At his return to Aix la Chapelle, he met with a new mortification, in the death of his eldest son Charles. His grandson, Bernard, going into Italy, under the direction of count Wallon, found all things in great confusion, the Moors, both of Africa and Spain, being ready to make a descent on Sardinia and Corsica, and Grimoalde, duke of Beneventum, being actually in arms. In Sardinia, where the Moors landed, they met with such a reception, as left them no inclination to try their fortune in Corsica[a]. Count Wallon marched into the dominions of Grimoalde, and gave him so severe a check, that he was glad to submit, and to pay an annual tribute of twenty-five thousand pieces of gold, as the price of his folly. The emperor Nicephorus being killed, and his son deposed, Michael, his son-in-law, who mounted the throne, renewed the peace with Charlemagne, and sent his ambassadors to Aix la Chapelle to assure him of his cordial friendship: as a proof of it, they studied in their harangues to give him all the titles annexed to the imperial dignity, so that now his dominions were on every side at peace, which the Moors, after their late defeat, were glad to renew[b].

The emperor loses his eldest son Charles, and finds most of his enemies inclined to peace.

As the emperor now approached the age of seventy, had been for some years infirm, and was particularly subject to the gout, he bent his thoughts entirely on the preservation of those advantages to his subjects after his demise, which it had been the study and the endeavour of

He associates his only surviving son Lewis, king of Aquitaine, in the empire.

[z] Monachus Sangallensis de Rebus Bellicis Caroli Magni. Chron. Var. Antiq. [a] Eginard Annal. [b] Theophan. Chronograph.

Digitized by Google

his whole life to procure. He judged it the shortest method for this purpose to associate his only son Lewis in the empire. With this view he sent for him to court, where a general assembly was held of the prelates and nobility throughout his dominions, with whom he consulted upon this occasion, and who chearfully and unanimously gave their consent [c]. On the day fixed for the ceremony, Charlemagne, invested with all the ensigns of the imperial dignity, and attended by the great officers of his household, went with his son, in state, to the church or chapel which he had built, and from which the city of Aix derives the distinction of la Chapelle. There they both presented themselves before the high altar, where, after having spent some time in prayer, the emperor told his son, that being by birth called to that high dignity, it should be the business of his life to endeavour to discharge it worthily. He recommended to him a serious zeal for religion; charged him to look upon the prelates as his fathers, and upon the people as his children; exhorted him to be kind to his relations, gentle in his administration, but, at the same time, steady and firm in the execution of justice: he added, that he should be ever ready to reward merit, should prefer his nobility gradually, use great deliberation in the choice of ministers; but, when once chosen, never remove them from caprice, or support them when clearly convicted of crimes. He then asked him, if he was willing to govern in this manner? Lewis answered, that he esteemed it his greatest felicity to obey his commands, and that his memory should never let slip his counsel. The emperor ordered him then to take a rich crown, which was set for that purpose on the high altar, and set it on his own head; and after divine service was performed, they returned to the palace [d]. In a few days Lewis returned into Aquitaine, where his presence was requisite. Charlemagne caused, the same year, councils to be held at Arles, Rheims, Mentz, Tours, and at Chalons on the Saome, being very desirous that all things should be reduced into the best order possible while he was yet alive (D). He likewise renewed the peace with the

[c] Annales Rerum Francorum. [d] Vit. Ludovici Pii.

(D) The magnificence of Charlemagne appeared in the dyets, or general assemblies, where he was attended by his vassals, prelates, governors of provinces, and all who held great employments under him. At these seasons of festivity he appeared in all his imperial ornaments, and received presents

Normans, who had lately a new king. The Moors had broken the treaty lately concluded at their own requeſt, and Charles employed the naval force of his empire to make them ſenſible of their perfidy, in which expedition he was very ſucceſsful, though at firſt they did ſome miſchief by invading the continent, and the coaſt of Italy.

About the middle of the month of January, the emperor, at his coming out of the bath, felt himſelf feverish. He was always averſe to phyſic, believing exerciſe the beſt means of preſerving, and abſtinence the ſureſt way of recovering, health: his maxim failed him on this occaſion, for in three or four days his diſeaſe became a pleuriſy, and from this time he applied himſelf only to *The death of Charlemagne.*

ſents from all the members of the aſſembly, which, in ſucceeding times, were ſtyled free gifts. In theſe aſſemblies thoſe laws were made which were intitled Capitulars, of which we have a complete collection extant, and appear to have been all made by the advice, and with the aſſent, of the nobility and prelates. Some of the vaſſals or princes of barbarous nations, and ſome of the great lords in Italy, held their eſtates by hereditary right; but the dukes and counts among the French were officers, removeable at his pleaſure. The young nobility were generally bred up at his court, and under his eye, ſo that he was better acquainted with their inclinations and capacities than their parents, and he preferred them accordingly, purſuant to his own maxim, that lands were to be inherited, but that honours and employments were the reward of merit. At other times he was modeſt in his dreſs, frugal at his table, and a declared enemy to luxury, as appears from his ſumptuary laws, which were very ſtrict, and from the following odd inſtance, ſharper than any law. He obſerved the nobility about him dreſſed one winter in very fine ſilk robes, lined with fur of great price. He carried them with him to hunt one rainy morning, through woods, and other places; and, when they came in, permitted nobody to change their habits, ſaying, they would dry better by the fire, which ſhrivelled all the torn furs, and ſpoiled them entirely. The next morning he directed they ſhould appear in the cloaths they wore the day before. When the court was pretty full, "What a tattered company have I about me," ſaid he; "while my ſheep ſkin cloak, which I turn this way or that as the weather fits, is not at all the worſe for yeſterday's wear. For ſhame, learn to dreſs like men, and let the world judge of your ranks from your merit, not from your habit: leave ſilks and finery to women, or to thoſe days of pomp and ceremony, when robes are worn for ſhew, and not for uſe."

Digitized by Google

prepare for his great change; on the 27th he fell into an agony, and on the 28th, feeling his ſtrength quite exhauſted, he ſaid with a low voice, "Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my ſpirit," and immediately expired, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, the forty-ſeventh of his reign, the forty-third from his conqueſt of Italy, and the fourteenth from his being crowned emperor[e]. He made a new will, as a private man, by which he diſtributed his treaſures amongſt his children, and ſeveral churches throughout all parts of his dominions. He gave no directions as to the place of his burial, and therefore thoſe about him cauſed his corpſe to be interred in the church of Aix la Chapelle, and erected a tomb, covered by a triumphal arch, with a ſhort and modeſt epitaph[f]. He was moſt ſincerely regretted by his ſubjects of all ranks, but more eſpecially by thoſe who were neareſt his perſon, with whom he lived in great familiarity, being one of the few princes who could enter into the companionable pleaſures of private life, without prejudice to his dignity. His application to public affairs was very great and very conſtant: he was very eaſy of acceſs, and ſcarce thought any thing too mean for his notice; but he was far from being ſuſpicious, credulous, or cruel. By the mildneſs of his government he acquired the affection of his ſubjects; but kept his vaſſals within the bounds of their duty, by never ſuffering them to tranſgreſs it with impunity. He rewarded all ſervices ſpeedily and ſuitably; but rarely beſtowed more than one office upon the ſame man. He had his failings; and, amongſt theſe, the greateſt was indulgence to the failings of others; for he would not puniſh in his neighbour the liberties he took himſelf[g]. In a word, he was extremely amiable in his private life, as well as very illuſtrious in his public character; and this truth we may aſſert with the greater aſſurance, ſince we have very ample memoirs of his life, written by his ſecretary, as well as ſome other pieces by contemporary writers.

[e] Adon. Chron. [f] Eginard. Vita Caroli Mag. [g] Adon. Chron.

SECT.

Digitized by Google

SECT. IV.

The Reigns of Lewis the Gentle, Charles the Bald, Lewis the Stammerer, Emperors and Kings of France; Lewis and Carloman, Kings; and Charles the Groſs, Emperor and King, or Regent of France.

Conduct of Lewis at his entrance on the adminiſtration of the weſtern empire.

AT the time of his father's death, Lewis, king of Aquitaine, held an aſſembly of the ſtates of his dominions, which he ſpeedily diſmiſſed, in order to comply with the deſires of the nobility, who thought his preſence requiſite at Aix la Chapelle (A). His territories were of a vaſt extent,

(A) Lewis, the youngeſt ſon of Charlemage, who attained the age of manhood, was crowned king, and ſent into Aquitaine, when a child of between three and four years of age. He was educated with great care. He underſtood the Greek well, and wrote and ſpoke the Latin tongue correctly and eloquently. He was no leſs adroit in his exerciſes. He was tall and ſtrong, though not either ſo tall or robuſt as his father: his countenance was high coloured, and his aſpect always ſerious. He fell into ſome licenſes in his youth, and had one natural ſon, Arnold, to whom he gave the county of Sens; but he reformed early and ſincerely, became very religious, and not only exact but auſtere in his morals. His father ſent for him frequently to court, inſtructed him in the art of government, carried him to the wars, and laboured to inſpire him with ſentiments ſuitable to his condition, in which he did not altogether ſucceed. His adminiſtration, however, in Aquitaine, after he came to years of diſcretion, was ſuch as gained him very high reputation. The regularity of his manners procured him the ſurname of Pious. His attention to his domain, and the frugal management of his revenues, enabled him to live with all the ſplendor of a prince; and, at the ſame time, would have kept his coffers full, if his charity and liberality had not found other uſes for his money. He gave with his own hands, and with ſo good a grace, that from thence he was ſtyled the Debonnaire. He found his country full of diſorders, and in the worſt condition poſſible; the nobility headſtrong, haughty, and oppreſſive; the clergy, proud, ignorant, and lewd; the common people lazy, indigent, and prone to all ſorts of vices. He brought about a general and wonderful reformation, and that by his own example and authority. He applied himſelf to government, as a profeſſion to which he was called by Providence: he adminiſtered juſtice ſteadily and ſtrictly; he puniſhed, but reluctantly, and without ſeverity;

Digitized by Google

tent, and demanded all the attention that could be given, even by a prince of the most extensive genius: Italy indeed had been bestowed upon his nephew Bernard, the son of Pepin, upon whom Lewis had no other claim than that of homage; but, besides the ancient kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy, Lewis held in Spain what are now styled the countries of Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia; in Germany, beyond the Rhine, he possessed all Saxony, the Upper and Lower Pannonia, Dacia on the north side the Danube, Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and a good part of the country now styled Poland[a]. In his passage to Aix la Chapelle he was met by Theodulfe, bishop of Orleans, who had great credit with his father; he gave him a distinct idea of the state of the court, and inspired him with a jealousy of count Wallon, or Walla, the grandson of Charles Martel, esteemed one of the wisest men of that age: he likewise insinuated the apprehensions that a great part of the court was under, but more especially his sisters, from the gravity of his disposition, and the severity of his morals; an information, which induced him to send orders for arresting some of those princesses' favourites; and one of them, making some resistance, was killed. However, he succeeded peaceably to the empire, and Walla

[a] Eginard. Vita Caroli Mag.

he rewarded liberally, and with avowed satisfaction. His father sent commissaries to inspect his behaviour; and their report was such, that the emperor could not help bursting out with this exclamation; "Let us give thanks to God, for having given us a son wiser than ourselves!" There was scarce a grievance known in his whole dominions. His only fault was his being over religious, which inclined him to follow the example of his uncle Carloman, and induced him to think of retiring into a convent. This was very disagreeable to Charles, who remonstrated to him, with some degree of heat, that Providence had called him to another kind of life; that it was his duty to respect that call, and that he ought to think of serving God as a prince, and not as a monk. He afterwards came to discern that his father was in the right, and it would have been happy for him if he had discerned it sooner, and understood it better. At the time he succeeded his father, he was thirty-six years of age, and had espoused Ermangarde, the daughter of Enguerand, count of Hesbai, in the diocese of Liege, by whom he was the father of those sons, who, through the course of his life and reign, gave him so much disquiet.

was

Digitized by Google

was the first who did him homage [b]. He executed his father's will with great punctuality, except with regard to some of his sisters, who being, in his opinion, too slenderly provided for, he supplied them with what he judged requisite for their maintenance. He dismissed them, however, from the court, and sent them to the abbies which Charlemagne had assigned them. He retained his three natural brothers, and took care of their education, causing them to eat at his own table. He held an assembly, in which he confirmed all his father's grants; and being informed that some Spanish families, who had retired into his dominions to escape the tyranny of the Moors, were oppressed by his subjects, and reduced to a kind of vassalage, which differed but little from slavery, he redressed that grievance, and set them entirely at liberty [c]. On receiving the homage of the duke of Beneventum, he reduced his tribute to seven thousand pieces of gold: he restored the Saxons and the Frisons to their rights of inheritance, of which they had been deprived by his father for their frequent rebellions, for which he was generally blamed; yet the event shewed that he was in the right, for they remained inviolably attached to him [d]. He received the ambassadors of the Greek emperor, and other princes, favourably, and renewed the several treaties of peace that had been concluded with them. He had, at his accession, three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis: he sent the eldest into Bavaria, the second into Aquitaine, and appointed ministers to manage their affairs [e]. His father's example seems to have been to him a law, perhaps without a due retrospect to his motives. A. D. 814.

A conspiracy formed by Bernard, king of Italy, against the emperor, defeated.

Among those who addressed themselves to Lewis at his accession, was a Danish or Norman prince, whose name was Heriolt, to whom he promised his protection: and an attempt was made this year to restore him, which however did not succeed. The emperor held an assembly at Paderborn, where his nephew Bernard, king of Italy, and other princes, assisted; and it was soon after this that he received the news of another conspiracy against the life of pope Leo, which was discovered in time. Those who were concerned in it being secured, the pope caused them to be executed, with which conduct the emperor being displeased, directed Bernard, king of Italy, to go to

[b] Vita Ludovici Pii. [c] Nithardi Angilberti filii Caroli Magni Imperatoris, ex Bertha Filia Nepotis Abbatis, sancti Richarii, de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii. [d] Astronom. in Vita Ludovici Pii. [e] Adon. Chron.

Rome,

Digitized by Google

Rome, and by his presence put an end to these disorders [f]. They ceased of course at the death of the pope, who was succeeded by Eugenius V. This pontiff did not wait for the emperor's confirmation, a circumstance which Lewis took amiss. The pope, to soothe him, made a journey into France, where he was received with all possible honour; and having crowned the emperor and empress at Rheims, returned into Italy, where he did not long survive [g]. The emperor caused a council to be held, for establishing ecclesiastical discipline, at Aix la Chapelle; and there he likewise gave audience to some Moorish ambassadors, and to those of the Greek emperor. He likewise received ambassadors from the kings of the Normans, who solicited him warmly to abandon Heriolt; but to break his word, and to desert a prince in distress, was not the character of this monarch: he heard the advantageous proposals they made, but, after hearing them, he sent them back without an answer [h].

Disorders in Italy, where the popes are disposed to shake off all dependancy.

Another great assembly was held at Aix la Chapelle, in this the emperor declared his intention to associate one of his sons in that dignity, after the example of his father, though the case was very different, and the reasons which determined the one were not at all applicable to the other. After a fast of three days, to implore the direction of Heaven in the emperor's choice, he declared Lothaire, his eldest son, his coadjutor; at the same time he created Pepin king of Aquitaine, and Lewis king of Bavaria; and after the ceremonies of their coronation were over, sent them into their respective dominions [i]. The tidings of this event scarce reached Italy before Bernard took up arms, and having a strong party in France, flattered himself with the hopes of deposing the emperor. Lewis upon this occasion acted with greater vigour than either his friends or his enemies expected: he assembled a puissant army, and began his march directly, with a full intention to pass the Alps, and put an end to this defection. But by that time he arrived at Chalons on the Soame, the face of affairs changed strangely: some of the great lords in Italy refused to join Bernard; those who had joined him, abandoned him, and his army deserted; a circumstance which affected him to such a degree, that he passed the Alps in person, and came to implore the clemency of his uncle [k].

[f] Vita Ludovici Pii. in Vita Ludovici Pii. Imperii ap. Ludovici Pii. de Reb. gest. a Ludovici Pii.
[g] Eginard Annal. [h] Astronom. [i] Chron. Moissiac, Charta Divisionis
[k] Vita Ludovici Pii. Thegan.

Lewis

Lewis received him coldly; told him, that on the death of his father, he was the first who proposed to the emperor declaring him king of Italy; that, since his accession, he had confided in him, and, contrary to the opinion of his ministers, had heaped upon him many favours: that, however, he would not be judge in his own cause, but would refer all to the determination of the next assembly at Aix la Chapelle, where Bernard, and his associates, who were the chief ministers of the deceased emperor, and Theodulfe, bishop of Orleans, were condemned to suffer death. The emperor caused the eyes of the laicks to be put out, and the bishop to be deposed; Bernard died a few days after of grief, or of pain. The emperor caused his three brothers, at the same time, to be shaved, and put into monasteries; and thus this affair ended. But before the end of the year, the Abodrites, who hitherto had been always faithful, revolted: Trasicon, their duke, being assassinated by the king of the Normans, Charlemagne had appointed Sclaomir to succeed him; but on the accession of Lewis, Ceudragne, the son of Trasicon, represented his father's services to the emperor, who made him joint-duke; upon which Sclaomir called in the Normans [1]. A. D. 817.

In consequence of the intrigues that had been set on foot, in the beginning of this reign, Morman, count of Bretagne, not only threw off his vassalage, but assumed the title of king. Lewis moved directly with his forces on that side, and called a general assembly at Vannes; in which, having regulated certain affairs, he attacked the Bretons with such vigour, pursued them so closely, and wasted their country in such manner, that the people in a sedition murdered their new king, and submitted again to Lewis, who thereupon declared Nomenon, a great lord of that country, count or judge of Bretagne. The emperor, in his return to Germany, took Angiers in his way, where he had left his empress Hermengard sick, and there she died. He proceeded from thence to Heristal, where he gave audience to the ambassadors of several nations. Amongst these were deputies from Sigon, duke of Beneventum, who, by the rich presents they brought, appeased the emperor on behalf of their master, who had raised himself to that dignity by the assassination of Grimoalde; but he would not listen to the complaints made by Liuduit,

Lewis, by the persuasion of his ministers espouses Judith the daughter of duke Guelfe.

[1] Eginard Annal. Ludovici Pii.

[m] Nithard de dissentionibus filiorum

duke

duke of the Huns, againſt the count of Frioul[m]. While he was thus employed, Lupus, count of the Gaſcons, revolted, but he was quickly defeated by Pepin, king of Aquitaine, taken and ſent priſoner to Aix la Chapelle, which was likewiſe the fate of Sclaomir: both theſe rebels were ſentenced to death, but the emperor contented himſelf with ſending them into baniſhment[n]. His courtiers and miniſters, to divert him from that inclination he had to a life of privacy and retreat, prevailed upon him to
A. D. 818. marry Judith, the daughter of duke Guelfe, deſcended, by the father's ſide, from one of the nobleſt houſes in Bavaria, and by the mother, from the ancient dukes of Saxony, beautiful in her perſon, and a princeſs otherwiſe accompliſhed; but who, notwithſtanding theſe rare qualities, proved the author, or at leaſt the occaſion, of the misfortunes that befel him and his ſubjects.

Liuduit, duke of Hungary, revolts, and maintains a long and obſtinate war againſt the emperor.

The revolt of Liuduit, produced a war of ſome continuance: he was the chief of the Abares or Huns, who inhabited that part of Hungary which lies about Buda; but he drew into this defection the Sclavonians, who were ſeated on the rivers Save and Drave, from whence he is, by ſome writers, ſtyled duke of the Sclavonians. The emperor immediately ordered a body of troops out of Italy to reduce him, but that was a taſk not ſo eaſily effected; he made a gallant and ſoldier-like defence. When fatigues, and the rudeneſs of the ſeaſon had obliged the emperor's forces to retreat, he entered the adjacent provinces, ravaged them, and repaired, by the plunder taken by his troops, the loſſes ſuſtained by the war. Attacked by theſe armies at once, he ſecured himſelf by the ſame conduct, and by maintaining a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the auxiliary troops, of which thoſe armies were compoſed: he likewiſe, by his intrigues, engaged the Normans to renew their piracies, and had alſo ſome intelligence in Italy[o]. But, at length, the emperor's generals changed their method of making war, and, inſtead of ruining the open country, purſued him from place to place, till at length he was forced to quit his own territories, to take ſhelter in the country of the Sorabes. There he murdered the duke who had given him refuge: but not able to maintain himſelf long in that country, he retired to the town of a Dalmatian lord, with whom he had long held a ſecret correſpondence. But his friend, perceiving his affairs deſperate,

[m] Nithard. de Diſſentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii, [n] Aſtronom. in Vita Ludovici Pii. [o] Nithard. de Diſſentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.

and

Digitized by Google

and being afraid he might treat him as he had done his former protector, thought it most for his interest and safety to put him out of the way; and thus ended this war.

The emperor unaccountably acknowleges his own maladministration, and does penance.

We have before observed, that the emperor held a council for restoring and enforcing the discipline of the church; and we have more than once remarked, that he was not only zealously but sincerely pious himself; yet it was from this right action, and from these laudable inclinations, that, for want of penetration and steadiness, he suffered deeply. He had a profound respect for bishops; but his reformation had disobliged most of that order throughout his dominions. He thought it improper for prelates to be loitering about a court, and was therefore for confining them to their benefices. To this proposal in the council, they could not but assent, and when they had assented, they were forced to obey; but they resented this strictness in the emperor as if it had been an injury. They found means to represent the virtues and self-denial of Adelard, abbot of Corbie, the elder brother of Walla, who was now also become a monk, in so strong a light, that, notwithstanding he was the principal author of Bernard's conspiracy against his crown and life, the emperor not only recalled him, and restored him, but soon after employed him as his minister. Adelard, in a short space, gained the confidence of Lewis to such a degree, that, upon the marriage of his son Lothaire, he interceeded and procured the pardon of all his associates; and the emperor, of his own accord, added the restitution of their fortunes and honours. One would have imagined the monk might have stopped here, but he did not: he knew that his master was sincerely grieved for the death of his nephew; and from thence he took occasion to persuade him, that it would be highly meritorious to make an open confession of his crime, and to do public penance for it, setting the example of the emperor Theodosius, who submitted in like manner to St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan; and though their actions were very different, yet such an influence had he over the mind of Lewis, that he took it for a case in point[p]. In consequence of these strange notions, the emperor actually submitted; and in the face of the public, at the assembly of Attigni, acknowledged his faults, begged pardon for the scandal he had given, and desired the bishops to enjoin him penance. He even carried it so far, as to A. D. 822. be thrust into the catalogue of his faults his discarding the

[p] Radbertus in Vita Adelhardi.

old

old miniſtry, and diſgracing Walla, whom not long after he ſent, with his ſon Lothaire, into Italy; ſo that two brothers were the prime miniſters, and directed the councils of the two emperors, till the death of Adelard, whom his brother ſucceeded as abbot of Corbie [q].

Lothaire goes twice to Rome, is crowned by the pope, and acts there as ſovereign.

The emperor's diſpoſition was now ſo well known, that the pope thought he might avail himſelf of it. Paſchal I. was then ſeated in the papal chair; he had cauſed himſelf to be crowned, without waiting for Lewis's confirmation, a ſtep which he had excuſed, by throwing the blame upon the clergy and people; and he had obtained, or at leaſt this is aſſerted, an extenſion of the charters of Pepin and Charlemagne, which have made a great noiſe in the world, but are ſuſpected in ſeveral clauſes by moſt, and believed to be all a forgery by many. This pontiff thought he might take any liberties under ſo good a prince, and, in this perſuaſion, did many things that occaſioned loud complaints. Lewis hearing theſe murmurs, directed his ſon Lothaire to go to Rome, to enquire into the cauſes of theſe diſorders, and to rectify what was amiſs. Lothaire, in obedience to his father's commands, went thither, and after proper enquiry, made a decree in virtue of his imperial dignity, by which many grievances were removed, and all diſorders appeaſed [r]. The pope ſhewed him great reſpect, crowned him with his own hands, and teſtified great ſatisfaction in his preſence. In a ſhort time, however, after his departure, two noble Romans, Theodorus and Leo, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their adherence to the young emperor, were ſeized, their eyes put out, and at length they were beheaded in the patriarchal palace of Lateran. This execution alarmed the emperor exceedingly, who ſent an abbot and a nobleman, his commiſſaries, to Rome, in order to make a ſtrict inquiſition into this affair. The pope made a ſtrange apology; he inſiſted that the execution was done without his privity; but at the ſame time declared thoſe great men had ſuffered juſtly. He went farther, and, in imitation of his predeceſſor pope Leo, purged himſelf by oath, and procured thirty-four biſhops to ſwear with him; which meaſures, with the excuſes made by his ambaſſadors, induced the emperor, through an exceſs of good-nature, ſays the French hiſtorians, to reſt ſatisfied. However, he was ſpeedily called to anſwer at another tribunal, which was not to be impoſed upon; and on

[q] Thegan. de Geſtis Ludovici Pii. [r] Vita Ludovici Pii.
* Nithardi de Diſſentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.

his

his demiſe, Eugenius the Second was elected, but with ſo much diſorder, that Lothaire made another journey to Rome, where, with ſovereign authority, he examined into, and corrected many errors in the adminiſtration, occaſioned by the avarice, pride, and private reſentments of the popes. Having by a new decree, conſiſting of nine articles, reſtored the public tranquillity, he took an oath of the Romans, not to proceed to the coronation of any future pope, till confirmed by the emperor, and left alſo an imperial judge at Rome, to prevent things from running again into confuſion, promiſing that, in caſe he was threatened or corrupted, to ſend commiſſaries to hear appeals in the laſt reſort [z].

Birth of Charles, the ſon of the emperor by the empreſs Judith, the occaſion afterwards of great diſorders.

While his ſons were thus employed in Italy, the emperor adminiſtered affairs at home, with equal facility and dignity. The Wilſes, a tribe of the numerous nation of the Sclavonians, to prevent a civil war, deſired Lewis to hear and determine the cauſe between two brothers, who both claimed to be their king. The elder had been depoſed, but had ſtill a party; the younger had the good graces of the people in general. Both appeared before the emperor, and ſaid what they could in ſupport of their reſpective titles: Lewis decreed in favour of the latter, but aſſigned a revenue, and an honourable eſtabliſhment, to the former, with which he was ſatisfied [a]. He reſtored Heriolt to his ſhare of the kingdom of Denmark, cauſed him to be baptized, and ſent Ebbo, archbiſhop of Rheims, into Denmark, to convert his ſubjects; theſe his endeavours might have been very ſucceſsful, if it had not been for the imprudence of this prince, on whom he chiefly relied for ſupport. The emperor alſo chaſtiſed the Bretons, and entered their country with three armies, commanded by himſelf, and his ſons Pepin and Lewis, kings of Aquitaine and Bavaria [b]. On the ſide of Spain, indeed, his forces had received a check from the Gaſcons, which gave him ſome uneaſineſs; but this was ſoon removed by the joy he felt on the birth of his ſon Charles. It was preceded by an earthquake, which was interpreted as an omen of the misfortune that had happened in Spain, but was afterwards applied to this event, with equal reaſon indeed, as having no reference to either. But it was the failing of this monarch to be ſtrangely affected by whatever happened out of the ordinary courſe of things; eclipſes, inunda-

A. D. 814.

[z] Vita Ludovici Pii. de Geſtis Ludovici Pii. [a] Eginard. Annal. [b] Thegan.

tions,

tions, famines, were all prodigies alike to him; and the memoirs of his reign were composed by one who, because he held that post in the court of this emperor, is known to posterity by no other title than that of the Astronomer [b].

Several misfortunes happen on the frontiers, by which all the affairs of the empire fall into confusion.

At the assembly held in the spring at Aix la Chapelle, Viomarque, who had been at the head of the rebellion in Bretagne, came with the principal lords of that country to pay their respects to the emperor, and to give him the strongest assurances of their submission and fidelity. Lewis, with his usual good-nature, received them with great affability and kindness, and dismissed them, more especially Viomarque, with rich presents. They were no sooner returned into their own country, than the rebellion broke out afresh, and Viomarque particularly made an inroad into France, in which his troops committed the greatest excesses; but count Lambert, who commanded on the frontier, took his opportunity in the winter, by a quick march, and with a choice body of troops, and having invested him in his house, after an obstinate resistance, cut
A. D. 826. him and his adherents in pieces [c]. Things did not go so well in Catalonia, where, through some mismanagement, the Moors made a great impression; and soon after happened that revolt in Navarre, which, as we have shewn in its proper place, gave rise to that kingdom. Things had gone still worse, if Bernard, lately advanced to the honour of count of Barcelona, had not been more able, or at least more fortunate, in repelling the enemy; but the force he commanded was so small, that preserving this city was all in his power. In the North new disturbances broke out; in consequence of which, Heriolt was again driven out of his kingdom. The Saracens made themselves masters of the island of Sicily; upon which the people of Naples, perceiving it in vain to expect any succours from Constantinople, would have put themselves under the protection of Lewis, if the circumstances of his affairs had permitted him to have given them relief. But things were so ill managed by Lothaire and Pepin on the side of Spain, that this was entirely impracticable; yet count Boniface, who commanded in Corsica, assembled a good fleet, and with a considerable body of troops on board made a descent in Africa, where he defeated the Moors several times. This diversion distracted the ene-

[b] P. le Long. Fresnoy. Le Gendre. [c] Vita Ludovici Pii.

my,

Digitized by Google

my, and raised the reputation of the French arms, which in that conjuncture was of the utmost consequence [d].

Intrigues, by which the government and the emperor are brought into the utmost hazard.

By this series of disasters, the enemies of the emperor's government obtained an opportunity of first disturbing, and next subverting it. The empress Judith had gained a great ascendency over her husband, which she employed in persuading him to place her son on a level with his brethren. In this particular the difficulty was great, as the emperor had already settled the succession to all his dominions. Aquitaine and Bavaria were small kingdoms, out of which, therefore, nothing could be taken; so that, whatever his share was to be, must be detached from that of Lothaire [e]. The empress employed her address so effectually, that he engaged Lothaire to consent, and even to promise, with an oath, that in case the emperor died while Charles was under age, he would undertake the care of him and his affairs, as his guardian and protector. But the protector having removed many from their employments, on account of the late disasters, they breathed every-where a spirit of discontent, and, by degrees, the complaints on every side became so general, and so loud, that the emperor appointed commissioners to inquire into the errors of his own government; their title in Latin was, Missi Dominici, and Walla was at the head of them: he had a great reputation for prudence and sanctity, and he made a very ample report in a general assembly, in which he not only treated the ministers, but the emperor himself, with great freedom. Upon this occasion, several fresh changes ensued, and four great councils were held for the reformation of the clergy [f]. But the empress, through all these mists of religion and public spirit, saw clearly that the emperor's, or at least her ruin was intended: of this design she made Lewis so sensible, that he sent Walla back to his convent, and, after much deliberation, sent for Bernard, count of Barcelona, whose sister, before he became a monk, Walla had espoused, and intrusted him with the chief management of affairs. He was indeed the fittest man he could have employed: he had great sagacity, much firmness, and having once embarked in any design, pursued it without looking back. It happened unluckily, that the post bestowed upon him in the court was that of lord chamberlain, by which having frequent admission to the empress, and being a very handsome, and withal a very

[d] Eginard. Annal. [e] Vita Ludovici Pii. [f] Eginard. in Annal.

Digitized by Google

gallant man, this gave a new topic to the malecontents; who, seeing all their plots in danger of being unravelled, boldly asserted, that he was too familiar with that princess, and, as such reports easily gain credit, this was speedily and generally believed [g].

The emperor and his son Charles fall into the hands of Lewis and Pepin, and are very ill treated.

Count Bernard, not in the least moved with these rumours, or intimidated with the intrigues of the ecclesiastics, planned a new kingdom for Charles, which would have rendered him a powerful sovereign. It was to consist of so much of Germany as lies within the Danube, the Maine, the Neckar, and the Rhine, to which were added Rhetia, or the country of the Grisons, and that part of the kingdom of Burgundy which comprehended the district of Geneva and the Swiss cantons [h]. The malecontents acted in conjunction with the emperor's three sons, though, as yet, they did not affect to appear. Count Bernard was no stranger to this confederacy: under colour of reducing the Bretons, who were again revolted, he assembled an army, which the emperor was to command in person, and in which Lewis, king of Bavaria, likewise served, and Pepin, king of Aquitaine was directed to join the army on the frontiers of Bretagne, with his forces. But, when they came to march, part of the forces refused to obey orders; notwithstanding which refusal, Lewis, by the advice of the count, advanced with the rest. Pepin, with a great army, marched out of Aquitaine, and the malcontents having offered him their service, he made no scruple of declaring against his father; upon which Lewis quitted the emperor's camp, and joined him [i]. In this situation the emperor sent his consort, for safety, to the abbey of Poitiers; and Bernard, apprehending he should be the victim, demanded leave to retire to his government of Catalonia, which he obtained. Pepin, by the advice of the malcontents, sent a detachment to the abbey of Poitiers to seize the empress; having her in his power, he loaded her with reproaches, and told her, that, if she meant to preserve herself, she must go and persuade his father to two things; that she should take the veil as a nun in the monastery from which she came, and that he, resigning his dignity, should become a monk. Judith promised all that he could desire; but, in her interview with the emperor, is supposed to have advised him not to

[g] Thegan. de Gestis Ludovici Pii. Adon. Chron. [h] Annales Bertiniani [i] Nithardi de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii. Paschasius Radbertus in Vita Valæ Abbatis.

renounce

Digitized by Google

renounce his dignity. However he permitted, that she should go and take the veil, as she did; and, for himself, he demanded a conference with the peers and prelates. His army having abandoned him, he fell, with his son Charles, into the hands of the rebels, who treated him very coarsely; causing a small assembly to be held at Compeigne, in which they expected he should have resigned the crown. He appeared therein confused and disconsolate, made a kind of apology for his conduct, protested the rectitude of his intentions; and promised to act with more circumspection for the future. He stood while he was speaking, though there was a throne in the hall; but, when he had finished his discourse, the bishops and great lords, who were present, obliged him to sit thereon [k].

Both of them reconciled to the emperor, who disappates the conspirators.

This behaviour disconcerted the schemes of Pepin and the abbot of Corbie. Lothaire arrived soon after with an army from Italy, and, as it was upon him the malcontents principally depended, Pepin and Lewis found themselves so little considered, that they thought it their best way to retire each into his dominions. Lothaire used his father with much exterior respect, but did not allow him the smallest share of power; and though he did not talk of deposing him, yet he put certain monks about him, who were instructed to persuade him to quit the world [l]. They were so far from succeeding in their commission, that, the emperor discoursing with them very graciously, they entered thoroughly into his interest; and one of them, whose name was Gombaud, undertook to negotiate a reconciliation with Lewis and Pepin, in which he succeeded. At the great assembly held at Nimeguen, the emperor, finding himself surrounded by several German princes, attended by their guards, began to resume his courage. He sent for Hilduin, abbot of St. Denis, who had been very active during the whole affair, and asked him, what he meant by bringing so many men armed in his train, ordered him to dismiss them immediately, and to retire to Paderborn. He treated Walla, abbot of Corbie, in the same manner [m]. At length he sent for his son Lothaire, to whom he represented, in so strong a light, the folly, as well as wickedness, of his behaviour, that he burst into tears, and intreated his pardon. At that instant the two parties were on the point of coming to blows; but A. D. 830.

[k] Thegan. de Gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ Abbatis. [l] Vita Ludovici Pii. Nithard. de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii. [m] Paschasius Radbertus in Vit. Valæ Abbatis.

Digitized by Google

the two emperors appearing together, all things were pacified, and the dyet, which met to depoſe the emperor, confirmed his authority. The firſt uſe he made of it was to arreſt the chiefs of the defection, whom he brought to a trial at the winter aſſembly held at Aix la Chapelle; where they were ſentenced to ſuffer death, but he was content to ſend them into exile [n].

New intrigues and diſturbances in the empire, and among the imperial family.

The emperor was reſolved to recall his conſort to court; but, as ſhe had taken the veil, it was thought requiſite to have the advice of the biſhops, and the conſent of the pope. Gregory the Fourth, then in poſſeſſion of the ſee of Rome, declared, that, as ſhe had taken the veil by force, her vows were not binding. Soon after her return, count Bernard was recalled; but firſt it was judged expedient, that the empreſs ſhould purge herſelf, by oath, with reſpect to the heavy crimes laid to her charge [o]. The return of count Bernard created freſh murmurs; the monk Gombaud thought, that being made prime miniſter was the leaſt that could be done for one who had reſtored the emperor; the kings Pepin and Lewis were for governing likewiſe; and the empreſs judged every attempt of this kind an intruſion upon her province. The exiles were recalled, or, at leaſt, as many as were content to acknowlege their errors, and ſubſcribe to the proviſion made for the emperor's youngeſt ſon. Lothaire was depoſed from being emperor, but was allowed to keep the title of king of Italy, provided he did nothing of conſequence without receiving his father's inſtruction. Before the end of the year, count Bernard, perceiving that the empreſs was conducted by other counſels, reconciled himſelf to Pepin, king of Aquitaine, and, by his intrigues, the three brothers were more cloſely united than ever in a league againſt their father.

A. D. 831.

Upon the death of Pepin, king of Aquitaine, the emperor ſets aſide his ſons in favour of prince Charles.

The king of Aquitaine having eſcaped from court, made all the haſte poſſible into his own dominions, where he no ſooner arrived than he took up arms. The emperor, being acquainted with this affair, aſſembled an army, and declared, that he would hold his great court at Orleans; but his forces were ſcarce in motion before he had intelligence of the revolt of his ſon Lewis, which conſtrained him to return, and to appoint the aſſembly at Mentz [p]. The king of Bavaria made no doubt but the

[n] Vita Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ Abbatis. [o] Theg. de Geſtis Ludovici Pii. Nithard. de Diſſentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ Abbatis. [p] Annales Bertiniani. Nithard. de Diſſentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.

Saxons

Saxons and Allemans would have joined him, more eſpecially when he knew they had taken up arms; but they marched directly to the emperor's army, a circumſtance which was of the laſt conſequence to his affairs; for it gave him ſuch ſuperiority, and raiſed his courage ſo much, that he compelled Lewis to come and throw himſelf at his feet; from whom he exacted an oath, that he would never ſwerve from his duty any more. Upon his return from this expedition, Lothaire met his father at Francfort, aſſuring him of his fidelity, and that he had no correſpondence with the rebels; though, in reality, he was to have been at the head of the revolt [r]. Lewis marched next againſt the king of Aquitaine, held an aſſembly at Orleans, obliged him to ſurrender, and then ſent him, under an eſcort, priſoner to Treves. On the road he found means to make his eſcape, returned into his own dominions, and raiſed a new rebellion; which ſo provoked the emperor, that he declared the kingdom of Aquitaine forfeited, and in that light gave it to his ſon Charles, who was then about nine years of age [s]. A. D. 832.

The emperor a ſecond time priſoner to his children, depoſed, degraded, and uſed with the utmoſt indignity.

This change revived the murmurs of the people, and created a general diſcontent amongſt the nobility. Lothaire, who was returned into Italy, where he had a numerous army, applied to pope Gregory the Fourth; repreſenting, that, having been crowned emperor by one of his predeceſſors, and the act, by which he himſelf and his brother were declared kings, being in the papal archives, he ought in juſtice to eſpouſe their cauſe. Gregory, won by theſe ſollicitations, though he had been confirmed in the papal ſee by the emperor Lewis, yet conſented to come with Lothaire, and his army, into France; where the very name of the pope brought many biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtics, to join them, and amongſt the reſt Walla, abbot of Corbie [t]. On the other hand, ſome of the biſhops, and particularly Dreux, biſhop of Mentz, the emperor's natural brother, though he had not been kindly uſed, adhered firmly to that monarch, and wrote in very ſtrong terms to the pontiff; even reproaching him for entering France without the emperor's leave, and being in a camp where ſons had diſplayed their banners againſt their father. The pope replied in very high terms to them; but had afterwards an interview with the emperor, in which he en-

[r] Vita Ludovici Pii. Theg. de Geſtis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ Abbatis. [s] Adon. Chron. [t] Agobert. de Comparatione utriuſque Regiminis.

Digitized by Google

deavoured to excuse himself [u]. In the mean time, Lothaire and his friends corrupted the emperor's army, so that he fell into their hands, with his empress and his son Charles; and, in an assembly held hastily on the spot, Lewis was deposed, the throne declared vacant, and Lothaire placed thereon [w]. As for the empress they sent her to Tortona, and put her into a nunnery, the young prince Charles being sent to a castle in the forest of Arden. The pope being returned to Rome, and Lewis and Pepin, who had joined their brother, being retired into their respective kingdoms, Lothaire, in another assembly, composed chiefly of ecclesiastics, caused a long charge to be exhibited against his father, degraded him with many ceremonies, caused his sword to be taken from him at the altar, and put him into a habit of penitence, after the model of king Wamba's usage in Spain. He likewise caused false reports to be propagated, that the empress, having taken the veil, died soon after; and that his son Charles, being shaved, was put into a monastery, in hopes that these events would have determined him to become a monk [x]. All these contrivances had effects the very reverse of those that were expected from them. The emperor behaved with great humility, but at the same time with much firmness; he acknowledged the chastisement to be just from the hand of God, but he conceived that the notions he had formerly entertained of becoming a monk, and abandoning the rank to which Providence had called him, had brought these misfortunes upon him. On the other hand, the people in general, and the monks in particular, began to alter their sentiments, and to exclaim, that the usage of so good a prince, by an unnatural son, was not to be endured [y].

A. D. 833.

Lothaire after a long struggle, is compelled, in the most humble manner, to demand pardon of his father.

While things took this turn in the heart of his dominions, Dreux, bishop of Mentz, went to the court of his nephew, Lewis, king of Bavaria, and represented to him, in the most pathetic terms, the weakness as well as wickedness of his conduct towards his father, since he had very little reason to hope the same tenderness from his brother Lothaire that the emperor had shewn him. At the same time count Bernard, though the emperor had deprived him of his dignities for the share he had in Pepin's rebellion, repaired to the court of that prince, and demonstrated to

[u] Theg. de Gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ Abbatis. Epist. Pap. Greg. IV. [w] Annales Bertiniani. [x] Acta exauctorationis Ludovici Pii. [y] Nithard. de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.

him

him so clearly, that it was his interest to restore his father, notwithstanding it was in his quarrel he had been deposed, that he began his march with a numerous army for that purpose [z]. Lewis, of Bavaria, was first in the field, and had no sooner declared for his father than the Saxons, with their usual alacrity, assembled their whole force to join him [a]. Several of the nobility in France took up arms on his side, insomuch that Lothaire, perceiving himself in danger of being surrounded, sent his father and his brother Charles to the abbey of St. Denis, and, with the few forces he still retained about him, retired into Burgundy; where, being joined by some of his adherents, he did a great deal of mischief; but was at length reduced to the necessity of throwing himself at his father's feet, and, with the utmost humility, demanding pardon, in the sight of the whole army.

Those who were deepest in this treason convicted and punished, but not rigorously.

Immediately after this happy event, the empress Judith was recalled. Though the emperor had been absolved by such bishops as were about the court at St. Denis, and afterwards presented by them with his sword and crown, yet such were either the scruples of this prince, or the superstition of his subjects, that a more formal act of restitution was thought necessary. Accordingly, in an assembly held at Thionville, all that had been done in the assembly at Compeigne was declared void, the emperor was again absolved, seven archbishops laying their hands upon his head, and Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, who had the boldness to degrade him, with much brutality, though raised by the emperor from the dregs of the people, read publicly his recantation, and afterwards resigned his dignity, from which he would have been otherwise deposed [b]. The disorders which these civil wars had occasioned were such, as, in a manner, banished all appearance of government or of justice; but the emperor quickly appointed commissaries to redress these grievances, and to restore the vigour of the laws; which they, in a good measure, performed. He might now certainly have spent the remainder of his days in perfect tranquillity, if it had not been for the intrigues of the empress, who, having a restless desire to see her son settled in a kingdom, recurred to her first project, and entered again into a negotiation with Lothaire. He did not entertain this at first so warmly as she

[z] Theg. de Gestis Ludovici Pii. Nithard. de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii. [a] Vita Valæ Abbatis. [b] Nithard. de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.

Digitized by Google

expected, though he sent some ministers of his own to treat in his father's court, at the head of whom was Walla, who was kindly received, and caressed by the empress, though he had been the principal author of the troubles that, from the very beginning, had disturbed her husband's reign [c]. But while this treaty went on slowly, Lothaire was taking every possible method to strengthen himself in Italy, that in case the emperor, who was become very infirm, should die, he might be able, at all events, to put himself into possession of his dominions. The manner in which he executed this design disobliged many of the nobility, and bore so hard upon the pope, that he joined his complaints to their's at the court of the emperor; who was at length so much provoked, that he resolved to go in person with an army of choice troops into Italy, and sent his orders to Lothaire, to provide the magazines necessary for his march to Rome [d]. What the consequence of this journey might have been, cannot be easily conjectured; but the depredations committed on the coast of France, by the Norman pirates, obliged the emperor to lay it aside, that he might more effectually provide for the security of his dominions [e].

A. D. 836.

The three sons cabal again, in order to compel their father to desist, but without effect.

At length, after mature deliberation, the empress determined to engage Lewis to add to the dominions, formerly intended for her son, the kingdom of Neustria, and some other districts. This resolution was at that time kept very secret; nevertheless, the three brothers had intelligence of it, and deliberated jointly whether they should renew the war, or dissemble their resentment. The passes from Italy were so well guarded, the dominions of the kingdom of Bavaria and Aquitaine were at such a distance from each other, and the nobility of France and Germany so little disposed to begin any new troubles, that they were constrained to be quiet. The emperor, therefore, having summoned an assembly at Chiersi on the Oise, introduced his son Charles, then about fourteen, and with great solemnity declared him king of Neustria, Lewis, king of Bavaria, being there in person, and the deputies of the king of Aquitaine subscribing with the rest [f]. Things did not remain in this state long; the death of Pepin opened the way to a new division. He left behind him two sons, Pepin and Charles, and two princesses, who were married.

[c] Theg. de Gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ Abbatis. [d] Vita Ludovici Pii. [e] Nithard. de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii. [f] Annales Bertiniani. Vita Ludovici Pii.

Judith

Judith prevailed on the emperor to revenge the injuries he had received from his son upon his grand-children, who were absolutely innocent, by depriving his eldest son Pepin of the kingdom of Aquitaine. For this purpose, an assembly was convened at Worms, to which Lothaire was invited; and, though not without some inquietude, thither he went. His father received him kindly, but the empress covered him with caresses.

New troubles break out in Germany and in Aquitaine, which are with difficulty suppressed.

The great point was to engage him to acquiesce in a new scheme, by which Charles was to have, as the spoil of his brother Pepin, the kingdom of Aquitaine, and to divide the rest of the French dominions with Lothaire, who, according to the old project, was to be the tutor and protector of his nephew. As he was not in a condition to dispute, he assented, or rather submitted, to what was expected from him; and, by this partition, the Meuse, the country of Swisserland, the Rhone, and the ocean, became the boundaries of Charles's kingdom; except on the side of Spain, where he had all that the emperor possessed [g]. Lewis, king of Bavaria, though he suffered nothing by this partition, was so much provoked at it, that he assembled the whole force of his dominions, in hopes of extending them as far as the Rhine. But upon the first commotion the emperor advanced with a small army to Mentz, and, upon his approach, the Saxons began immediately to arm; a circumstance which put the dominions of the king of Bavaria in such apparent danger, that, having caused his forces to separate, he sent to intreat his father's pardon. This insurrection was scarce extinguished before the bishop of Poitiers came to inform him, that some of the lords, and the greatest part of the people in Aquitaine, were extremely discontented, and looked upon the treatment that the young prince Pepin had received as a flagrant act of injustice. Upon which remonstrance, the emperor appointed an assembly at Chalons on the Soane, to which the lords of Aquitaine were ordered to repair. Thither he carried the empress and her son Charles, and, to the utmost of his power, laboured to give general satisfaction; assigning the motives that induced him to dispose of the kingdom of Aquitaine to his son, of whose education he promised to take the utmost care; and assuring them, at the same time, that he would provide for his grand-children [h]. The majority

A. D. 839.

[g] Nithard. de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ Abbatis. [h] Thegan. de Gestis Ludovici Pii.

of

of the nobility and prelates acquiesced; but those, who had embraced the party of the young prince, were not to be moved either to acknowlege Charles, or to deliver up Pepin to his grandfather. Having done, therefore, all that could be done in this assembly, he went to Poitiers, where he kept his Christmas, fully resolved to march, with the troops he had about him, into Aquitaine in the spring [i].

The death of the emperor in an island of the Rhine, partly of disease and partly of grief.

While he remained there, the season being wet and cold, he became much indisposed; and in this situation, and at the entrance of Lent, which it was his custom to observe very strictly, he received the unwelcome news, that his son, the king of Bavaria, was again in arms, that the Saxons and Thuringians had joined him, and that he had already made himself master of the best part of Germany. These tidings obliged the emperor to turn his arms on that side, at a juncture when, through the whole course of his life, he had spent his time in fasting, prayer, and retirement, and when he was also in an ill state of health. He left part of his troops to guard his wife and son, and with the rest proceeded, with the utmost expedition, to Aix la Chapelle; and making but a very short stay there, he passed
A. D. 840. the Rhine, with an intent to give his son battle [k]. But Lewis, finding his troops not to be depended upon, withdrew into his own dominions, and abandoned all his conquests. This retreat would have given the emperor great joy; but there happened unfortunately at this time a great eclipse, in which the stars became visible. This affected the weak superstitious old man to such a degree, that his malady, which was otherwise not very dangerous, became mortal. He caused himself to be carried into an island in the Rhine, the air of which he fancied to be very salubrious; there, tormenting himself with anxious thoughts, receiving the communion, and scarce any thing else, daily, he lingered for six weeks. When he found there were no hopes of recovery, he divided his treasures and rich moveables amongst his family, the great churches in his dominions, and the poor. He left a crown, a sceptre, and a very rich sword, to Lothaire, by which it was also supposed that he left him the empire; but it was upon condition that he performed the promise he had made with respect to the empress and her son [l]. His brother, the

[i] Vita Ludovici Pii. [k] Annales Bertiniani. Nithard. de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii. [l] Annales Bertiniani. Theg. de Gestis Ludovi Pii Adon. Chron.

bishop

bishop of Mentz, perceiving that he left nothing to his son Lewis, put him in mind that, as a Christian it was his duty to forgive him: to which hint the dying emperor, with some eagerness, answered, "I pardon him with all my heart; but tell him from me, that he ought to think seriously of obtaining pardon from God also, for bringing my grey hairs with sorrow to the ground [m]". He died the 20th of June 840, in the seventy-second year of his age, and in the tweny-seventh of his reign: his corpse was interred in the church of St. Arnold, at Mentz, near that of his mother queen Hildegarde (B).

Lothaire succeeds as emperor and king of Italy, Lewis as king of Germany, and Charles the Bald as king of France.

As soon as the news of the emperor Lewis's death reached Italy, Lothaire looked upon himself as his successor in the utmost extent of the word, and resolved to make himself master of all his dominions. He was a prince of great subtlety and address; could wear any appearance, that the state of his affairs required; haughty in his manner, affecting great steadiness, which he really had not; and though he laid his plans with much prudence, was nevertheless liable to be disconcerted if he met with any unexpected difficulties in their execution. He judged his

[m] Vita Ludovici Pii.

(B) Lewis was governed, in her life-time, by his first wife Ermengarde, who induced him to associate Lothaire in the empire, and to make Pepin and Lewis kings of Aquitaine and Germany: the former of those princes had, by his wife Ingeltrude, Pepin, who died a prisoner in the castle of Senlis; Charles, archbishop of Mentz; and Bertha, who married Gerald, count of Berry (1). By this empress he had also five daughters; Alpaide, who married Begon, count of Paris; Gesile, who espoused Everard, duke of Frioul, by whom she became the mother of Berenger, king of Italy; Hildegarde, the wife of count Thierri; Adelaide, who, some writers say, was first espoused to count Conrade, and afterwards to Robert le Fort, count of Paris; and Rotrude, who died unmarried (2). His second empress Judith was a very artful coquet, who, by her intrigues, produced most of her husband's misfortunes, in which she had her share (3.) By her he had only one son Charles, who succeeded him, first in the realm of France, and afterwards in the imperial dignity, and who, in his life-time, his father, on the decease of his son Pepin, created king of Aquitaine.

(1) M. le P. Fauchet. P. Anselme. Mezeray. Du Plex. Le Gendre. (2) Vita Ludovici Pii, Paul. Æmil. Annal. Francor. lib. v. Annal. Bertin. & Fuld.

own

Digitized by Google

own situation to be far superior to that of his brethren, as Lewis of Bavaria had by no means a great character, and Charles, who was scarce seventeen, and under the tuition of his mother, could scarce be said to have any character at all [o]. As soon as he had passed the mountains, he seized Worms, and, with a very numerous army, marched to Francfort, intending to strip Lewis of Bavaria, before he had so much as a suspicion of his intention. Here he found his first mistake: Lewis, who had always fled before his father, appeared at the head of a corps of veteran troops, and offered battle to his brother. This boldness disposed Lothaire to a negociation; upon which followed a truce for three months [p]. He took this step in order to see whether he might not succeed more easily in falling upon Charles, to whom he had sent agents, with assurances that he meant to adhere strictly to his promises, but desired at the same time that he would forbear pressing their nephew Pepin, whose pretensions ought to be examined in an assembly. His views were, on the one hand, to acquire the reputation of a just and equitable prince with the vulgar, and, on the other, to raise a formidable enemy on the back of Charles, while he attacked him in front [q]. To facilitate this scheme, his agents were likewise charged to make use of persuasions, money, and promises, in order to divert the nobility from his brother's interest; he had also his emissaries about Pepin, who dissuaded him from going to the assembly at Bourges, to which he was invited by Charles and the empress-dowager, with a promise of safety and satisfaction. As soon, therefore, as Lothaire had concluded a truce with Lewis, he marched directly, though slowly, towards Paris, giving soft answers to the ambassadors from Charles, who were sent to put him in mind of his promises and oaths, as well as of his father's dying expressions [r]. The affairs of Charles were at this time in a very critical situation; many of the lords in Neustria were little affected to him, and most had nothing but their own interest at heart; he was far from being beloved in Aquitaine, where the party of Pepin was daily increasing; and, to add to all these misfortunes, the Normans threatened an invasion upon the coasts [s].

Lothaire and Pepin the younger defeated

There was, however, a small party for him in Neustria, composed of the ablest and bravest of the nobility; who, considering the youth of Charles, and knowing the disposition

[o] Annales Bertiniani. Vita Ludovici Pii. [p] Nithard. de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii. lib. ii. [q] Annales Metenses. [r] Nithard. de Dissent. Filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii. [s] Chron. Var. Antiq.

Digitized by Google

sition of Lothaire perfectly, determined to prefer the former to the latter; and, having signified their sentiments to him, Charles came and joined them. All this time Lothaire was advancing, sending his emissaries on every side to seek out his old friends, and to draw over, by any means, either such as were neutral or affected to his brother's interest. He found many of both sorts; more especially Pepin, the son of Bernard, king of Italy, Ebbo, the famous archbishop of Rheims, who had presided in the assembly which deposed his father, with others who had been in his party in his father's time, who had suffered for him then, and hoped to be rewarded now. Of the latter sort also there were great numbers [a]. Charles was not idle on his side; but he had scarce assembled a small army, before he had news, that his competitor Pepin, with a considerable force, besieged Bourges. He did not hesitate a moment in marching to the relief of that place, where his mother was in danger of losing her liberty; and, having defeated Pepin, and raised the siege, he returned again into Neustria, but with a small force. Lothaire had by this time gained all the country between the Meuse and the Seine; but the nobility about Charles, very happily for him, were so far from resenting his leaving them to go to the relief of his mother, that they esteemed him for it, assured him he might rely on their fidelity, and advised him to offer his brother battle [b]. He followed their advice; but fighting was not the thing that Lothaire affected most; he had a superior army, and taking the advantage of this, he offered hard terms to his brother; which, in his present circumstances, Charles thought fit to accept. It was agreed, that all things should be finally settled in an assembly to be held in the month of May, at Attigni; that Lothaire should make no attempts to his prejudice in the mean time; that the truce with the king of Bavaria should be prolonged, and that, in case any of the articles were violated, the treaty should be void. Lothaire consented to all these articles, and broke most of them as soon as he had made them. He disposed a great part of his troops along the river Seine; and, having augmented the remainder into a considerable army, endeavoured to surprise Lewis, king of Bavaria; but that prince, who had never confided in him, was in arms, and in a condition to defend his own territories, provided his own subjects remained faithful [c]. In the mean time, Charles, with a small corps of troops,

by Lewis, king of Germany, and Charles the Bald.

[a] Adon. Chron. [b] Annales Metenses. [c] Nithard. de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

passed

Digitized by Google

passed the Seine, in spite of all the care that Lothaire's officers could take, and marched to Attigni. This motion relieved Lewis, by drawing Lothaire back into France, where he might have fought Charles with a superior army; but whilst he endeavoured, though without effect, to corrupt and debauch his forces, Lewis of Bavaria, routed the troops he had left upon the Rhine, passed that river, and marched with great rapidity, to the relief
A. D. 842. of his brother Charles. Upon the junction of their forces, Lothaire retired till he was likewise joined by Pepin, who claimed the crown of Aquitaine; then, rejecting all the propositions that were made him by his brothers, he resolved to leave all to the decision of a battle. This was fought in the neighbourhood of Fontenoy, on the 25th of June, and was one of the most memorable, as well as the most bloody, that the French history records [d]. At length Lothaire and Pepin were totally defeated, and it is said there fell on the spot, on both sides, not fewer than one hundred thousand men [e].

After a ruinous war the brothers make peace.

Lewis and Charles, like young men, lost in a great measure the fruits of their victory, the former returning, with the utmost diligence, into his own territories, and the latter following Pepin into Aquitaine. As for Lothaire, he retired to Aix la Chapelle, and by the help of those artificial expedients, of which he was a great master, set on foot a new army, with which he once more entered Neustria; causing it to be published by his emissaries, that Charles was killed in the battle, and the monarch of Bavaria so wounded that he could not live. Charles, perceiving his mistake, returned into Neustria, but with so small a force, that he was constrained to entrench himself on the other side of the Seine. Lothaire marched to attack him with a numerous army, and found the waters so low, that he might have done it without difficulty: his irresolution hindered him, till the river, swelling on a sudden, rendered it impracticable. The prelates and nobility of Charles's party cried this up for a miracle, by which, in a short time, his army was so much augmented, that he was enabled, without fear of disturbance from Lothaire, to continue his march for Strasburgh [f]. There he joined the army of Bavaria, which his brother Lewis commanded in person, and there, in the presence of the prelates, nobility, and troops, they swore perpetual concord and a-

[d] Adon Chron. Chron. Var. Antiq. [e] Nithard. de Dissent. Fil. Ludov. Pii, lib. ii. [f] Annal. Metens. Adon. Chron.

mity,

Digitized by Google

mity, and pushed things so far as to declare, that, if either of them broke this treaty, his subjects were absolved from their allegiance, and at liberty to adhere to the other. For the present, their union was in itself wonderful, and produced wonders; they eat together at the same table; they slept under the same roof; their councils, and even their pleasures, were in common: and this harmony diffusing itself through their forces, they pushed the war with such vigour, that Lothaire retired on the other side of the Rhone, abandoning all Austrasia and part of Burgundy. The two princes were very desirous of keeping what they had acquired, but at the same time chose to claim it by some better title than that of conquest: with this view they applied to the bishops; who made a kind of inquiry into the conduct of Lothaire, both in his father's life-time and since: they reckoned up all the acts of treason, cruelty, perfidy, and tyranny, of which he had been guilty; and having demanded of the two kings, whether they meant to govern like him, or according to the laws of God and the land, they answered, that they intended to govern according to law. Upon which he was declared to have forfeited all title to his dominions, and they were flattered with having a title given them by the declaration of Providence in their favour [x]. Nevertheless Lothaire solicited his brothers to establish peace upon settled and solid terms, and proposed several projects for that purpose, which they rejected. At length they accepted this; that the kingdoms of Italy, Aquitaine, and Bavaria, except all the dominions of the deceased emperor, should be divided into three equal portions, of which Lothaire was to take his choice, and his brethren were to have the other two. In consequence of this agreement, forty commissioners were named by each of the three kings, a whole year was spun out in their conferences; but at length it was settled, that Charles, besides Aquitaine, should have all the country between the Loire and the Meuse; that the rest of Germany should be annexed to Lewis's kingdom, who from thence was styled Lewis the German; and that the titles of emperor and Augustus, being left to Lothaire, he should not only retain all Italy and the city of Rome, but should likewise possess the whole tract of country lying within the rivers Rhone, Rhine, Saone, Meuse, and Scheld. The whole of what he held on this side the mountains, was, from him, styled Lotharingia, Royaume, A. D. 645.

[x] Adon. Chron. Nithard de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.

Lotha-

A. D. 845. Lotharienne, that is, the kingdom of Lothaire, from whence, by corruption, rose the name of Lorrain, though that is now given to a duchy, which contains only a small part of that kingdom [y].

Each of the kings exposed to great inconveniency from the common weakness war had brought on all.

The empress Judith died a little before this partition was made. Indeed it was high time for these kings to put an end to quarrels, alike injurious to them all, and which, if they had lasted longer, might have been fatal. The Saracens surprised Beneventum, and made themselves masters of most part of that fine duchy, while Lothaire was engaged on this side the Alps; and, pope Gregory being dead, Sergius the Second was elected, and took possession of the see of Rome, without taking any notice of the emperor; who thereupon sent his son Lewis, with an army, to obtain satisfaction; which he did, and the pope crowned him king of the Lombards. Charles was not less perplexed; Pepin defeated and cut to pieces a great corps of troops; the Normans landed at the mouth of the Garonne, and ruined all the country; the duke of Bretagne revolted. The emperor and the kings of France and Germany were now so well united, that they sent deputies to Pepin, to the Normans, and to the Bretons, to let them know, that, if they attacked any one of the three, they would certainly fall upon them with joint forces. But this declaration had little or no effect, their neighbours being well apprised, that there was not any sincere affection amongst them, and that this pretended amity was purely the effect of weakness [z].

Charles, by endeavouring to extend his authority, ruins his affairs.

Charles, suffering his resentment or false notions of policy to prevail, caused Bernard, duke of Languedoc, who had once made a considerable figure in the court of his father, to be arrested; and, after a year's confinement, to be put to death, a measure which had a very bad effect; for his son William seized immediately several places of consequence. He, to revenge his father's death, joined Pepin with all the force he could raise. The Normans made another descent, and pillaged Toulouse; the duke of Bretagne was inclined, not only to throw off all dependence, but to assume the title of king. In this perplexity he was alarmed with the news of a fresh fleet and army of Normans, who entered the mouth of the Seine, where they made themselves masters of Rouen. Not satisfied with the pillage of that place, they marched directly to Paris, which they likewise pillaged; and were at the point of attacking the

[y] Annales Metenses. [z] Annales Bertiniani. Adon. Chron.

king,

Digitized by Google

king, with a small army, in an intrenched camp at St. Denis [a]. But Charles, by the advice chiefly of the prelates, entered into a negociation with them, and, by giving them seven hundred weight of silver, engaged them to retire, and to promise, with reiterated oaths, never to return. To pacify the troubles of Aquitaine, he yielded the best part of that country to his nephew Pepin, who rendered him homage, and took an oath of fealty [b]. Charles now found himself at leisure to enter Bretagné, with the best army he was able to assemble, but had the misfortune to be twice defeated. This great change in affairs was chiefly owing to an alteration in the king himself. While a youth he was very tractable, and took the advice of his principal nobility: now he thought himself of age to govern, and soon gave specimens not much to the advantage either of his own reputation, or of the happiness of his subjects. He amassed wealth, by oppressing his people: from paying a superstitious obedience, he came wholly to neglect the bishops: selfish, despotic, and wrong-headed, he soon incurred the contempt and hatred of his subjects; shewing, by the flagrant errors in his conduct, that the good qualities, by which he had been formerly distinguished, were only artificial and affected. The prince of the Bretons seeing also that Charles was on the point of entering his country with another numerous army, judged it most expedient for his own safety, and for fear of being over-powered by the Normans, to return to his former situation; and, upon his offer of submission, peace was very quickly made. Thus, for the present, domestic tranquility was restored in France, where it was exceedingly wanted, the great towns being decayed, the people miserably consumed, and all the naval establishments dwindled to nothing [c]. A. D. 845.

The strange disorders in the French empire, which expose it to all the barbarous nations.

The Saracens gave Lothaire as much disturbance as the Normans had done Charles. They had pillaged the church of St. Peter, which was then without the walls of Rome; had defeated the troops sent to oppose them, and threatened still greater mischiefs. The Sclavonians had revolted against Lewis, king of Germany. The Mooriſh pirates were become almost as troublesome to Charles as the Normans; and, in the midst of these disasters, Charles and Lothaire were still upon bad terms. Lewis, king of Ger-

[a] Annales Fuld. Flodoart Hist. Rem. [b] Nithard. de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii. Anas. in Vita Serg. II.
[c] Nithardi de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

Digitized by Google

many, prevailed upon them both to consent to a new interview at Mersen, near Maestricht; where they settled a kind of constitution, by which things were to be regulated for the future, more especially in regard to the succession. The rule now established was, that the children of the reigning prince, whether of age or not of age, should succeed to their father's dominions, and owe nothing but the respect, arising from the ties of blood, to the other princes of the house of Charlemagne [d]. The Moors having received a great defeat in Spain, were content to make peace with France; and this negociation was very luckily concluded with them, when the Normans, making a fresh descent with a great force, besieged Bourdeaux. Charles marched immediately to its relief; and having taken and sunk some of their ships, compelled these barbarous invaders to raise the siege: but he no sooner quitted the country than they returned, and, through the treachery of the Jews, having surprised the city, pillaged and burnt it [e]. This proved an affair of great consequence to Charles; for Bourdeaux belonging at this time to Pepin, and the nobility conceiving that it was lost through some negligence of his, revolted, and submitted again to Charles, and he was accordingly crowned and anointed king of Aquitaine, at Orleans. Lewis, king of Germany, had enough to do to bridle his rebels; and Lothaire was not less distressed by the Saracens; nevertheless, he solicited his brother Lewis to enter into a league with him against Charles, which he prudently and peremptorily refused [f].

A. D. 847.

The Bretons revolt, and oblige Charles to grant their demands.

Religious disturbances were quickly added to the rest of the disorders that distracted France; and while the king was employed in holding councils for redressing these, the sea coasts of his dominions were ravaged by Moorish, Greek, and Norman pirates. Pepin started out of those obscure places where, since the last revolution, he had concealed himself, and, in a short space of time, recovered a great part of Aquitaine. Lothaire and Lewis were not more at their ease, insomuch, that it appeared the barbarous nations had conspired to destroy the French, as they formerly did the Roman empire. Charles marched into Aquitaine, and met with great success, taking prisoner Charles, the brother of Pepin, whom he obliged to enter into holy orders. He would have done still more, if Nominoi, duke of Bretagne, had not revolted. By the assist-

[d] Annales Bertiniani. [e] Chron. Var. Antiq. [f] Nithardi de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

ance

Digitized by Google

ance of count Lambert, who had formerly made a great figure in the court of the emperor, Lewis rendered himself master of Rennes, when he recurred to his old scheme, and assumed the title of king, which he held during his life, and transmitted it to his son Herispee, against whom Charles led all the forces of his dominions, scarce doubting of success, since count Lambert was also dead; but he was mistaken, for the new king of Bretagne gave him an entire defeat, in which a great number of troops, and not a few of the nobility perished [g]. Charles retiring to Angiers, in order to recruit his forces, Herispee, having demanded a safe-conduct, went thither likewise, and concluded a treaty upon very advantageous terms, since the regal honours were conceded to him, together with his conquests, and nothing reserved to Charles but the honour of receiving homage from a king. He had some amends made him for this misfortune, by the seizure of Pepin the younger, whom a prince of the Gascons delivered into his hands; upon which he caused him to be immediately shaved, and sent him prisoner to the convent of St. Medard de Soissons. The country which his father left him in Spain was almost entirely lost, either by the revolt of those who were intrusted with the government of cities and fortresses, or conquered by the Moors; so that the king had enemies on every side, and great discontent even in his own court [h].

Death of the emperor Lothaire, and the division of his dominions amongst his children.

As the inconstancy and mutinous disposition of the people of Aquitaine had, from the very beginning of his reign, given him a great deal of trouble, he resolved to lay hold of this opportunity to chastise them. In the execution of this design, he carried things so far, that the greater part of his subjects determined to throw off their allegiance; they sent deputies to Lewis, king of Germany, beseeching him either to come in person and accept the kingdom, or to send them one of his sons; and the German, forgetting the treaties, confirmed by the most solemn oaths, that subsisted between them, sent them his son Lewis, escorted by a small body of troops. At this juncture, both the brothers solicited the emperor to join with them against each other; and he, instigated by the same motives of ambition, made alliances with both, but took care to assist neither. In the mean time an incident happened, which was not unfavourable to Charles. Pepin

[g] Nithardi de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.
[h] Annales Bertiniani.

Digitized by Google

made his escape out of the monastery, and returned into Aquitaine, where most of the discontented party joined him, and quitted the king they had sent for out of Germany; of which event Charles taking advantage, attacked Lewis, who was at the same time attacked by Pepin, who thereupon prudently compromised matters with his uncle, and with his leave returned into Germany [i]. Lothaire, whose ambition, perfidy, and other vices, had been so prejudicial to the interests of his family, finding his end draw near, took the habit of a monk, that, according to the superstition of those times, he might, by this second baptism as they phrased it, atone for all his crimes, and, though he lived a tyrant, die a saint [k]. In this disguise of a monk, which he did not wear quite a week, he expired, on the 29th of September, leaving behind him three sons,
A. D. 855. Lewis, Lothaire, and Charles. Lewis, who had been associated by his father in the government, had the kingdom of Italy and the title of emperor; Lothaire, inherited the best part of the dominions his father held in France, and was styled king of Lorraine; the rest, consisting of Provence, Dauphiné, and part of the kingdom of Burgundy, fell to Charles, who thenceforward was called king of Provence [l]. One would have imagined there were kings enough in this family; but Charles, whom for the future we must style Charles the Bald, declared his son, of the same name, though a child, king of Aquitaine. The people were so pleased with this title, that, the Normans landing in their country, they took arms with alacrity, and attacked them with such vigour and valour, that scarce three hundred of them found their way back to their ships.

Lewis, king of Germany, supplants his brother Charles, and assumes the crown of France.

This fit of loyalty did not last long; they became more discontented than ever, renounced their allegiance to Charles, recalled Pepin, whose affairs were so desperate that he had joined with the Normans, and, in conjunction, pillaged the countries over which he pretended to reign. In a little time they deserted him, and had recourse once more to Lewis the German. Charles the Bald had it not in his power to punish or even to restrain them. The nobility of France were become so turbulent, and the bishops so unruly, that he knew not how to act, or in whom to confide. In these circumstances he demanded the advice of his uncle, by the mother's side, who told him very freely

[i] Chron. Var. Antiq. [k] Annales Fuldens. [l] Annales Bertiniani.

what

Digitized by Google

what the malecontents said in vindication of their own conduct; which was, that, at the expence of their blood and fortune, they had raised him to a throne, and that he now behaved to them ungratefully, and like a tyrant. Upon this intimation Charles addressed his circular letters to the nobility and prelates, reciting what his uncle had told them, and requiring such as thought themselves really aggrieved through negligence, misinformation, or otherwise, to appear and exhibit their complaints in an open, free, and general assembly, to be held at Verberie, promising ample retribution and justice, as well as oblivion for every thing past; but declaring, that all acts of disobedience should be regarded for the future as rebellion [i]. In full confidence that this step would give satisfaction, he marched with all his forces to besiege a strong post, which the Danes had taken, in the very heart of his dominions. While he was thus employed, the malecontents in France, after the example of those in Aquitaine, invited Lewis of Germany to come and take possession of the kingdom, which he accordingly did, with a formidable army; so that Charles, abandoned by the greatest part of his subjects, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire into a distant part of his dominions [k]. Lewis assembled the prelates of his party, who declared Charles the Bald fallen from the regal dignity for mal-administration; and Ganelon, archbishop of Sens, in virtue of this decree, solemnly crowned Lewis, to whom the nobility and bishops did homage, as king of France, notwithstanding the prelates, who still adhered to Charles, had declared all to be excommunicated who should attempt any such thing. The princes of the blood also acquiesced in this matter; insomuch that Pepin of Aquitaine, who had been lately reconciled to Charles, and the king of Lorrain, who had entered into a close alliance with him, and in consequence of these engagements served in his army, quitted him, and went to acknowlege Lewis; though this conduct was not more the effect of levity than of force [l]. A. D. 858.

Amongst those who were the most forward in this enterprize, though they did not enter into it at the beginning, were Conrad and Wolf, the sons of count Conrad, brother to the empress Judith, and consequently cousin-german to Charles the Bald, who, by their extraordinary zeal and assiduity, quickly acquired the confidence of their new master. These lords represented to Lewis, that, being *Charles, by an artful contrivance, recovers the kingdom as easily as he lost it.*

[i] Annales Fuldenſ. [k] Annales Bertiniani. [l] Chron. Var. Antiq.

Digitized by Google

called to the throne by the nobility, having the bishops at his devotion, and no army in the field to oppose him, it would be proper for him to gratify such as had been most instrumental in this change, and also to send back the troops he had brought with him, that he might fix the affections of his new subjects, by appearing to rely entirely upon their attachment. They hinted to him at the same time, that, when this step was taken, his competitor Charles might be prevailed upon, in consideration of some small territory, to renounce his pretensions [m]. Lewis followed their advice, and then sent them, with full powers, to treat with their cousin Charles, with whom they had A. D. 859. been all this while acting in concert. They acquainted him that Lewis having sent back his own army, and distributed his treasures amongst those who had assisted him, the only thing that Charles had to do was to march with the forces that were still about him towards his brother Lewis; and that, having both the hopes and fears on his side, there was little reason to doubt of his success [n]. Charles executed their scheme immediately, and was restored with as much ease as he had been dethroned; Lewis, at his approach, finding himself obliged to retire into his own dominions, and the king of Lorrain, who had deserted him, went to compliment Charles at his return [o].

Disturbances in the kingdom of Lorrain, revolt of the Bretons, grant of the duchy of France to Robert le Fort.

These intestine disturbances had terrible effects on the general system of affairs. The Normans not only ruined the coasts, pillaging sometimes one great town, sometimes another, but had actually seated themselves on the Seine and on the Somme. Solomon, who had killed duke Herispee, possessed Bretagne, with the title of king; and taking advantage of these troubles, had not only settled his government so as not to be easily shaken, but had also made considerable acquisitions. In the midst of this desolation and disorder, Charles the Bald was bent upon revenging the injury he had received from his brother Lewis. Their nephew, the king of Lorrain, interposed, procured an interview, at which himself was present, and with much difficulty composed their quarrel. In a little time after, he began to entertain suspicions of his uncle Charles; and to secure himself effectually on that side, sacrificed the fertile province of Alsace to the emperor his brother, with whom he made a strict alliance. His motive to this was equally scandalous and unjust. He had married Theutberge, the

[m] Annales Bertiniani. [n] Chron. Var. Antiq. [o] Annales Bertiniani.

sister

ſiſter of count Hubert, againſt whom, without any cauſe, he had conceived an inveterate hatred: he was therefore deſirous of depriving her of the ſhare ſhe had in his bed and throne, in order to admit to both a concubine, whoſe name was Walrade, of whom he was paſſionately fond. With this view he accuſed his queen of inceſt with her brother Hubert, for which he put her to the trial of boiling water, according to the barbarous cuſtom of thoſe times; and being declared innocent, he revived the ſame accuſation, pretending to have freſh proofs: theſe conſiſted in the queen's voluntary confeſſion of her guilt, ſupported by the teſtimony of Gonthaire, archbiſhop of Cologne, who was her confeſſor; but the truth of the matter was, that he threatened the queen into this confeſſion, by putting her in fear of her life, and brought the archbiſhop to act the ſcandalous part he did, by promiſing to marry his niece as ſoon as the queen ſhould be divorced [p]. In the management of this affair ſeveral of the prelates in his dominions concurred: but, while it was depending, both the queen and duke Hubert her brother made their eſcape into France, where they were received and protected by Charles the Bald; and it was this circumſtance that engaged Lothaire to purchaſe the friendſhip of his brother at ſo dear a rate. The inſolence of the Bretons at length enraged Charles ſo much, that, having procured from his brother Lewis, for a ſum of money, a body of Saxon horſe, he made an irruption into Bretagne; and, having engaged the army of Solomon two days ſucceſſively, was at length forced to retreat, with the loſs of the beſt part of his army: he found means, however, to draw over, or rather to retrieve, Robert le Fort, that is the Stout, or the Strong, who commanded Solomon's army, eſteemed one of the greateſt captains of that age, upon whom he beſtowed the duchy of France, comprehending the country between the Seine and Loire, by which we are to underſtand he made him governor of this province, with the title of duke [q]. A. D. 860.

Charles engages one body of Normans to aſſiſt in expelling another.

The wrong turn his affairs had taken in Bretagne, diſabled Charles from attacking the Normans with his own troops; but what he wanted in force he ſupplied by addreſs. He was informed that Wailand, a famous Norman pirate, was returned from England, and had taken his winter-quarters on the banks of the Soane; but not having it in his power to expel him, he thought it beſt to diſſemble it, as he likewiſe did his pillaging the country of Terouenne.

[p] Annales Metenſes. [q] Hincmar de Divort. Lothar.

Digitized by Google

This famous free-booter had formerly offered him his service, to dislodge his countrymen upon the Seine, for three thousand pounds of silver, which proposition the king rejected, not being able to advance the money[r]. He thought proper to renew the negociation at this juncture; notwithstanding Wailand raised his price, and demanded peremptorily five thousand pounds of silver, which the king, with great difficulty, raised and gave him. In consequence of this subsidy, he, with a fleet of two hundred and sixty sail, came up the Seine, and attacked the Normans in the island of Oiselle, who, after a long and obstinate resistance, were compelled to capitulate; and having paid six thousand pounds of gold and silver, by way of ransom, they had leave to go and join those who had reduced them[s]. However, they shewed no inclination to depart; and the king, insensible of the miseries to which his subjects were exposed, employed all his thoughts on the base project of despoiling his nephew, the king of Provence, a weak and infirm prince, of his dominions, in which, however, he
A. D. 861. failed. At his return, he attempted and executed a scheme he had formed against the Normans, whom he reduced to such distress, that they were forced to capitulate, and give him hostages to depart the kingdom[t].

They executed this treaty but indifferently, since a great part of them entered into the service of the king of Bretagne. Upon this junction, Charles, by the advice of count Robert, recalled Wailand, and, for six thousand pounds in gold, engaged him and his followers to enter into his service. Count Robert had likewise the good fortune to defeat the Normans, in the service of the king of Bretagne, sinking twelve of their ships, and putting all who were on board to the sword. These successes might have put it in the king's power to restore his authority, and his affairs; but now the troubles in his family began. His daughter Judith had espoused Ethelwolf, king of the West Saxons; after his decease, to the scandal of all the Christian world, she became the wife of his eldest son Ethelbald; and he being also dead, she returned to the court of her father, still a young woman, and full of amorous inclinations[u]. This disposition put her upon running away with Baldwin, forrester of Flanders, with the privity of her eldest brother Lewis; a step which drew the displeasure of the king both upon her and the prince, who thereupon fled

The restless humour and ill conduct of their children.

[r] Annales Bertiniani. [s] Idem. [t] Annales Metenses.
[u] Asser. Menevens. de Gestis Ælfredi Regis.

into

into Bretagne, where he married without his father's consent, in which undutiful conduct he was imitated by his brother Charles, king of Aquitaine. In these misfortunes he was not alone; his brother, Lewis the German, being rather more perplexed by his son Carloman, who revolted and submitted several times [x], but not without creating great prejudices to the realm of Germany, and the French empire [y]. A.D. 863.

The king of Lorrain's divorce occasions fresh disturbances in France and in Italy.

The affair of the king of Lorrain broke out again with fresh violence: he caused one assembly of bishops to be held at Aix la Chapelle, in which the archbishops of Cologne and Treves presided; and, having procured their consent, he wrote to the pope to approve his marriage with Walrade, which he took care to solemnize before he received an answer. Pope Nicholas I. sent two legates to hold a council at Metz, in which this affair was to be finally determined. In their passage through France, they delivered Charles the Bald a letter from the pope, intreating him to pardon Baldwin and his daughter, which he did; and the marriage being celebrated, he bestowed upon his son-in-law the county of Flanders [z]. These legates had other letters also to deliver, which they suppressed, being corrupted by the king of Lorrain. They confirmed all that had been done in the assembly at Aix la Chapelle, and, in hopes of deceiving the pope, the archbishops of Cologne and Treves were sent to make a report to him of the whole business [a]. He was previously informed by Charles the Bald, and was so much provoked, that, by a council held at Rome, the council of Metz was declared a wicked assembly, and both the archbishops were deposed. These prelates fled to the emperor, and gave him such an account of the matter, that he went to Rome with a body of troops, entered it in a hostile manner, and kept the pope shut up in the church of St. Peter forty-eight hours, without meat or drink. At length he was so far pacified as to admit of an interview, in which, being informed of the truth, he ordered the two prelates to quit his dominions immediately. About this time died Charles, king of Provence; and, after some disturbance, the emperor and the king of Lorrain divided his dominions between them. Charles the Bald, being now somewhat at ease, obliged the king of Bretagne to do him homage; then he marched with a great army into Aquitaine, and compelled

[x] Annales Bertiniani. [y] Chron. Var. Antiq. [z] Hincmar de Divort. Lothar. et Theutberg. [a] Epist. Nicol. Pap.

pelled his son Charles to submission. The Normans in the mean time, with Pepin at their head, penetrated as far as Clermont, in Auvergne, from whence, though with some difficulty, they made their retreat to the coast; Pepin however was taken, and carried to his uncle. As he was in the habit of a Norman, and there were some suspicions of his having apostatized, the nobility and prelates of Aquitaine made no scruple of condemning him to death. His uncle, however, sent him to the castle of Senlis, where he spent the remainder of his days under a gentle confinement [b]. His successor, Charles, king of Aquitaine, being in his father's court, involved himself in some foolish quarrel, in which receiving a cut upon the head, he languished for some time, and then died, leaving behind a very indifferent reputation, and no issue by the widow he had married [c].

Charles the Bald happily settles his domestic and foreign affairs for the present.

The Normans, notwithstanding their repeated treaties, and the great sums of money which they had received, continued to make descents perpetually in the territories of France, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, invasions which gave the king inexpressible trouble. Sometimes he repelled force by force; at others he was constrained to procure their departure, by paying them large sums of money, which differed little from tribute, by which the kingdom was at length exhausted. What was still a heavier misfortune both to him and to the nation, was the death of Robert le Fort, who, with two other generals, fell in an engagement with the Danes [d]. The king had married his second wife, by whom he had several children, but they died young. He was very desirous to have her publicly crowned, from a superstitious opinion that the children he might have by her afterwards would survive. This ceremony was accordingly performed; and the king being apprehensive that it might increase the discontent of his eldest son, Lewis, whose continual intrigues with the king of Bretagne had given him excessive trouble, he resolved, once for all, to try if it was not possible to content both. With this view he declared Lewis king of Aquitaine, in the room of his brother, with which nomination both the prince and the people were equally pleased, and he consented that the county of Contentein, should be
A. D. 867. incorporated, and for ever annexed to Bretagne [e]. It had been happy for him and his subjects, if all his designs had

[b] Chron. Var. Antiq. [c] Annales Metenses. [d] Annales Bertiniani. [e] Chron. Var. Antiq.

been

been as just in their nature, and as fortunate in their issue, as these; for both the kings remained perfectly satisfied with these concessions, and engaged, whenever the circumstances of his affairs should require it, to second him against his enemies, each of them with a certain corps of troops, which was a point of great consequence to his government, and contributed not a little to the repose of France [f].

The king of Lorrain makes a journey to Rome, and dies in his return.

The case of the king of Lorrain was by this time become of the last importance. Lothaire flattered himself, that pope Adrian would treat him with more tenderness than his predecessor had done, notwithstanding the discoveries that had been made by the archbishops of Cologne and Treves, who, being abandoned by the king after all they had done, went to Rome, and laid open all that scene of corruption and perjury in which they had been partakers [g]. It seems indeed to have been the pope's intention; who, having commanded him to put away his mistress, to take an oath to have nothing more to do with her, and to engage twelve of his principal nobility to support this oath by their own, encouraged him to come to Rome, in order to receive absolution [h]. This design did not, by any means, please his uncle, who, in case the sentence of excommunication had been pronounced, would infallibly have dispossessed him of his dominions: and, in order to settle the method of division among themselves, the two kings of Germany and France had an interview at Metz, where the matter was entirely settled between them. This treaty coming to the ears of Lothaire, heightened his uneasiness exceedingly. He applied himself, therefore, with great assiduity to obtain the good-will of his uncle Lewis the German, upon whose word he could better rely than upon that of Charles: and after several interviews, and laying before him the difficulties he was under, he carried his point, insomuch that he promised, not only to make no attempts upon his dominions in his absence, but likewise to protect his son Hugh, whom he had by Waldrade; and even restored to him the county of Alsace, which he had yielded some years before, and agreed that it should be erected into a duchy, in favour of that young prince [i]. In confidence that his uncle would perform his promise, Lothaire proceeded in his voyage to Italy, where his bro-

[f] Annales Bertiniani. [g] Continuat. Anastasii Bibliothec. in Adriano. Regimonis Chronicon. [h] Epist. Adrian vi. vii. viii. Annales Fuldenses. [i] Capitula Caroli Calvi, tit. 33.

ther

ther the emperor declined seeing him; but he sent his consort to meet him, who accompanied him to his interview with the pope [k]. Adrian gave him hopes, celebrated mass in his presence; and, when they came to communicate, purged him and the lords who were with him, as to the oath they had formerly taken. Lothaire, and the greatest part of his attendants, communicated; though some, upon hearing the pope's exhortation, drew back [l]. Adrian intended to have had the whole affair examined over again by the bishops of Lorrain and Germany, and, upon their report to a council which was to have been held at Rome, to have decided which was the king's lawful spouse. But there was no occasion for these proceedings, since, in his return to his dominions, Lothaire died of a fever at Placentia, on the 7th of August. It was generally believed that he was himself perjured, and that the lords who communicated with him knew it. They all died in a very short space, and he did not survive them a full month. By the demise of this prince, without lawful issue, the succession to his dominions lay open; but Charles of France, who had an army ready to march, and withal a very strong party in Lorrain, entered and took possession immediately. Having been solemnly crowned at Metz, he looked upon this realm as his own, notwithstanding the pope interfered in favour of the emperor, who, as the brother of the deceased, seemed to have the best right; and, notwithstanding, the king of Germany insisted on his claim. But, when the latter had prepared to assert it by arms, Charles consented to a division, which took place in the succeeding year [m].

A. D. 869.

The treaty of partition between the kings of France and Germany.

It was judged necessary that the two kings should have an interview. With this view Charles went to Herstal, and Lewis came to Mersen, and from thence each advanced to a royal palace, at an equal distance from both places, and, after a month's time spent in conferences, the business was amicably settled [n]. Lewis obtained by this partition the cities of Cologne, Utrecht, Strasburgh, Basil, Treves, Metz, and their dependencies, with all the countries between the rivers Ourt and Meuse, together with Aix la Chapelle, and most of the districts between the Rhine and the Meuse. On the other hand, Charles acquired Lyons, Besançon, Vienne, Tongres, Toul, Verdun, Cambray, Viviers, and Usez, together with Hain-

[k] Adon. Chron. [l] Lotharii Regis Gesta Rom. [m] Adon. Chron. [n] Aimonius, lib. v. cap. 35.

hault,

Digitized by Google

hault, Zealand, and Holland [f]. The pope still interposed very warmly, and left no method untried to procure at least something for the emperor, if it had been in his power; but it was to no purpose, at least with regard to Charles, who, when he found the pontiff grew very angry, and treated him but very coarsely in his letters, laid them aside, without giving the pope any answer [d]. His son Carloman, whom he had put into orders, but whom, notwithstanding, he had suffered to command his forces more than once, having no inclination to that course of life to which he had been destined by his father, left the court [e]; and putting himself at the head of a body of desperate thieves, committed horrid devastations in the country between the Meuse and the Seine [f]. A. D. 870.

The pope is obliged to bend to Charles, and to promise him his assistance in obtaining the empire.

Pope Adrian being misinformed, or not having sagacity enough to make a right judgment of affairs, interposed in this business also [g]. For the king, taking advantage of Carloman's being in orders, resolved to prosecute him by church censures, but first procured the bishops in his dominions to excommunicate those who had seduced his son into rebellion, or who supported and assisted him therein. Hincmar, bishop of Laon, having refused to sign the excommunication, was also proceeded against in the same way; and at length Carloman himself, who thereupon applied to the pope; and he writing in a very rough style to Charles, gave him an opportunity of shewing him in a very contemptible light to posterity. The circumstances of the French monarch were very much changed [h]. In the beginning of his reign he courted equally the nobility and the bishops; afterwards, being abandoned by the former, he cajoled the latter, and it was chiefly by the help of their authority that he had emerged from his troubles; but now his power and his experience being greater, he answered the pope with great spirit and good sense, reproached him for the indecent language he had used, and made him so sensible of the rashness of his conduct, that he found it necessary to pen a recantation, which, no doubt, he flattered himself would be kept a secret; and with which posterity being acquainted, is from thence enabled to form a right judgment of the piety and policy of the court of Rome [i]. He went farther; from affecting to

[e] Annales Bertiniani. [d] Concil. Gall. tom. iii. [e] Annales Bert. [f] Adon. Chron. [g] Fleury Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. sect. 22. [h] Hincmari Rhemensis Episcop. tom. ii. p. 701. [i] Le Sueur Hist. de l'Eglise, A. D. 871.

dictate

dictate to Charles he became his creature; and, in hopes of raising his own family, promised all the assistance possible in promoting his design of assuming the imperial dignity, and taking possession of the kingdom of Italy in case of his nephew's demise [k]. The empress, in the mean time, was negociating on the same subject with Lewis, king of Germany, and engaged him to make a cession, by treaty, of that part of the kingdom of Lorrain which he possessed, in consideration of the emperor's devolving that title and his dominions, by will, either upon him or on one of his sons. Adrian, in consequence of this treaty, solemnly crowned the emperor as king of Lorrain; but it is not clear that he ever had the possession; and the pope, notwithstanding this ceremony, remained firm in the interests of Charles the Bald to the time of his demise, which happened not long after [l].

A. D. 872.

Troubles in Germany, France, and Bretagne. Death of Lewis the German.

The realms of Germany and France were equally disturbed by the ambition and selfishness of the sons of Lewis and Charles, and by the incursions of the Normans. Lewis had but three sons, and two of them were in rebellion. Carloman was in arms against Charles, and against the peace and property of his subjects, spoiling, killing, and burning, wherever he came [m]. The different characters of these kings appeared from the manner they took to deliver themselves from these misfortunes. Lewis prevailed upon his sons to return to court, upon his bare promise that they should not be punished. Having shewn them how little it was their interest to act in the manner they had done, and what good effects would follow from their returning to their duty, and living in harmony with each other, he reclaimed them, as he had done his eldest son formerly, and found them ever after both faithful and obedient [n]. In like manner he compromised matters with the Normans, and turned their incursions upon his enemies [o]. Charles, on the other hand, after much forbearance and indulgence, abandoned Carloman to the justice due to his subjects; so that being taken and condemned to death, he ordered his eyes to be put out, and then sent him to a prison, from whence escaping, he fled to his uncle, the king of Germany, who gave him protection and subsistence, and nothing more, till, in a short time, death delivered him from all his troubles. In respect to the Normans,

[k] Adon. Chron.
[l] Contin. Anast. Biblioth. in Adrian.
[m] Annales Fuldenses.
[n] Annales Bert.
[o] Annales Metenses.

Charles

Charles had so obliged Solomon, whom he styled duke (though the pope and other princes treated him as king of Bretagne) by sending him a very rich crown, that he very readily concurred in the proposal made him of attacking those dangerous invaders. This alliance enabled the king to besiege them in Angiers, which made a long and obstinate defence; and which would not have been taken at last, but by the address of the duke of Bretagne, who having reduced them to extremity, Charles admitted them to a capitulation, and, for a large sum of money, suffered them to preserve their ships, which the duke would otherwise have destroyed [p]. In the succeeding year this powerful prince, who had governed his country with much reputation, became himself a victim of a conspiracy formed by his own subjects, in conjunction with some French lords. This event threw the country of Bretagne into dreadful dissensions, which it took some time to appease; and while these troubles continued, the emperor Lewis II. died, in the month of August, without having issue male, a circumstance which occasioned a great struggle. A. D. 873.

Charles the Bald enters Italy with an army, and marches directly to Rome.

Lewis, king of Germany, claimed the title of emperor, as the elder brother of Charles; for, in respect to the deceased, they were uncles alike. He relied upon the intrigues of the empress, the good will of the Greek emperor Basil, and had some hopes of the pope John VIII [q]. Charles the Bald took his measures somewhat better, for he relied chiefly on himself. As soon as he received the news of his nephew's death, he sent his only son Lewis into Lorrain, to assemble an army on the frontiers of that kingdom; and at the same time he began to march with the forces, that he had long held ready for that purpose, into Italy [r]. King Lewis sent his son Charles thither, with a small body of troops; and, upon the news of his brother's expedition, dispatched his son Carloman after him, with a considerable reinforcement. Carloman defeated the French troops that guarded the passes, entered Italy, and, though his army was much inferior to his uncle's, would have hazarded a battle. It was a maxim with Charles the Bald not to fight if it might be avoided; he therefore dispatched some ministers, in the first place, to sound the pope, and then proposed to his nephew that both armies should retire till the dispute could be amicably settled between him and his father. Carloman accepted the propo-

[p] Annales Metenses & Bertin. [q] Annales Fuldens. [r] Annales Bertin.

sition,

Digitized by Google

sition, and executed his part of it punctually; but Charles having received a message from the pope, pretended he was bound in conscience to comply with it; and, while Carloman was returning into Germany, marched directly to Rome, where he was received with applause, and, on Christmas-day received the imperial crown from the hands of the pontiff. This affair was very expensive, but Charles took care that it should cost him nothing; for the first act of his imperial power was to seize his predecessor's treasures, and out of them he gratified those who had been instrumental in this business [s].

The death of Lewis king of Germany.

At the opening of the succeeding year the emperor went to Pavia, and held there an assembly of the states of Lombardy, in which he received the homage and oaths of fidelity of all the prelates and great lords in that kingdom. There was, however, one thing that made him still uneasy; his nephew and predecessor had left an only daughter in the care of the duke of Frioul, and he was very apprehensive that some Greek prince, by espousing her, might set up a title to the kingdom of Italy at least. To prevent this inconvenience, he could think of no better expedient than to advise Boson, whose sister he had married, to carry away this young princess, and espouse her by force [t]. This step being taken, he affected to be exceedingly displeased with the ravisher, and to threaten him with the severest punishment; but, as soon as he perceived that the action was not so ill taken as he expected, he suffered himself to be appeased; and, that his brother-in-law might in some measure appear worthy of so illustrious a consort, he created him duke of Lombardy, and left him his viceroy in Italy [u]. In the mean time Lewis, king of Germany, had invaded France in his absence, penetrated as far as Champagne, and committed divers devastations; but hearing that Charles was returning from Italy with a great army, and that the pope was unalterably attached to his interest, he retired into his own dominions, where he continued to make great military preparations, though, at the same time, he did not neglect to make overtures of accommodation [w]. His new title had a great effect on the mind of Charles the Bald; he appeared almost always in the Greek habit, and with the ensigns of imperial dignity; treated his subjects, ecclesiastics as well as laics, with great haughtiness; and, in

[s] Annales Bertin. [t] Concil. Gall. tom. iii. [u] Annales Fuld. [w] Monach. Sangal. Annales Bertiniani.

conjunc-

Digitized by Google

conjunction with the pope, sought to lessen the authority of the prelates in his dominions, though he had more than once stood indebted to them for the preservation of his own [x]. By the accession of Italy to the rest of his dominions he was certainly become more powerful than his brother Lewis, yet he was very apprehensive of being attacked by that prince; who was not only an able statesman and a great general, but had also a strong party amongst the French nobility. However, he was delivered from all these fears by the death of that monarch, who of all the descendants of Charlemagne, resembled him most. His dominions, in pursuance of a partition made four years before in a general dyet, were divided in the following manner: Carloman had Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, Sclavonia, Austria, and part of Hungary; Franconia, Saxony, Frisia, Thuringia, the Lower Lorrain, together with Cologne, and the cities of the Rhine, fell to Lewis; all the country between the Maine and the Alps was the lot of Charles. In modern history Carloman is generally styled king of Bavaria, Lewis of Germany, and Charles the Gross, or the Fat, of Almain [y]. The emperor had no sooner intelligence of this partition, than, supposing that these brethren would fall out amongst themselves, he marched with a great army, in order to seize that part of Lorrain which he had yielded to his brother, and which he pretended ought to revert to him upon his decease. The scheme was well imagined, but the emperor found himself mistaken; the brothers lived in perfect unity; and though Lewis, king of Germany, sent ambassadors to intreat his uncle not to attack his dominions, yet he passed the Rhine at the same time with an army to offer battle. Charles the Bald had fifty thousand men, his nephew was far inferior in number. But he caused the village that was before his camp to be occupied by a great body of infantry, who made an obstinate defence, and, when they were at last forced, Charles thought the victory secure; but as his forces advanced in much disorder, Lewis attacked them in flank with his cavalry, and defeated them totally with great carnage. This loss, and A. D. 876. the news that the Normans were come up the Seine with a numerous fleet, and a great body of troops on board, obliged Charles to turn his eyes on that side, and to leave his nephews quiet [z]. These disappointments affected him

[x] Verus Chron. in Hist. Norm. [y] Aimon. lib. v. [z] Annal. Fuld. Annal. Bertiniani.

Digitized by Google

so much, that he fell dangerously ill, and was, with great difficulty, recovered.

Charles, by the persuasion of the pope, makes another expedition into Italy, and dies in his return.

The pope being at this time beset with enemies, and depending solely on the emperor's protection, pressed him vehemently to enter Italy with an army, though he knew he was but just recovered from a pleurisy, which had brought him to the very brink of the grave. Charles, whose interests were closely connected with those of the pontiff, yielded to his entreaties. But before he left France, he held, in the month of July, an assembly of the nobility and prelates, to concert the proper measures for the defence of his dominions, and for the maintenance of their tranquility in his absence. He made choice of his only son Lewis for regent, and fixed a proper council about him [a]. He gave the command of his numerous army to duke Boson, his empress's brother, abbot Hugo, Bernard, count of Auvergne, and Bernard marquis of Languedoc; then setting out with the empress, and a small corps of troops, which ought rather to be esteemed an escorte than an army, passed the Alps, and marched directly towards Rome [b]. The pope, to shew his affection, came as far as Pavia to meet him; but they had scarce conferred together before they had news, that Carloman, king of Bavaria, had entered Italy with a very numerous army, claiming the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Italy, in virtue of the late emperor's will. Upon this intelligence, the emperor Charles repassed the Po, and returned to Tortona, where the pope crowned the empress. The design of Charles was to wait for his army; but the four lords, who commanded it, entered into a conspiracy, and refused to pass the Alps; the empress retired to Morienne, and the pope fled to Rome. In the present critical juncture of affairs, the emperor judged it most expedient to return into France; and, what is very extraordinary, his nephew Carloman, on a false rumour that all the French forces had passed the mountains, retired precipitately into his own dominions [c]. Charles having joined the empress at Morienne, felt a return of his distemper, notwithstanding which he prosecuted his retreat; but a Jew physician, whose name was Zedechias, having given him poison, he felt himself so ill that he was obliged to stop at a village called Brios; where the empress found him in a miserable cottage, and where he

[a] Fleur. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. lii. sect. xli. [b] Annal. Bertin. Sigon. de Regn. Ital. lib. v. [c] Capit. Catoli Calvi.

breathed

Digitized by Google

breathed his last, on the 6th of October, in the second year of his empire, the thirty-eighth of his reign, and the fifty-fourth year of his age. His body was embalmed, with intent to carry it to the abbey of St. Denis; but the poison he had taken corrupted it in such a manner, that they were forced to inter it by the way: however his bones were afterwards carried thither, or, at least, it is certain, that a tomb erected to his memory is extant in that convent [d]. He appointed, by an instrument, his only son his successor, and sent him by the empress his crown, his sword, and other ensigns, as well of the imperial as regal dignity, in token of his desire that he should possess both [e] (C). A.D. 877

As

[d] Aimon. lib. v.

[e] Annales Metenses. Annales Bertiniani.

(C) The first consort of Charles the Bald, was Hermentrude, by whom he had four sons and one daughter; that princess herself being the daughter of Eudes, count of Orleans: of his eldest son Lewis we shall speak hereafter. Charles he declared king of Aquitaine, and though he died very young, yet it was not before he shewed himself undutiful, and in great a measure unworthy of the honour conferred upon him. Lothaire became an abbot. Carloman was forced to receive deacon's orders; was of a vicious headstrong disposition, and, as we have shewn in the text, gave occasion, by his frequent rebellions, for his father to punish him with the loss of his sight and imprisonment; but, by the assistance of two monks, made his escape, blind as he was, and died in the dominions of his uncle. His daughter Judith, had none of the fairest characters: she became first mother-in-law, and then sister-in-law, to our famous king Alfred. Afterwards, returning to her father's court, she ran away with Baldwin, the forrester; and being reconciled to the king, by the interposition of the pope, he was created count of Flanders. His second consort was Richilde, the sister of count Boson, a very artful woman, who had a great influence over him as long as he lived; and, after his decease, joined with her brother, and the rest of the malecontents, though they had procured a Jew physician to poison her husband. By this princess Charles had four sons; but none of them survived him. The empress, seven years after his decease, caused the remains of Charles to be removed, as some historians say, to the abbey of St. Denis; which we mention, because of the reason assigned, that he was once abbot there. The popes, in writing to him, styled Charles the most Christian king; which form they had also used to his ancestor

Lewis the Stammerer succeeds his father, and endeavours to secure tranquility.

As soon as Lewis, the son of the deceased emperor, who, from an impediment in his speech, had the surname of Stammerer, received the news of his death, he left the frontiers, in order to meet the empress, and the great lords who came out of Italy, at St. Denis. As he was sensible of the exorbitant power of the nobility and clergy, he thought to secure the tranquility of his reign by attaching to his interest such as were about his person; and therefore he distributed lands, honours, governments, abbies, and other preferments, with a profusion that evidently discovered his fear, much more than his affection for those on whom he bestowed them [f]. But for certain causes, with which he was acquainted on the road, he turned aside to Compiegne. The empress, on her return from Italy, joined with the malcontents, who affected to make it a crime in Lewis that he had given away so many posts before he was inaugurated; but the real offence was, that they were afraid of not having their share: however, after mature deliberation, they held it the best expedient to come in and take what was left [g]. Accordingly the empress delivered up the instrument and the ensigns of royalty, which had been committed to her care; and, in the beginning of December, the king was crowned by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims [h]. The pope made a great stand in favour of the new king, in hopes of having him elected in the place of his father; but being opposed by the duke of Spoleto, and the marquis of Tuscany, he abandoned Rome, and went by sea into France. He was received there with all possible respect, and, on the 13th of August, opened a council at Troies, where many canons were made in support of the episcopal power; the first of them is too remarkable to be passed over in silence: all secular powers are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to pay bishops proper respect, and all persons, of what dignity soever, are forbid to sit in their presence

The pope adheres to the French interest, and retires into France.

[f] Aimon, lib. v. [g] Annal. Bertiniani. [h] Reg. Chron.

cestor Pepin. We are not informed, that the Jew who poisoned him was punished; which renders it probable that he was protected by the faction by whom he was employed (1).

(1) Annal. Fuld. Aimon, lib. v. Paulus Æmilius de Rebus Gestis Francorum. Asser. Menevens. Annal. Bert. Histoire de France, par M. Chalons.

without

Digitized by Google

without their permission [i]. At the request of the king, the pope crowned him with his own hands; but those historians, who say he was now crowned emperor, are certainly mistaken, since neither in the charter which he granted, or in the addresses that were made to him after this time, is he ever so styled [k]. But the pope absolutely refused to crown his consort Adelaide, for reasons that the reader will see at the bottom of the page (D). The truth is, the pope found the king's power very much weakened, and therefore he entered into a close friendship with duke Boson, who had married Hermenigard, daughter to the emperor Lewis II. and who conducted him back to Pavia; in the progress of which journey, the pope permitted him to use his utmost endeavours to prevent Carloman's getting possession of the kingdom of Italy [l]. The king wrote to his cousin Lewis of Germany, assuring him of his sincere desire to live in perfect friendship with him and his brethren; and, upon receiving assurances of the same kind from him, the two kings had an interview in the month of November, in which they concluded a treaty for their mutual benefit [m]. A. D. 878.

The death of Lewis II. styled Louis le Faineant.

It was, amongst other things, stipulated at this interview, that a general assembly should be held in the month of February following; to which Charles and Carloman,

[i] Aimon. lib. v. Epist. Joan. Papæ. [k] Annales Bertiniani. [l] Aimon. lib. v. [m] Annal. Fuld. Annal. Bertiniani.

(D) Lewis had probably an education suitable to his birth; but we do not find him celebrated for his abilities. The family of Charlemagne declined apace. Lewis, while a young man, was too much under the dominion of his passions, which led him not only to countenance his sister Judith, after she had been twice a queen, in running away with an adventurer, but also made a very idle match himself with Ansgarde, the daughter of one count, and widow of another, but we know not the names of either; with which his father was so much offended, that he would not be reconciled to him till he parted with her, and, in all probability, disavowed the marriage; which drew into controversy the legality of the births of Lewis and Carloman, who nevertheless succeeded him. He married a second time Adelaide, or Alex, an English lady, the sister of Wilfrid, abbot of Flavigny; but it is supposed that Ansgarde was still living, when the pope crowned king Lewis, and refused to crown her, as doubting of the validity of their marriage.

Digitized by Google

as well as the king of Germany, were to send their ambaſſadors; but this was prevented by the rebellion of the marquis of Languedoc, who, notwithſtand the excommunication pronounced againſt him by the pope in the council of Troies, and the king's having diſpoſed of all his places and governments to other perſons, not only maintained himſelf in the poſſeſſion of Languedoc, but made excurſions alſo into the adjacent provinces[n]. To ſuppreſs theſe diſorders, the king marched with all the forces he could draw together, taking his route through Burgundy; but when he arrived at Troies he fell dangerouſly ill: he cauſed himſelf to be removed from thence to Compiegne, where, finding all hopes of recovery vain, he committed his ſword and crown to the care of two of his counſellors, with inſtructions to carry them, without delay, to his ſon Lewis[o]. He departed this life, April the 10th, which was Good Friday, after a reign of about eighteen months[p]. He was, beyond doubt, a prince of weak parts, and great infirmities. At his demiſe, he left his dominions in confuſion; and for his heirs, two ſons by his firſt conſort, and his ſecond queen Adelaide pregnant, who, ſome time after his deceaſe, was delivered of a ſon, baptized by the name of Charles.

A. D. 879.

An interregnum on the death of Lewis the Stammerer, and a faction formed for Lewis the German.

There followed upon the death of Lewis the Stammerer a kind of interregnum, occaſioned by the weakneſs of the government, and the factions of the great. The deceaſed king had intruſted the care of his ſons to four great lords, ſome of whom had not ſhewn themſelves very well affected to his father: theſe were duke Boſon, his father's brother-in-law, a man of great art and abilities, which were all employed to gratify the ambition he had of becoming a ſovereign prince; the ſecond was Hugo, ſometimes ſtyled the abbot Hugo, and ſometimes Hugo l'Abbé, or *Hugo the Abbot*. It ſeems very clear, that he was firſt intended for the church; but, betaking himſelf to arms before he had received orders, he altered his views, and turned that into a ſurname, which was before a mark of dignity. He was an ambitious and deſigning man, but had more reſpect to his character than moſt perſons of his rank, being the grandſon of the famous Robert le Fort, count of France. The third lord was Thierry, the king's chamberlain, who was attached to the late king's family, but from views of intereſt; and the fourth, Bernard, count

[n] Regin. Chron. Aimon, lib. v. [p] Annal. Bertiniani. Annal. Fuld.

d'Auvergne,

Digitized by Google

d'Auvergne, of whom we know nothing particularly [q]. Boſon and Thierry quarrelled about the county of Autun, which the former wanted to ſerve his purpoſes, and which the king had given to the latter. Hugo l'Abbé, with ſome difficulty, reconciled them: in the mean time, abbot Goſlin, who had been a favourite, and much intruſted by Lewis, had formed another project, and drew into it Conrade, count of Paris, and ſeveral other lords. His pretences were the proſperity of France, and the glory of Charlemagne's family; and the expedient he offered was to ſet aſide the children of Lewis, and to offer the crown to the king of Germany [r]. In order to carry this ſcheme into execution, while the other lords were aſſembled at Meaux, they had a meeting at Creil, where they came to a reſolution to invite Lewis of Germany, in the name of the nobility and prelates of France, to become their ſovereign; which propoſition he accepted, notwithſtanding the treaty he had ſigned, and ſworn to the father of the princes he was to ſet aſide. The news of this deſign amazed the lords at Meaux, who very probably had acquieſced under it, if Hugo l'Abbé had not bethought himſelf of propoſing to the king of Germany, who was now in full march for France with an army, to yield to him that part of Lorrain which had been poſſeſſed by the two laſt kings; which acquiſition appeared to him ſo conſiderable, that he readily accepted it [s]. But the abbé Goſlin, and his faction, finding themſelves abandoned, applied to the queen Lutgarde, a woman of boundleſs ambition, who promiſed them her protection, and her intereſt with the king, to induce him to pay no greater regard to the new treaty than he had done to his old engagement. At this time died Conrade, king of Bavaria, one of the braveſt, wiſeſt, and moſt equitable princes of that age. He left only a natural ſon Arnold, to whom he gave Carinthia and Tyrol; the reſt of his dominions he ſhared between his brothers, Lewis having Bavaria, and Charles the Groſs inheriting the kingdom of Italy [t].

Lewis and Carloman proclaimed kings of France, and Boſon erects the kingdom of Arles.

The aſſembly of Meaux, in the mean time, reſolved to crown both the ſons of their deceaſed king, though he had explained his intention to be that Lewis only ſhould ſucceed him; but duke Boſon had married his daughter to

[q] Annales Bertin. Paul. Æmil. de Rebus Geſtis Francorum.
[r] Annales Metenſes. Paul. Æmilius de Rebus Geſtis Francorum.
[s] Aimon. Chron. Pigon de Regn. Ital. [t] Annales Bertiniani. Chron. Var. Antiq.

Digitized by Google

Carloman, and, next to another great deſign he had in his head, he was deſirous of ſeeing her queen. This ſcheme was managed by his emiſſaries, ſo that he appeared to have no hand in it, till it came to be put in execution. Boſon, in his government of the ſouthern parts of France, had rendered himſelf very acceptable to the clergy; he had alſo a great intereſt with the pope, and had behaved very obligingly to the nobility. Three archbiſhops, twenty biſhops, and a great number of counts, aſſembled at the town of Mante; where, taking into conſideration the confuſions and calamities of France, they judged it expedient to erect a new kingdom, that might remain happy through the ſuperior wiſdom and equity of its monarch; which kingdom was that of Provence. Boſon, to whom, by a ſolemn inſtrument ſubſcribed by them all, they offered the crown, very graciouſly, and with many expreſſions of gratitude and humility, accepted it [u]. It appears from their ſubſcriptions, that this new kingdom was compoſed of the countries now ſtyled Lyonnois, Dauphiny, Savoy, Franche Comté, and part of the kingdom of Burgundy, extending on one ſide into Languedoc, and on the other beyond the lake of Geneva, and was ſometimes called, from its capital, the kingdom of Arles [x]. Thus the two young kings found themſelves deſpoiled of countries of a vaſt extent on each ſide of the dominions that were left them. Hugo, who had now the ſole conduct of theſe princes, carried them, under an eſcort of a ſmall body of troops, as far as the lake of Geneva, to confer with Charles, king of Almain and Italy; who treated them very kindly, and promiſed them all the aſſiſtance in his power. Upon their return, they found the king of Germany, with a conſiderable army, almoſt in the heart of their own dominions; in ſome meaſure, forced into it by the ſolicitations of his queen, and the importunity of the malecontents, who were not able to perform near ſo much as they promiſed; therefore, the king willingly liſtened to the propoſal of an interview, where all things were amicably ſettled, and a congreſs appointed in the month of June, at Gondreville on the Meuſe, at which all the deſcendants from Charlemagne were to aſſiſt [y]. Charles went thither on purpoſe from Italy, Lewis and Carloman were likewiſe there, and the king of Germany ſent deputies, being himſelf indiſpoſed. There the two

[u] Aimon. Chron. [x] Regin. Chron. Sigon. de Regn. Ital.
[y] Chron. de Geſtis Norman.

young

Digitized by Google

young kings made a solemn resignation of their rights to Lorrain and the kingdom of Italy, in consequence of which the other two monarchs promised them assistance against all their enemies; and the king of Germany actually furnished them with an army to dispossess Hugo, the bastard of Lothaire, who had seized several strong places in Lorrain. They marched through Burgundy to the territories of Boson, where the army was joined by a reinforcement, under the command of Charles le Gros, who directed the siege of Macon in person; and, after having reduced it, formed that of Vienne, in which was Hermingard, the consort of Boson, whose presence engaged the garrison to make an obstinate defence. Charles left the army to go to Rome, where Christmas-day had been fixed upon for crowning him emperor, and the two young kings were, not long after, obliged to separate; Lewis, who was styled king of France, marching against the Normans, and Carloman, king of Aquitaine, remaining before the place to command the siege [z]. A. D. 880

The death of Lewis, by which the crown of France devolves on Carloman.

The great merit of the two kings consisted in their cordial affection for each other, which manifestly appeared in the sorrow they expressed at parting. Lewis gave the Normans battle at a place called Sacour; was so fortunate as to defeat them, and to kill near nine thousand of their men [a]. It is, however, certain, that he did not prosecute this victory; for which inactivity he is much blamed by some, though others say, that his forces were so much weakened by that engagement, that he durst not run the hazard of another [b]. The Normans, finding themselves at liberty, and having great advantages from their manner of making war, with horse and foot, and a fleet attending them, ruined all the frontiers of his and the German kingdom; and, what did not a little augment the confusion, was the death of Lewis, king of Germany, without issue: upon which the inhabitants of Lorrain offered their crown to Lewis of France, who declined it, either through political motives, or, as he himself affirmed, out of respect to the late treaty [c]. Carloman continued all this time before Vienne, having changed the siege into a blockade. Lewis, though he respected the right of Charles le Gros to the kingdom of Lorrain, yet he generously contributed to its defence against the Normans, by A. D. 881.

[z] Annales Metens. Paul. Æmil. de Rebus Gestis Francorum. [a] Regin. Chron. [b] Chron. Centic. Chron. Norm. [c] Annal. Fuld.

sending

sending a good body of troops to their assistance. Immediately after he had made this detachment, he received a strenuous invitation from the duke of Bretagne to join him with his army, in order to act against another body of Normans, with which he immediately complied; but he had not advanced farther than Tours, before he felt himself so much indisposed, that he directed those who were about him to convey him to the abbey of St. Denis; where
A. D. 882. he died, in the month of August, in the twenty-second year of his age [d]. His actions shew him to have been a brave and equitable prince: some writers, indeed, say, that he was very debauched, and that his excesses proved fatal to him; but, perhaps they received this account from some of the great lords, who were very strongly suspected of poisoning him, as they did his father; so that, probably, if he had been less active, he might have lived longer [e].

Carloman is killed accidentally while hunting, which brings great mischiefs upon France.

The nobility of France went immediately to salute Carloman as their sovereign, and to assure him of their fidelity. He was still before Vienne; but, at their request, he left the command of the blockade to some of his chief officers, and went to put himself at the head of the forces, which his brother had levied to act against the Normans, whom he defeated twice; but, at length, he was obliged to compound with them for money, finding their strength to be greater than any that he could oppose to them [f]. The price at which he purchased tranquility, or rather a respite of their depredations, was twelve thousand pounds of fine silver. To balance this loss, he had the satisfaction of seeing Vienne surrendered, by capitulation, after a siege of near thirty months, Hermingard being permitted to retire to Autun [g]. Charles le Gros, who came out of Italy into Germany, with an intent to expel, or to exterminate the Normans, who had in the same manner wasted his territories, had the like misfortunes as Carloman; for diseases prevailing in his army, which was very numerous, he thought it best to treat with them; and he granted one of their chiefs a settlement in his country of Frise, upon his becoming a Christian [h]. Charles and Carloman lived in perfect harmony, and acted jointly against those who were enemies to either of them; but the young king of France found himself not a little em-

[d] Annal. Bertin. Annal. Fuld. Regin. Chron. [e] Chron. Var. Ant. [f] Annal. Fuld. Chron. Norm. [g] Regin. Chron, Sigob. de Regn. Ital. [h] Paul. Æmil. de Rebus Gestis Francorum.

barrassed

Digitized by Google

barraſſed by the diſobedient and refractory behaviour of ſome of his nobility; who, knowing too well that he was unable to reward them to their wiſh, or to puniſh them as they deſerved, reſpected his commands no farther than they appeared conſiſtent with their own intereſts. In time, perhaps, he might have brought his affairs into a better ſituation; but, being one day hunting, one of his domeſtics, throwing a javelin at a boar, wounded him in the thigh, of which accident he died in ſeven days[i]. He deceaſed on the 6th of September, when he had juſt entered the ſixth year of his reign. He was contracted at leaſt, if not married, to the daughter of duke Boſon: it is not very clear whether that marriage was conſummated; but it is very certain, that he died without iſſue; ſo that the crown ought to have deſcended to his brother Charles, then about five years of age[k].

An interregnum, which ends in calling the emperor Charles the Groſs to the throne.

The family of Charlemagne had been long declining; the nobility of France were anxious about their own ſafety; and this ſolicitude made them very wary in the diſpoſal of the government[l]. Hugo l'Abbé, who had been hitherto the firm protector of the children of Lewis the Stammerer, exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly in favour of the infant Charles; but it was to no purpoſe, the major part of them being devoted to the emperor[m]. At this diſtance of time their conduct appears ſtrange, ſince under a minority it ſhould ſeem they might have aggrandiſed themſelves more eaſily than under a prince advanced in years, who was already very potent; but, very probably, they dreaded the advancemement of Hugo to the regency, who in that caſe would have exerted regal power in ſupport of his pupil. The pretences by which they covered their choice were, that the emperor Charles, when declared king of France, would have dominions nearly equal in extent to thoſe of Charlemagne, without conſidering, that a great empire is a great weight, and that a prince, who may be able to conduct his affairs while reſtrained within a certain compaſs, may, notwithſtanding, prove very unfit for directing a government of much greater extent. Of this truth they were convinced by experience; for Charles had governed the countries left him by his father without any viſible defect of judgment, had raiſed himſelf to the imperial dignity, and had ſhewn, on ſeveral occaſions, that

[i] Annal. Fuld. Chron. Norm. Paul. Æmil. de Rebus Geſtis Francorum. [k] Annales Metenſ. Regin. Chron. [l] Regin. Chron. [m] Aimon. lib. v.

he

he wanted not courage or conduct; and on others, that he was a prince of a mild disposition, and had a great regard to justice and equity [n]. It was no wonder, therefore, that the French promised themselves much happiness under this reign, or that they should be disappointed [o], since the genius of Charles was of such a kind, as, instead of enlarging itself to the size of that empire to which he gradually attained, it was indeed oppressed, and contracted itself in such a manner, that at length his incapacity became too visible to be disputed [p].

At his entrance on the government, he brings on a war with the Normans.

The emperor was not long in discovering the fault he had committed in granting an establishment to the Normans in Friezland; for their king Godfrey, who had married the natural daughter of Lothaire, persisted still in his intrigues in favour of her brother Hugo, who had made many attempts on the kingdom of Lorrain. The Normans still continued to harrass France; and therefore, when the emperor saw that this king of Friezland was bent upon a war, he listened to the advice of Henry, duke or governor of Saxony, esteemed the ablest man in his service, and gave him full power to act in this matter, in the manner most advantageous to his government [q]. Henry entered into a negociation with the monarch of Friezland; and, in one of their conferences, encouraged a nobleman, whom he had injured, to cleave his scull with a battle-axe. Soon after this transaction, the bastard Hugo, having been drawn by fair promises into the hands of the emperor's ministers, they caused his eyes to be put out, and shut him up afterwards as a monk in the abbey of Prum, in the forest of Arden [r]. These bold strokes ought to have been sustained by a like conduct throughout; but that was beyond the abilities of this prince. The Normans understood his weakness perfectly. Under pretence of revenging the death of their king Godfrey, they came
A. D. 885. up the river Seine with a fleet of seven hundred sail; and, having taken several places in the neighbourhood, attempted to surprise Paris; but through the prudence of bishop Goslin, and Eudes, who commanded in the place, they were disappointed. After having blocked up the city for some time, they determined to undertake a regular siege; though, in these kind of military opera-

[n] Chron. Var. Ant. [o] Aimon. lib. v. [p] Reginon. Chron. [q] Annales Metenses. Aimon. lib. v. Paulus Æmil. de Rebus Gestis Francorum. [r] Regin. Chron. Aimon. lib. v.

tions,

Digitized by Google

tions, they were far from being expert, and had seldom been successful.

The city of Paris thus besieged, consisted only of that part of the place now so called, which is expressly and particularly styled the city, built entirely on an island in the Seine, over which were bridges on both sides, the heads of them well fortified, at least for those times [s]. The army of the Normans consisted of about thirty thousand men; they were commanded by Sigefroy, who was fierce and cruel, but not at all deficient in the talents then thought requisite in a general. He sometimes soothed, and sometimes threatened, but was never idle. He ravaged all the adjacent country, not only to amass booty, but to hinder the besieged from receiving any provisions. He employed all the machines that were then in use to batter the walls, and open a passage to his troops; he caused several assaults to be given with great fury, but in vain [t]. Hugo l'Abbé, then count of Paris, gave his advice in all things, and directed the manner of the defence. Eudes commanded the troops, and by his example encouraged them to behave gallantly on all occasions. The bishop went from place to place, exhorting and consoling the inhabitants; his nephew Ebbon behaved very bravely on all occasions; but, notwithstanding all their efforts, things sunk at last so low, that Eudes was sent to the emperor to solicit relief [u]. Upon this application Henry, duke of Saxony, was sent with an army, which, though not strong enough to drive the Normans from before it, enabled him to enter the place, and carry with him considerable succours [w]. He afterwards augmented his army, and made an attempt to attack the Normans in their lines; but behaving with a little too much spirit, or rather with too little prudence, his horse and himself fell into a ditch, covered with straw upon hurdles, where he was presently murdered. Upon which accident his army disbanded, and Paris was left more exposed and in a worse condition than ever [x].

The Normans besiege Paris both by land and water.

A. D. 886.

In the course of this siege bishop Gozlin departed this life; as did also Hugo l'Abbé. He was succeeded in the title of count of Paris, or rather count of the Isle of France, by his nephew Eudes, who continued to make an admirable defence, though the Normans employed every stratagem to carry their point. At length the em-

The emperor goes to its relief, and makes a treaty with the Normans.

[s] P. Daniel, Mezeray, M. Chalons. [t] Abbon. [u] Chronicon Norman. [w] Regimon. Chron. [x] Aimon. lib. v.

peror

Digitized by Google

peror Charles was exceedingly preſſed on all ſides to deliver a city of ſuch conſequence out of the hands of theſe barbarians, who were otherwiſe bent upon fortifying it, and converting it into the capital of that principality which they were ſo eager to raiſe in France. With this view he aſſembled, through the whole extent of his dominions, a prodigious army, with the beſt part of which he advanced out of Germany to the relief of Paris; appeared with his whole army under arms on the mountain of Montmart, fully perſuaded that, at the ſight of his ſtandards, the Normans would retire with precipitation [y]. He quickly found his miſtake; they continued in their works, and ſhewed not the ſmalleſt diſpoſition of raiſing the ſiege. The emperor, therefore, changed his meaſures, began a negociation with them, and, by a pecuniary ſacrifice, induced them to promiſe they would withdraw their troops
A. 886. 7. and their veſſels [z]. This was in the month of November, and as he was not able to collect the money before the ſpring, he conſented they ſhould take winter-quarters in Burgundy, in which country the people had not, as yet, acknowleged his authority. They had ſome difficulty to to open a paſſage thither, for the Pariſians abſolutely refuſed to permit their veſſels to ſail under their bridges [a]. In this ſituation the Normans found themſelves obliged to carry their veſſels over land, and launch them again upon the Seine, at a certain diſtance above Paris. Thus they proceeded into Burgundy, laid waſte and deſtroyed the country on every ſide, and amaſſed, excluſive of the ranſom they were to receive, an immenſe booty in cattle and valuable effects, as well as in money [b].

The unfortunate emperor Charles declines at once in mind, body, and eſtate.

This ignominious treaty ruined the reputation of the emperor. He returned into Germany indiſpoſed as to his health, and diſtracted in his mind. He had no miniſters in whom he could confide; for they neither loved nor feared him. He had ſuſpicions about the chaſtity of his empreſs Rachael, as having connexions with Ludard, biſhop of Verceil, the only perſon of weight or authority ſtill remaining in his ſervice, and in this fit of ill humour he forbid him his court, and confined the empreſs. The latter kept no meaſures; ſhe inſiſted upon being admitted to her purgation, affirming, that ſhe was not only innocent with reſpect to that prelate, and every other man, but alſo that ſhe was untouched by the emperor

[y] Abbon. Monach. Chronicon. Paul. Æmil.
[z] Aimon. lib. v.
[a] Regimon.
[b] Chron. Var. Antiq.

himſelf,

Digitized by Google

himself, and a pure virgin, in support of which assertion she was ready to undergo any trial that should be assigned her. The emperor had appointed a diet, as the last resource for settling his affairs; but falling sick at Tribar, between Mentz and Oppenheim, it very quickly appeared that his faculties were exhausted [c]. In this situation he was so absolutely abandoned, that he would not have had bread to eat, or a servant to attend him in his sickness, if it had not been for the archbishop of Mentz, who supplied him on a principle of charity, generosity, and duty [d].

Deserted and decrepid, is forced to accept a subsistence from his enemies, and dies in this distress.

Arnold, the natural son of Carloman, king of Bavaria, upon the deposition of Charles, succeeded him in the imperial dignity, and to his discretion he was left for a subsistence during the remaining part of his miserable life. The allowance, at length given him, was proportioned to the necessity he was in, and not at all to the dignity he had possessed, consisting only in the revenues of three or four villages. It is true he made some efforts to recover such of the nobility as owed their grandeur to his favour, in hopes that, by their assistance, he might have risen again into some degree of splendor, more especially as no public step had been taken to his prejudice in France; but finding it to no purpose, and seeing himself scarce the object of jealousy to those who were struggling for and seizing his dominions on every side, he seems to have reconciled himself to his fate, dying in the condition of a private man, on the 14th of January, in the year 888 [e] (E). He was

[c] Annales Metens. [d] Annal. Fuldens. [e] Aimon. lib. v. Reginon. Chron.

(E) Whether it arose from penitence, from a melancholy constitution, or from some grievous malady, so it was, that this prince in his youth fancied he saw the devil, and that he was possessed by him, having, indeed, very strong convulsions. It is from hence conjectured, that he was never thoroughly cured of this disease, but that the indisposition, with which he was from time to time afflicted, were the relics of this disorder. He was learned for those times, and very religious, being much given to fasting and prayer. By his first consort, with whose name we are not acquainted, he had a son, who died young. He had also a natural son, whose name was Bernard. He was very ill obeyed, and but very little esteemed by the French. His being deserted and dethroned was chiefly owing to his being attacked, in his return

was certainly a prince as free from vices, and as sincerely religious, as any of that age; but wanting genius and application, and being rather inclined to the pleasures of privacy than to the splendid enjoyments of a court, he suffered himself to be guided by such of his ministers as were near him, and to be imposed on by the respresentations of governors, and other officers, at a distance; so that he had never any right apprehension of the state of his dominions. His death threw the kingdom of France into a general consternation, as they were still harrassed by the Normans, oppressed by a kind of independent nobility, who racked their tenants to gratify their avarice and ambition, and, without any form of goverment, or so much as the appearance of it, to which they might resort for protection against foreign invaders or domestic tyrants. It is true they had still the posthumous child of Lewis the Stammerer amongst them, and many affirm that they considered him as the lawful heir of the crown, and Charles the Gros only as his tutor or protector; but of this assertion there is no distinct or uncontroverted proof. On the contrary it is very plain that the titles of Lewis and Carloman had been called in question, as they had been no better than bastards, because their mother was repudiated. The title of their younger brother was also questioned, upon a supposition that, if the marriage of their mother was valid, then the mother of Charles was but a concubine, and himself a bastard.

SECT. V.

The Reigns of Eudes, Charles the Simple, Raoul, Lewis IV. surnamed the Stranger, Lothaire, and Lewis V. in whom ended the Race of Charlemagne.

Eudes, count of Paris, is elected king of France.

THE crown of France was an object of such importance as to occupy the thoughts of a great variety of pretenders, who laboured to recommend themselves by very plausible claims, at the same time they were preparing to support them by force. Guy duke of Spoleto, and Berenger duke of Frioul, stood both in the fourth de-

turn to Germany, by a violent pain in his head, for which he suffered such incisions as are supposed to have affected his understanding.

gree

Digitized by Google

gree of descent from Charlemagne; the one springing from a daughter of Lewis the Debonnaire, and the other from the daughter of king Pepin [f]. Lewis, the son of Boson, talked likewise of a kind of right, his mother being the daughter of the emperor Lewis II. and himself adopted by Charles the Bald: he was, however, a child, and his pretensions therefore of little weight; yet, in process of time, by the recommendation of the pope, he was chosen king of Arles. About the same time Raoul, or Rodolph, the son of Conrade, count of Paris, seized the farther Burgundy, and converted it into a kingdom [g]. Herbert, count of Vermandois, shewed himself a kind of competitor, being descended in a right line from Bernard king of Italy. It is true there was a suspicion of bastardy, but that was of no great importance, since Bernard himself was a bastard, and yet declared king of Italy by Charlemagne, at the request of Lewis the Debonnaire [h]. The most formidable pretender was Arnold, king of Germany, who looked upon himself as emperor, and who, in virtue of his power, thought to become king of France. But the nobility were unwilling to admit a stranger; and therefore the chose Eudes, count of Paris, the son of the famous Robert le Fort; and some attempts have been made to frame a title for him, as being descended in a right line from Childebrand, the brother of Charles Martel, on the father's side, and, on the mother's from Adelaide, the daughter of Lewis the Debonnaire [i]. But these stories are at best uncertain. Eudes had a far superior right, arising from the public necessity, the unbiassed voices of the nobility, and his own superior merit. He accepted the crown then, upon these conditions; first, that the consent of Arnold, king of Germany, should be obtained, to prevent his elevation being made the pretence of a civil war; and next, that he should hold this dignity in trust for the right heir, Charles the Simple, who was not of age to execute its functions [k]. Under these conditions he was crowned by the bishop of Sens. Soon after he went, of his own accord, to the diet at Worms, where he told Arnold, that he was very ready to resign the ensigns of royalty rather than involve the French nation in a quarrel on his account; with which generous and candid proceeding Arnold was so much pleased, that he owned him, without

[f] Luitprand, lib. i. Paul. Æmil. [g] Chron. Var. Antiq.
[h] Vita Ludovici Pii. [i] Le P. Fauchet, Mezeray, P. Daniel.
[k] Annales Metens.

Digitized by Google

ſcruple, for king of France, and entered into a treaty with him with in that capacity [l].

He defeats the Normans, and ſuppreſſes an inſurrection in Aquitaine.

The Normans continuing to deſolate the kingdom by perpetual irruptions, ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes on the other, Eudes, who had but a ſmall number of forces, was conſtrained to ſupply that defect by vigilance and activity [m]. He had the good fortune to ſurpriſe a body, or rather an army of theſe plunderers, conſiſting of near twenty thouſand horſe and foot, in the neighbourhood of a town called Montfaucon, at the entrance of a wood. Though he had but a thouſand horſe under his command, yet diſpoſing theſe into different places, and cauſing the attack to be made at the ſame inſtant, the enemy were broke before they diſcovered their ſuperiority; and the people of the country ſeeing their diſorder, fell upon them with ſuch fury, that few or none could make their eſcape [n]. This victory gained him great reputation, and would no doubt have been highly advantageous to France, if an inſurrection had not broke out in Aquitaine, which made the king's preſence neceſſary there; and though he was ſo fortunate as to ſubdue the malecontents with little trouble, yet, in the mean time, the Normans took Meaux, and breaking their capitulation, deſtroyed it [o]. They likewiſe reduced Troie, Toul, and Verdun, and made a ſecond and third attempt upon Paris, though without effect. They alſo committed great diſorders throughout Lorrain, till they were ſeverely chaſtiſed by order of the king of Germany, who, with the aſſiſtance of the French, defeated them with great ſlaughter [p]. All this time the king was employed in eſtabliſhing his authority, and in repreſſing thoſe diſorders which were ſo detrimental to the ſtate; and though, in this reformation, he ſhewed all the mildneſs and moderation poſſible, yet thoſe who perhaps owed their wealth and their power to nothing but the continuance of theſe diſorders, were extremely offended, and teſtified their diſaffection in ſuch a manner, as induced ſome of the ambitious nobility, who only waited and wanted ſuch an opportunity, to diſturb the public peace [q].

A. D. 891.

The firſt who declared himſelf openly, was count Walgaire, who ſurpriſed the city of Laon; and, that he might give ſome kind of colour to this proceeding, proclaimed

[l] Annales Fuldenſ. [m] Albonis Monach. de Bello Pariſiacæ Urbis, libri duo. [n] Chron. de Norm. Geſtis. [o] Reginon. Chron. [p] Flodoard Hiſt. Rhem. lib. iv. [q] Annal. Meten.

king

Digitized by Google

king Charles. Eudes, than whom there never was a more active prince, foreseeing the consequences of this revolt, invested the place unexpectedly, and, attacking it with great vigour, compelled the garrison to surrender: he then called count Walgaire to answer before the nobility who were about him, and, upon their adjudging him a traitor, caused him immediately to be beheaded [q]. This act of severity had not the consequences that he expected. Eblon, abbot of St. Denis, who had been the king's most intimate friend, with some other noblemen, raised all Aquitaine. Eudes marched thither immediately, and brought things into order barely by his presence [r]. In the mean time, the party of count Walgaire had time to act. They brought over queen Adelaide, and her son Charles, from England; and, being joined by Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Philip, count of Senlis, both descended from Charlemagne, carried the young prince to Rheims, where he was crowned by Fouques, the archbishop, who wrote a letter to Arnold, king of Germany, to intreat his assistance. This was in some measure obtained; and the party who had Charles at their head, came, with a great army, and laid siege to Laon [s]. The inhabitants made a brave defence, which gave Eudes time to come to their assistance, with a small but gallant army, at the approach of which the forces of Charles mouldered away, and he was obliged to retire. Eudes found means to justify himself to Arnold, king of Germany, by making him sensible that his government was far from being prejudicial to Charles; of this truth he gave a convincing proof, by dividing the kingdom with Charles, and doing homage to him for the small part that he retained [t]. He did not long survive this agreement, dying at La Fere, in Picardy, on the 3d of January, in the year 898, in the fortieth year of his age; hated by the nobility, whose oppressions he had restrained, beloved by the people, and esteemed by all the world. He left behind him a son, Arnold, to whom some would have given the title of king; but he survived him for so short a space, that it afforded no time for the adherents of his father to take their measures in his favour: they attached themselves, therefore, to Robert, the brother of Eudes, who succeeded him in his county, and was one of the gallantest and greatest men that age produced [u]: and, but for some such spirits, the

Eudes embarked in a civil war with the partizans of Charles, the son of Lewis the Stammerer.

[q] Annal Fuldens. Reginon. Chron. [r] Annales Metens. [s] Chron de Gestis Norman. [t] Chronicon Breve. Reginon. Chron. [u] Vita St. Genulfi, lib. ii.

Digitized by Google

monarchy had been subverted, as well as the family of Charlemagne.

Charles, surnamed the Simple, seated upon the throne, when the government was declining.

His competitor being removed, Charles was acknowleged, in his own right, king of France: but, alas! that country was not now what it had been under his predecessors, in point of extent, wealth, or number of people. Arnold, king of Germany, was in possession of Lorrain; and Charles himself had relinquished his claims upon it, in consideration of the assistance and countenance he had received [x]. On the other side, Burgundy was erected into a kingdom, which comprehended what now is called Swisserland, together with Franche Comté, or at least the best part of it [y]. Lewis, the son of Boson, held the country which has been before described under the name of the kingdom of Arles; and it had been well if, after all these sacrifices, Charles could have been said to enjoy the rest [z]. But this was so far from being true, that it is very difficult to say what he held, except the title of king, and the power of giving away. It is true that, not long after he mounted the throne, he had a fair opportunity of recovering part of his dominions, and establishing his reputation, by the revolt of the people of Lorrain, against the son of Arnold. He accordingly marched, with a great army, into that country, where he might have done what he had pleased, and, by reannexing it to the crown, would have received an honourable and ample subsistence: but he loved the pleasures of a court, and hated rather the fatigues than perils of a camp; for he was personally brave, and, when necessity required, did his duty as an officer without reproach; but he was naturally indolent, and easily imposed upon [a]. Zuentibold, king of Lorrain, who was much of the same temper, and had lost his dominions by indulging it, perceived what errors were committed by Charles. Though he had but a small body of troops, yet he kept the field, and at length distressed the French in such a manner, that Charles was glad to conclude, by a treaty, a war that ought to have been ended by the sword, and, for the sake of some very small acquisitions, abandoned entirely a kingdom that he had almost obtained [b]. This conduct gave a great blow to his credit. So long as he enjoyed the assistance of Fouques, archbishop of Rheims, and followed the wise counsels he gave, he in some measure maintained his dignity; but when that

[x] Chron. Var. Antiq. [y] Reginon. Chron. [z] Le P. Fauchet. Cordemoy. Mezeray. [a] Aventin Hist. Boior.
[b] Mezeray. Le Gendre.

pre-

Digitized by Google

prelate was assassinated, by the order of the earl of Flanders, his behaviour procured him the depreciating surname of Charles the Simple [c]. A. D. 900.

The great change in the French monarchy by the introduction of fiefs.

The nobility of France, having had leisure to frame their system, had now the fairest opportunity of carrying it into execution. Such, therefore, as had been intrusted with, or had got into possession of governments, demanded confirmations of them, not barely for life, but to them and to their heirs; and either by their own power, or by the assistance of some great person at court, obtained what they demanded, upon the easy terms of doing homage [d]. It cannot be affirmed that nothing of this kind had taken place before the reign of Charles the Simple, because some instances, perhaps, might be given in earlier times; but the mischief did not become general till now, when, out of one large, well-ordered, and wisely-governed kingdom, there started up a multitude of principalities, in some degree, and but in some degree, dependent on the crown [e]. Considered in this light, they may be truly styled principalities, though the possessors of them took indiscriminately the titles of dukes, marquisses, or counts; nor does it appear, that there was any rank or precedence in these titles: duke had been formerly in most esteem, but that of count seems to have been in most credit now. Under this highest class of nobility there were other considerable lords, who held of them in like manner; and these again had others, who held of them, and even these had their vassals. Instead, therefore, of that easy equal government, regulated by laws and customs, which had hitherto prevailed, a multitude of little insupportable tyrannies were erected [f].

The Normans become more dangerous and formidable to the French crown than ever.

It has been observed, that the king, by suffering the murder of Fouques, archbishop of Rheims, to whom he had so many and so great obligations, to escape unpunished, was exceedingly lessened in the eyes of his subjects; and their contempt of him was still farther increased by the ravages of the Normans, who, for five or six years together, desolated the finest provinces in France. Those who sailed up the Loire burnt the famous church of St. Martin at Tours; and those who entered the Seine took the city of Rouen by composition, which they had observed with greater fidelity than was customary with this nation. This good faith was ascribed to their chief named

[c] Chron. Var. Antiq. Le P. Henault.
[d] Le P. Fauchet. Jean du Tillet.
[e] Cordemoy. Mezeray. Le Gendre.
[f] Origines des Dignitez et Magistrats de France, recueilles par Claude Fauchet.

Digitized by Google

Rollo, who was not barely the captain of a numerous banditti, but in reality, a great prince by birth, endowed with qualities worthy of his rank and descent. He made use therefore of this place, to serve him for a kind of head quarters; made several expeditions from thence, and, when they were finished, returned thither again; while the French, seeing him lay waste not only all Neustria, but the countries that are now called Artois and Picardy, exclaimed against Charles for indolently sitting still in his absence, and not recovering and fortifying Rouen, as he might have done [g]. The king was equally at a loss how to repress these northern invaders, or to silence the clamours of his own people, which were not either the less loud or general, from his having at first encouraged and allied himself with these Normans in the days of king Eudes. At length, it was judged most expedient to engage Francon, archbishop of Rouen, to propose to Rollo a truce for five or six months, in which time a permanent and solid peace might be made, by the grant of a fair and ample establishment [h]. Rollo, whose parts were not at all inferior to his courage, observed to the archbishop, that of these two propositions the first was directly repugnant to his inclinations and his interests, and the latter perfectly consistent with both: that, nevertheless, he was very willing to accept the one, for the sake of the other; and, upon full assurances given on both sides, the truce took place. Richard, duke of Burgundy, possessor of what is now styled the dukedom of Burgundy, and some of the great lords of Aquitaine, were extremely dissatisfied with this measure, as it appeared alike dishonourable to the king, and dangerous to the public; and therefore, by promising to give him all the assistance he could desire, they prevailed upon him to break the truce, an infraction which so provoked Rollo, that he marched immediately, with a considerable body of forces, and invested Chartres. The confederated lords, in pursuance of their engagements, advanced to its relief, attacked the Normans in their camp, and, with the assistance of a sally from the place, at the head of which was the bishop in his robes, forced Rollo to abandon his enterprize, and to retire to an eminence, where they besieged him and his Normans in their turn. However, having, by a strata-

[g] Dudonis de Moribus et Actis primorum Normanniæ Ducum, libri tres. [h] Fauchet. Du Tillet. Le Gendre. Gulielm. Gemeticens. Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie.

gem,

gem, forced a passage through their camp, Rollo returned to his old station; and being reinforced by many thousands of his countrymen, renewed his depredations on all sides [i].

Rollo compels Charles the Simple to grant him Neustria, with the title of a duchy.

In this critical and perplexed situation of affairs, Charles, finding no hopes of the like assistance, suffered himself to be governed by Robert, the brother of Eudes, now styled duke Robert, who prevailed upon him to recur to the first method of negotiation [k]. Francon, archbishop of Rouen, was again the mediator; and Rollo, though by a great accession of strength he was become more formidable, and, by the usage he had met with, more provoked, yet made no scruple of declaring to the prelate, that he was content to treat upon the old basis, provided the treaty was speedy and sincere [l]. Francon, being well instructed, proposed to him three things; the first was, that he should become a Christian, that the king might escape the imputation of giving the pagans a settlement in France; the second, that he should marry Gisele, the king's daughter, by which alliance Charles might gain an honourable pretence of bestowing the noble country of Neustria as her dowry; and lastly, that he should do homage to the king in the same manner, and hold this country to himself and his heirs on the same terms as the great lords of France, that it might not be said the king paid greater deference to a stranger than to the native nobility of his realm. The Norman expressed himself well satisfied with these offers, to which he made only one objection, that the country of Neustria, though extensive, rich, and fertile in itself, was at this time so wasted and depopulated, as not to afford him and his people subsistence; and, therefore, he desired that he might have some other country assigned him, for the supply of immediate wants. This demand was hard of digestion, and some affirm that, had it not been for the influence of duke Robert, it might have stopped the treaty [m]. The first country offered to Rollo was Flanders, dependent only on the crown of France, and then in the possession of a prince with whom Charles had good reason to be offended; so that there wanted not policy in the offer; yet Rollo rejected it, as lying at too great a distance from Neustria, and being in other respects inconvenient [n]. Bretagne was next mentioned, and accepted.

[i] Fauchet. Du Tillet. Le Gendre. [k] Chron. Var. Antiq. [l] Gulielm. Gemeticens. Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie. [m] Dudon de Moribus et Actis Norm. Duc. [n] Chron. Var. Antiq.

Digitized by Google

The preliminaries being thus adjusted, the king and this Norman prince had an interview at Saint Clair, upon the Epte, where, in the presence of the whole court, Rollo did homage, in quality of duke of Neustria, to his
A. D. 912. new sovereign; but when he came to that part of the ceremony which consisted in kneeling and making a semblance of kissing the king's foot, he peremptorily refused to proceed. An expedient was found, which was, that one of his guards should perform his part; but it seems all the Normans were bad courtiers, for this life-guard man tossed Charles's foot so high, that, if some of the French lords had not caught him, he and his chair would have been overturned [o].

At the ceremony of baptism changes his name to Robert, and bestows that of Normandy on his country.

On Easter-day Rollo received, with great solemnity, the rite of baptism; his old friend, duke Robert, being one of the sponsors, and bestowing upon him his own name. The principal officers in his army, led by his example, became Christians likewise, and, in deference to his counsels, entered readily into the plan he proposed for regulating his new state after the model of that of France. He began with establishing bishopricks and religious houses, which he liberally endowed. He appointed governors of districts, with the title of counts; placed under them inferior magistrates; and enacted such laws, as he judged most expedient for bringing his new government into a tolerable condition. He was particularly severe in punishing theft, and in the equal distribution of justice, which he saw was the great basis of policy, and without which his people must have naturally recurred to their old method of living by robbery and piracy [p]. He executed what he had proposed, with equal expedition and success. In a very little time that ruined and depopulated country was not only filled with inhabitants, vigilant and industrious, but regular in their manners, and perfectly obedient. One great cause of this success was the resort of the better sort of Normans, from all parts, into his dominions, who, weary of that restless and roving kind of life which they had hitherto led, very gladly came to participate in the advantages which he had procured for the
A. D. 912. people under his command [q]. He complied with the intended marriage, though very unequal in point of years; for, at this time, the duke was at least sixty, and the lady

[o] Fauchet. Du Tillet. Le Gendre. Gulielm. Gemeticens.
[p] Dudonis de Moribus et Actis Norm. Duc. [q] Gulielm. Gemeticens. Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie.

could

could not be above fourteen. Thus Charles, though some of his subjects continually reproached him with it, saw the new duchy of Normandy, for so in honour of its inhabitants it was styled, thoroughly fixed, and thereby an end put to the terrors so long spread by the Normans [r].

The line of Charlemagne reduced to Charles, the kingdoms of Germany and Italy going in to other houses, and that of Lorrain reverting to him.

While these things passed in France, there happened great alterations amongst her neighbours. Arnold, king of Germany, who also assumed the title of emperor, died, and left two sons; Lewis, by the queen his consort, who succeeded him as king of the Germans and Romans, and Zuintibold, his natural son, king of Lorrain, who would have disputed the whole succession with Lewis; but being slain in battle, the last mentioned prince added to the rest of his dominions the kingdom of Lorrain. Berenger, whom the emperor Arnold had shut up in a corner of Lombardy, still preserving the title of king, availed himself of his death, and was again crowned at Pavia [s]. Lewis, the son of Boson, king of Arles, passed the Alps with an army, and met at first with such success, that he procured himself to be crowned emperor at Rome; but, in the short space of four years, he fell into the hands of Berenger, who put out his eyes; and he dying not long after, the regal title was lost in his family, Hugo, count of Arles, assuming the title of king. Berenger, pushing this good fortune, compelled pope John IX. to crown him emperor, though he met with great opposition by Lambert, the son of Guy, duke of Spoleto, who, for a time, bore the title of emperor, and who, as some writers say, had been also crowned king of France at Langres [t]. But, in the end, the death of Lambert left him without a rival, and Berenger had the satisfaction of bearing the lofty titles of emperor and king of Italy, being, as we observed, descended by a female from Charlemagne, and the last of his blood who enjoyed sovereign authority on the other side of the Alps. On the other hand, the very year that Charles erected the new duchy of Normandy, Lewis, king of the Germans, Romans, and people of Lorrain, breathed his last, and in him ended the male line of Charlemagne in Germany. Upon which event, the great lords of that country elected Conrade, duke of Franconia. But the people of Lorrain, more inclined to the French government, or having still a high veneration for the Carlovingian race, resolved to call in the only surviving prince,

[r] Fauchet. Du Tillet. Le Gendre. [s] Annal. Metenses.
[t] Du Chesne, tom. ii. p 585.

and

and to place their crown once more on the head of Charles the Simple [u], who by this acquisition was, in some measure, indemnified for the cession he had been forced to make of Normandy. His conduct soon after acquainted the world, how much easier it is to acquire kingdoms than to preserve them; more especially when countries are cantoned amongst a powerful nobility, as was the case at this time in Lorrain, as well as France.

Charles devolves all his power on his favourite Haganon and neglects the nobility.

Charles, if we may give credit to the bulk of the French historians, had no great abilities as a politician, much less was he capable of managing affairs in so perplexed a situation as that in which they then stood; but he seems to have been sensible of this incapacity, and of something more, which was, that he ran a greater hazard in trusting any of his nobility, than in relying on his own parts, slender as they were. It gave him therefore great satisfaction, when he found one Haganon, a gentleman not distinguished either by birth or fortune, upon whom he could rest the weight of his affairs; and who, though in other respects he might be deficient, possessed two qualities that were truly valuable, fidelity and penetration. Charles, who was an honest and good man, had such an affection for this minister, that he was hardly ever out of his company, and did not keep up even the necessary appearances of decorum for the grandees. Being at Aix la Chapelle, Henry, duke of Saxony, afterwards king of Germany, came to pay his respects to him, and for four days successively missed of an audience, receiving continually the same answer, "The king is busy with Haganon," which so much provoked him, that he took his leave, with this observation; "I make no doubt but, in a little time, one of these two things will happen, either Haganon will seat himself on the same throne with Charles, or Charles will become a private gentleman like Haganon." The king being informed of this circumstance, was forced to send Hervé, archbishop of Rheims, to entreat the duke to return, and to endeavour, when he did return, to efface, by his caresses, the bad effects of his indiscretion, which Henry, who was truly a great prince, easily overlooked [w].

Amongst the great lords, of whom the king and his minister were most jealous, were the two Roberts, dukes of Normandy and France. The former was his son-in-law, but had never consummated his marriage; and, by the ad-

[u] Contin. Reginon. Chron. [w] Fragmentum Gallici Scriptoris ex Conrado Abbate Urspergensis.

vice,

vice of Haganon, he sent two gentlemen to his court to have an eye on his proceedings. These the duchess for a long time concealed; but at length they were discovered, and the duke, without any ceremony, hanged them as spies, an execution which provoked Charles so much, that they were on the point of coming to a rupture [x]. The other duke Robert, out of pure friendship, as he would have it understood, began hostilities first, and acted without scruple against Charles, sending envoys to the duke of Normandy to express his attachment; the Norman testifying much gratitude, they went somewhat farther, and acquainted him, that their master had great connections with the French nobility, and doubted not, with his and their assistance, to depose Charles, and to seat himself upon the throne, which his brother Eudes had formerly occupied. To this proposition they received a very unexpected answer: the duke of Normandy told them, that the views of their master were extravagant, and that he was equally incapable of suffering or assisting injustice; which declaration calmed the intestine troubles of the kingdom for some time [y]. But duke Robert, having still the same object in view, and the duke of Normandy being dead, he took advantage of an assembly of the nobility held at Soissons, and engaged the major part of those who were present, not only to expostulate with Charles on the indignity offered to them, by reposing such entire confidence in his minister, but also to give him to understand that they looked upon him as unworthy to be their king, and that they meant to consider him no longer in that light. After this remonstrance they retired; but through the interposition of the archbishop of Rheims, and count Hugo, a kind of treaty of pacification was concluded for a year, in consequence of which Haganon was discarded, at least in appearance, and some of the malecontent lords repaired again to court [z]. However, this insincere compromise did not last long, as answering the intentions of neither party.

The nobility of France form a resolution of deposing Charles, which is avoided by a treaty.

Richard, duke of Burgundy, a very wise and very worthy prince, who had always adhered to Charles, dying, the malecontents renewed their intrigues; upon which the king, looking upon the former agreement as void, recalled Haganon, and heaped upon him new favours [a]. The disaffected lords magnified this step as a direct breach of

At length they accomplish their project and crown duke Robert at Rheims.

[x] Dud. lib. ii. Aimon. Hist. lib. iv. [y] Flodoardi Chronicon Append. [z] Flodoardi Chronicon. Ademari Chronicon Append, Regin, Chron, [a] Dupleix. Le Gendre.

the

the convention, and taking arms, forced Laon, where all Haganon's treasures were. Having distributed these amongst their troops, they no longer kept any measures, but, declaring Charles to be weak and incapable of the royal dignity, proclaimed Robert, duke of France, carried him from thence to Rheims, in a kind of triumph, and there the archbishop Hervé set the crown upon his head, on the last day of June. Charles, in the mean time levied troops in order to defend his crown, and reduce his enemies, amongst whom was Gilbert, whom he had made duke of Lorrain, though most of the lords in that country still ad-
A D 922. hered to his interest [b]. The duke of Aquitaine, and the lords in that country declared for Charles; but Rodolph, the new duke of Burgundy, having espoused the daughter of king Robert, abetted his party with great zeal. Herbert, count of Vermandois, who was a man of parts and power, descended by the male line from Charlemagne, and who had always boasted his loyalty to Charles, deserted him to join Robert, who, that he might leave the unfortunate monarch no resource, went in person to confer with Henry, king of Germany. Having detached this prince from the interests of his competitor, he returned, with a full persuasion, that he should quickly oblige Charles to abandon the kingdom, or, like Charles the Gross, to accept of a precarious subsistence, and lead for the future a private life; the only circumstance wanting to his own establishment [c].

Charles charging the forces of his competitor unexpectedly, kills him on the spot.

In order to execute this plan, he assembled an army under the walls of Soissons, and having the principal part of his lords about him, consulted with them how these purposes might be soonest effected. In the mean time Charles, having still a good body of troops, but perceiving plainly that he could not provide long for their subsistence, resolved to make a sudden and desperate effort, and passing the river Aisne unexpectedly, surprised Robert and his adherents, as they were going to dinner [d]. That prince, who was naturally brave, immediately mounted and put his troops in order; but while he encouraged them to do their duty, and carried his own standard in his hand, Charles, who was in the first ranks of his own troops, engaged him, and bore him to the ground with his lance, where he was presently killed; yet his son Hugo, and Herbert, count of Vermandois, not only restored the bat-

[b] Aimon. Hist. lib. v. [c] P. Fauchet. P. Daniel. [d] Flodoardi Chronicon.

tle,

Digitized by Google

tle, but, in the end, defeated the king's army, and made themselves masters of his baggage: an advantage which left them at liberty to consult how they might best prosecute their affairs, and of whom they should make choice to supply the place of their late king [e], the constitution being now totally subverted, that the nobility were become hereditary, and the crown elective. This action happened on the 15th of June; and some say the shortness of his reign, others his not being universally owned, prevented the name of Robert from being inserted in the list of French kings. The competitors for the succession were Hugo, duke of France, the son of Robert, by the sister of Herbert, count of Vermandois; Herbert himself; and Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, who had espoused Emma, the daughter of duke Robert, and the sister of Hugo. The nobility in general, though they admired the courage and the capacity of Herbert, detested his ingratitude. Hugo seeing the dispute lay between him and Rodolph, left it to the choice of his sister, who, desirous of being a queen, declared for her husband, and Hugo, as he had promised, procured him to be elected. Accordingly the crown was set upon his head at Soissons, on the 13th of July [f]. The few lords that still adhered to Charles, either pleased with the choice of this prince for the sake of novelty, or through fear of being despoiled of their estates, began to drop away; so that, in a short time, he was as much abandoned as Charles the Gross, his unfortunate cousin, and the victim of other men's ambition. A. D. 923.

Rodolph duke of Burgundy succeeds Robert, and Charles is by treachery imprisoned.

In this situation, as weak as his enemies represent him, he did not sink into despair; on the contrary, he endeavoured to retire to William, duke of Normandy, who, like his father, knew no king but him who gave him his duchy; in which attempt, through the vigilance of Rodolph and his party, he was disappointed. This miscarriage brought him so low, that he was obliged to apply to Henry, king of Germany, and to offer to quit in his favour the claims he had on the kingdom of Lorrain, provided he would grant him his assistance [g]. Henry, considering how much he was to be the gainer, and how honourable the enterprize was in itself, determined to undertake it, and began to raise an army for this purpose. King Rodolph began in his turn to feel great apprehen-

[e] Aimon. Hist. lib. v. Ademari Chronicon. Rudolphi Cluniacensii Monachi Hist. sui Temporis. [f] Glabri [g] Flodoardi Chronicon.

sions,

sions, well knowing that the dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine disapproved his election[h]. Out of this perplexity he was delivered by Herbert, count of Vermandois, who, dreading the restitution of Charles, sent deputies to implore his clemency, to assure him of his fidelity, and to desire that he would march such forces as he had about him into his country, that he might be the better able to defend it against their common enemies. Charles was the more easily deceived by these deputies, because they were first deceived themselves, and really believed the count to be in earnest. He marched therefore into Vermandois, with a handful of troops, and was received by count Herbert with all possible testimonies of the most profound respect. At first, however, the king acted with some precaution; but being at length persuaded to enter the fortress of Chateau Thierri, Herbert, the very same night, caused him to be seized in his bed, and then sent one of his adherents to compliment Rodolph on his having nothing to fear, since Charles was a prisoner for life[i]. The queen of this unfortunate monarch, whose name was Egiva, fled with her son Lewis to the court of her brother in England. Rodolph, having now leisure, turned his arms against William, duke of Aquitaine, who perceiving that he had no assistance to expect, thought it expedient to make the best terms he could for himself, and did homage to Rodolph[k]. This war was scarce ended, before Rodolph found himself embarked in another against the Normans; by which we are not to understand the subjects of duke William, but a new swarm of these plunderers from the North, commanded by one Rainold, who fell into Burgundy, and wasted it with fire and sword. The king managed this war but with indifferent success; and after lying some time before their intrenchments, was content to let them make their escape[l]. In this state of things the Normans settled in France broke out into hostilities, on account of some injuries they had received; and while Rodolph was employed in raising an army to bring them to reason, the great lords of Lorrain revolted, and submitted to the king of Germany; which defection, though Rodolph could not possibly help, and in his present circumstances was as little able to resent, yet it lessened his reputation: for the nobility of France were equally jealous of the power of their kings, and ready to

A. D. 924.

[h] Glab. Hist. sui Temp. [i] Ibid. Fauchet. [k] Balazius Notis Append. Capitular. [l] Flodoardi. Chron. Dupleix. P. Daniel.

despise

Digitized by Google

despise them if they wanted power; and, on the other hand, the lords of Lorrain expected to be better gratified by the German monarch for bringing him a kingdom, than they could be by Rodolph for preserving it; in which conduct they were chiefly governed by duke Gilbert, who was very nearly allied to the German, though he owed his great preferments to Charles, against whom he was one of the first that revolted [m].

Herbert, count of Vermandois, releases Charles, and owns him as his sovereign.

A body of Normans having made an irruption into the county of Artois, Rodolph marched against them with his forces. As he approached them on one side, Herbert, count of Vermandois, with the whole strength of his estates, advanced on the other, and thus the Normans found themselves besieged in their camp; but as they had been always famous for defending intrenchments with the utmost intrepidity, the king delayed the attack, in hopes of receiving some propositions from them: but the Normans quitting their camp in a dark night, attacked that of the king, forced it, and would have infallibly destroyed both him and his army, if the count of Vermandois had not come to his relief. In this attack the king was wounded, the officer who commanded under him killed, and his forces were so roughly treated, that he was forced to retire with them to Laon, and leave the Normans to live at discretion, till, by the payment of a sum of money, he procured their retreat [n]. He was chiefly induced to this composition, that he might humble William, duke of Aquitaine, whom he still regarded as his most formidable enemy: but when he was ready to pass the Loire with a numerous army, he was constrained to return, in order to repel the Hungarians, a barbarous people, who had penetrated through Lorrain to the frontiers of his dominions [o]. The presence of the king, say some, restored peace, and engaged these terrible enemies to retire; but others insinuate, that plunder being their aim, they were induced to retire by receiving a large sum of money. A domestic misfortune followed this transaction: the count of Laon dying, Herbert, who had served the king so much, and whose services had been so well paid, demanded that place, which lay convenient for him, though the deceased count had left several children; which favour the king refusing to grant, Herbert turned his eyes

A. D. 926.

[m] Glab. Hist. sui Temp. Aimon. Hist. lib. v. [n] Flodoardi Chronicon. [o] Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, tom. i.

upon

upon his royal prisoner, and brought Charles again upon the stage, with all the honours due to a great prince [p].

The death of that unfortunate prince under a second captivity by the count of Vermandois.

Hugo, duke of the country between the Seine and Loire, styled commonly duke of France, or of the French, had lately married Ethelinda, the daughter of king Edward, and the sister of Charles's consort, and therefore he entered readily into Herbert's measures. The next point was to engage the duke of Normandy to concur with them; for this purpose they had an interview, in which they concluded, first, a marriage between Letgarde, the count's daughter, and the duke, and afterwards a treaty, by which they engaged to set Charles once more upon the throne of France. As a farther proof of his sincerity, the duke, in another conference held at Eu, treated Charles with great magnificence, and did homage to him for his dominions [q]. This turn was so unexpected, and their party was become so formidable, that king Rodolph, leaving Emma his consort in Laon, went into Burgundy to raise an army, with which he quickly took the field, as the confederates likewise did; but duke Hugo, doubting the issue of the war, negotiated a treaty between king Rodolph and the count of Vermandois, by which this last was gratified in respect to the county of Laon, orders being sent by king Rodolph to his consort to deliver it immediately, with which order, out of a spirit of womanish obstinacy, she refused to comply. This refusal rendered the reconciliation more difficult; for Henry, king of Germany, and William, duke of Normandy, insisted that Charles should be restored; and pope John IX. threatened the count of Vermandois with excommunication, if he did not comply with his engagements; besides, he had given his son over as a hostage to the duke of Normandy, and was therefore obliged to save appearances. With this view he called an assembly of prelates and great lords, in whose presence he did homage for all his estates to king Charles [r], by which step he procured his son's liberty; and, understanding the pope was dead, he summoned king Rodolph to make good his treaty. The king, having gained Henry the German, caused the county of Laon to be delivered up to Herbert; so that Charles was once more abandoned; and Herbert, having done homage to his competitor, shut him up again in prison; upon which the queen Egiva, who, with her son, had returned into France, withdrew again, by the ad-

A. D. 928.

[p] Aimon. Hist. lib. v, [q] Flodoardi Chronicon. P. Fauchet. Le Gendre. [r] Glab. Hist. sui Temp. Mezeray.

vice

vice of the duke of Normandy, into England [s]: but Rodolph, having no great confidence in one who had so often deceived him, made a tour to Rheims, and desired that the count of Vermandois would bring Charles thither, which he did. Rodolph received him with great respect, and made him very rich presents, as all the nobility and prelates also did, and, at the same time, settled a competent allowance for his maintenance; which, however, he did not long enjoy, since he died in the castle of Peronne, on the 9th of October following, in the fifty-first year of his age, leaving his competitor in the quiet possession of his dominions [t] (B). A. D. 929.

King Rodolph acts with great spirit, and endeavours to humble the great lords of France.

This event produced a great alteration in the face of affairs. Rodolph, finding himself more at liberty, resolved to live and act like a king: he pursued the Normans of the Loire, so called to distinguish them from those of the Seine, now become a flourishing and fixed people, till he had compelled them either to quit the kingdom, or to betake themselves to some settled habitation. In like manner he visited the frontiers, compelled several lords, who had hitherto been subject to the kings of Provence, to do him homage, constrained the duke of Gascony to follow their example, and most of the lords of Languedoc, and the countries adjacent; who having enjoyed independency so long, were very unwilling to stoop to the yoke. He repelled likewise the Hungarians, or Bulgarians, for we find them called by both names, who made a new irruption, and, in a word, acted in all respects in a manner suitable to his dignity [u]. In these expeditions he was assisted and supported by Hugo, count of France; but Herbert, count of Ver-

[s] Aimon. Dupleix. P. Daniel. [t] Glab. Hist. sui Temp.
[u] Flodoardi Chron. J. de Serres. Mezeray.

(B) We have no mention made in any of the ancient historians of the first wife of Charles the Simple, by whom he became the father of Gisele, who espoused Robert, or Rollo, duke of Normandy. His second consort was Frederune, sister to Beuves, bishop of Chalons, by whom he had Hermentrude, Frederune, Hildegarde, and Rotrude. His third queen was Egiva, or, as the French writers call her Ogive, or Ogine, the daughter of Edward, surnamed the Elder, and the grand-daughter of Alfred the Great, by whom he had his only son Lewis; after his decease, she espoused, as we shall see in the text, Herbert, count of Troyes, the second son of Herbert, count of Vermandois, who had so long kept her husband in prison.

Digitized by Google

mandois, looked with a very evil eye on all these acquisitions of power, more especially, as he plainly saw, that, since the death of Charles the Simple, he was no longer courted and gratified as in times past. In order to convince the king of his importance, he entered into a league with the count of Flanders, to whom he gave his daughter Adila in marriage, with Gilbert, duke of Lorrain, and Henry, king of Germany, to whom he did homage for his estates: upon which a war ensued that lasted for many years [w]. The king did not take part therein as principal, but suffered his troops to act under the authority of Hugo, duke of France, who gradually dispossessed the count of most of the best places he held, such as Eu, Amiens, Saint Quintin, Peronne, Ham, Arras, Chateau Thierri, and, at length, of Rheims, which he held in the name of his son Hugo, whom, by fraud and violence, he had procured to be elected archbishop, when but little more than five years of age; but the king was no sooner in possession of that place, than he promoted Artaud, who was a monk there, to be archbishop of that see [x].

The death and character of king Rodolph, after a short and troublesome reign.

It has been before observed, that Herbert had great courage and capacity, though very little candour; and, in the management of this war, though very unsuccessful, he shewed equal firmness and address. He had his emissaries at the courts of the duke of Normandy, the duke of Aquitaine, the duke of Gascony, and, in a word, of all the great lords who had done homage to Rodolph, who were continually whispering, that their master was the champion of the nobility of France, whose title to their estates lay in their possession, and the power to maintain that possession; since, if he was once subdued, they would soon feel the power of the victor, who would not fail to chastise and humble all of them in their turns. By these means he derived secret supplies and succours, which enabled him to continue the war as long as he did; and he not only expressed great fortitude in the continuance of it, but managed it in such a manner as kept up his reputation, both as a great captain and a consummate statesman; so that, on the whole, his character was one of the most singular that stands recorded in history, as at one and the same time he was both detested and esteemed. At length Rodolph blocked him up in Laon, which he surrendered upon terms; and then, beginning to feel himself sinking, and gradually losing the supports he had hitherto received, he

[w] Glab. Hist. sui Temp. P. Daniel. [x] Aimon. Hist. lib. v.

attempted

Digitized by Google

attempted, though without effect, to reconcile himself to the king [y]. An accident extricated him from this dilemma: the Bulgarians, with a very formidable army, threatened both Germany and France. The two kings had a conference, at which some of the great lords assisted, and amongst the rest Herbert, count of Vermandois. Henry took this opportunity of representing to Rodolph, how injurious it was to the French nation to waste their forces in these intestine disputes: and having brought him to think in his way upon this head, a peace was concluded under his mediation, and Herbert once more did homage to Rodolph for all his lands. The Hungarians were so frighted by the league concluded at this interview, that they renounced their former designs, and made an irruption into Italy [z]. Hugo, duke of France, who was in possession of most of the places taken from Herbert, was very unwilling to part with them, and upon this the war broke out again: but Rodolph, who was not a prince to be trifled with, declared roundly, that he meant the treaty should be fulfilled; upon which Hugo submitted, and the public tranquility was restored; his brother Boson, who had seized the city of Dijon, dying of vexation soon after. The king himself did not survive him long; for, having struggled with difficulty through a dangerous distemper in the autumn, he deceased on the 15th of January, in the following year, at Auxere, in the fourteenth year of his reign; and leaving no issue, the duchy of Burgundy fell to his brother Hugh, surnamed the Black [a]. All writers agree, that Rodolph was one of the most brave, generous, and prudent princes, who had reigned in that country, and who in better times would, without question, have carried the honour of the nation as high as any of his predecessors; but it was his misfortune to be continually involved in war, in which, though he was personally fortunate, the state felt the weight of every defeat [b] (C). A. D. 936.

An

[y] Glab. Hist. sui Temp. Cordemoy. Chalons. [z] Aimon. Hist. lib. v. Du Tillet. Le Gendre. [a] Flodoardi Chronicon. [b] Aimon. Hist. lib. v. Mezeray.

(C) Some writers have confounded this Rodolph, king of France and duke of Burgundy, with Rodolph, king of Burgundy, who was contemporary with him, and present at the conference with Henry, king of Germany. Some writers speak of a former wife, which Rodolph had before he espoused Emma, the sister of duke Hugo; but by her he had no

Digitized by Google

The nobility of France invite Lewis IV. surnamed the Stranger, to return and wear the crown.

An interregnum followed on the death of Rodolph, in which the old intrigues were revived. Hugo the White, so called to distinguish him from Hugo the Black, duke of Burgundy, who had also the surname of Grand, from his power, and of l'Abbé, or Abbot, from his holding four or five great abbies in conjunction with his duchy of France, had a powerful interest, and was besides the son of a king[c]. But he was opposed by Herbert, count of Vermandois, who, though he was not able to raise himself, had yet influence enough to hinder Hugo from mounting the throne. At this juncture, Athelstan, king of the West Saxons, sent ambassadors to William, duke of Normandy, to intreat him to restore a nobleman whom he had banished, and to use his endeavours that the claim of his own, and the duchess of France's nephew, should not be over-looked by the great lords of France. William yielded to both requests, and applied vigorously to duke Hugo, beseeching him to consider how honourably he might gratify his ambition, by bestowing a crown, which he might find it very difficult to seize; and Hugo, without much delay, embraced the proposal[d]. His concurrence removed all obstacles, so that the nobility appointed a deputation, at the head of which was William, archbishop of Sens, to go over to the court of Athelstan, and invite the dowager of Charles the Simple, and her son Lewis, to return. These deputies having done homage to the young king, returned with him to the court of France; and his arrival put an end to the interregnum, when it had lasted five months[e].

Lewis is crowned at Laon, and soon after finds himself overwhelmed with troubles.

Lewis the Fourth, surnamed the Stranger, in French d'Outremer, that is, *from beyond the sea*, landed at Boulogne, but without his mother; where he was met by Hugo, duke of France, and many of the nobility, who conducted him to Laon, and there the ceremony of his coronation was performed with great solemnity, on the

[c] Flodoardi Chronicon. [d] Aimon. lib. v. Chron. Breve.
[e] Flodo. Chron. Cordem. Mezeray.

issue: whereas by Emma, or, as some call her, Emina, he had a son, whose name was Lewis, who, with his mother, died before him, as did also his brother Boson, who was of the whole blood; so that he was succeeded in his hereditary estates by Hugues le Noire, i. e. *Hugh the Black*, who was but his half brother. This monarch died at Auxerre, of the *pediculoris morbus*, which was, it seems, a disease not very unfrequent in those days.

20th

20th of June, by Artaud, archbishop of Rheims, in the presence of twenty other prelates, and most of the great lords. As the young king was but in the seventeenth year of his age, and had been bred up in England, it was presumed that he could not be sufficiently acquainted with public affairs to direct them without assistance; and therefore it was judged expedient to assign him a tutor; to which high employment Hugo, duke of France, was unanimously called. By his advice the young king marched with an army into Burgundy, against Hugo the Black, the brother of his predecessor, who had seized the town of Langres, and sufficiently discovered an inclination to render himself independent. Upon the approach of the king the place was abandoned; and the duke of Burgundy, plainly perceiving that he was in no condition to resist, submitted to divide his dominions with the other Hugo. The king, young as he was, disliked this measure exceedingly, and declared that he would not act by the advice of duke Hugo any longer. Hugo resigned with a good grace; reconciled himself immediately to Herbert, count of Vermandois; excited him to take up arms; and soon after he surprised Laon, though in the hands of duke Hugo. The king, therefore, found it necessary to accommodate matters with his old tutor; and public tranquility was restored. But Lewis, perceiving that he had little more than the title of king, invited over his mother Egiva; and, having formed a good party amongst the lords, resolved to emancipate himself, cost what it would.

A dangerous civil war; which continues several years thro' mere lust of power.

Hugo, duke of France, was, beyond all controversy, one of the ablest men, as well as one of the greatest lords, in France: he recalled the king out of policy, and very possibly might have no intention to depose him; but however he let no opportunity slip, either of curtailing that prince's power, or of augmenting his own. It was with this view that he entered into a league with the duke of Normandy, the count of Vermandois, the count of Flanders, and other great lords, while Lewis likewise formed a league of such as were well-affected to him, or were jealous of the power of duke Hugo. The chief of these was Hugo the Black, duke of Burgundy, Artaud, archbishop of Rheims, the count of Poitiers, and one or two more. Soon after, Gilbert, duke of Lorrain, quitted the malecontents; and detaching himself from Otho, king of Germany, whose sister he had married, called in the French monarch, who penetrated with his army as far as the Rhine; but Hugo, duke of France, foreseeing that,

Digitized by Google

if the king remained in quiet poſſeſſion of Lorrain, it would afford him a great acceſſion of power, made ſuch a diverſion as obliged the king to leave his new conqueſts [f]. Gilbert, duke of Lorrain, being defeated by the Germans, fell into a river in his flight, and was drowned; upon which Lewis eſpouſed his widow Gerberg, the ſiſter of Otho, king of Germany, though ſhe had already two children. The confederates, after amuſing the king with a vain negotiation, attacked Rheims; and, having taken it, replaced Hugo, ſon to the count de Vermandois, and gave archbiſhop Artaud ſome abbies by way of equivalent. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, they next laid ſiege to Laon, a city ſtrong and well fortified, where the king kept his court, and indeed almoſt the only place that belonged to him. Lewis, being well aſſured the place would make a good defence, went into Burgundy to raiſe an army, with which he came time enough to ſave it; but had the misfortune to be afterwards defeated in battle. In this diſtreſs, retiring to prince Charles Conſtantine in Dauphiny, who was deſcended from the kings of Provence, he received him with great reſpect, and promiſed him all the aſſiſtance in his power [g]. In the mean time the king ap-
A. D. 942. plied to Stephen the Eighth, who ſent a legate into France, with letters, requiring the great lords to ſubmit to the king, and put an end to the troubles with which the kingdom was diſtracted. Otho, king of Germany, conſented to a truce for two months; and, under the mediation of William duke of Normandy, a peace was concluded, by which an end was put to this civil war [h].

The king endeavours to deprive the young duke of Normandy of his dominions.

The tranquillity of France was not of any long continuance; William duke of Normandy, being baſely aſſaſſinated, by the procurement of Arnold, count of Flanders, and Herbert, count of Vermandois, dying about the ſame time, things wore quite a new face. Lewis had very juſt reaſon to diſlike that family, and this diſlike led him to think of deſpoiling them; but beſides the children of the deceaſed count being very formidable, and living in ſtrict union with each other, they were protected by Hugo, duke of France, with whom the king would not quarrel [i]. On the contrary, he was ſo bent on gaining him to his intereſt, that he not only confirmed to him, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the county of Paris and the duchy of

[f] Glab. Hiſt. ſui Temporis. Flodo. Chron. Cordemoy. Flodoardi Chron. Luitprandi Chron. Aimon. lib. v. Hiſt. Norm. lib. iii. G. Gemet. Cordemoy, Dupleix.

[g] Flodoardi Chron.

[h] Dud.

[i] Aimon. lib. v. Cordemoy, Dupleix.

France,

Digitized by Google

France, but likewiſe beſtowed upon him the other moiety of the duchy of Burgundy, and thereby rendered him, beyond compariſon, more formidable than himſelf; a ſtep ſo contrary to the rules of policy, and to the diſpoſition of the king, that hiſtorians are able to account for it no otherwiſe than by ſuppoſing he made him privy to his deſigns, and obtained his conſent to them. If this was the truth, and there is great appearance it was ſo, it does very little honour either to the king or the duke; for the deſign of Lewis was to deprive Richard, the ſon of duke William, then a child, of the country of Normandy. With this view he detached ſome of the Norman lords from their duty on one ſide, while the duke of France intrigued on the other; and then, under pretence of correcting theſe diſorders, he went in perſon into Normandy, and made his entry into Rouen, where he was received, with all poſſible ſubmiſſion, by Bernard the Dane, to whoſe care duke William had committed his ſon [k]. The king, ſeeing himſelf punctually obeyed in all things, ventured to ſeize the perſon of the young prince, a meaſure which excited a general inſurrection; and the king was intimidated thereby to ſuch a degree, that he brought out the child to the populace, and aſſured them he had no other intention than to breed him up as his own ſon. Having thus put an end to the tumult, he received the homage of Richard publicly, and made ſuch profeſſions of kindneſs to the child, that the Normans ſuffered him to carry their young prince to Laon. He had not been long there before the count of Flanders cauſed it to be inſinuated to him, that this young prince being once removed, nothing could hinder his reuniting that duchy to the crown. Black as it was, the king was too much inclined to this advice; of which Oſman, who was governor to the duke, having notice, he bid the child feign himſelf ſick. This pretence creating ſome confuſion, and rendering thoſe about him leſs watchful, Oſman, in the diſguiſe of a groom, bundled up the boy in a truſs of hay, and, clapping him on his ſhoulder, carried him to the ſtables; then mounting him on a fleet horſe, he carried him to the caſtle of Bernard, count of Senlis, his uncle by the mother's ſide, who poſitively refuſed to deliver him up either to the king or to the Normans.

In this conjuncture, Hugo, duke of France, with ſeveral other great lords, interceded, on the behalf of the

[k] Flodo. Chron. Dud. Hiſt. Norm. lib. iii. Glab. Hiſt. ſui Temp.

Digitized by Google

Is over-reached by the Normans, his army beaten, and himself made prisoner.

young prince, and laboured to engage the king to leave him in the quiet possession of his duchy. Lewis, on the other hand, suggested to Hugo, that, if he would consent to the execution of his scheme, he should have part of the spoil. This offer had its effect: the king, at the head of a body of troops, marched to Rouen, where he was received with the most profound submission, and where Bernard the Dane, and his associates, who had administered the government, did not appear averse to the king's project, but seemed to listen with satisfaction to his promises. But duke Hugo entering with his forces into the country of Bayeaux, which was to be his by the agreement, Bernard the Dane, and the count de Senlis, represented to the king, that the inhabitants of the whole duchy were willing to become his subjects, and thereby prevailed upon him to send an order to Hugo to retire; which he obeyed indeed, but with great discontent[l]. Soon after Aigrol, king of Denmark, made a descent on the coast of Normandy. This prince, being driven out of his own dominions, had taken shelter there in the time of duke William; who having generously protected him, he now acted on behalf of his son. Bernard pretended to act zealously for the king, till, the armies being near each other, he prevailed upon him to consent to a conference; in which being betrayed, the French army was suddenly attacked, and totally routed, with the loss of eighteen counts upon the spot, the king himself being taken in the pursuit, and carried prisoner to Rouen[m]. He reproached Bernard the Dane as the author of his misfortune; who very calmly answered, that deceivers had no right to complain of deceit; and that fulfilling the will of his dead, and being faithful to his living master, he had nothing wherewith to reproach himself. But, complaints availing nothing, the king was forced to have recourse to intreaties.

Released by the Normans, he is again confined by duke Hugo, and forced to yield up Laon.

The queen Gerberg, in order to obtain the king's liberty, applied herself to her brother Otho, who absolutely refused to intermeddle, being highly displeased with his brother-in-law's conduct. Upon this she was constrained to address herself to duke Hugo; who not only behaved towards her with great respect, but entered very zealously into the design of procuring the king's liberty;

[l] Aimon, lib. v. Chroniques de Normandie. Gulielm. Gemeticens. [m] Flodo. Chron. Dud. Hist. Norm. lib. ii.

which

Digitized by Google

which was effected by a treaty with the Normans, upon condition that the former grants of the duchy should be renewed and confirmed, not only by the king, but by all the bishops and great lords of the kingdom [n]. It was farther stipulated, that two prelates, and one of the king's children, should be given as hostages for the due performance of the treaty; and all these articles being punctually executed, the Normans delivered Lewis out of his captivity, into the hands of the duke of France. But he quickly found that this was only a change of prisons; for Hugo kept him a full year, nor would he restore him to freedom at last, till the county and city of Laon were delivered up to him, as a reward for the trouble he had taken in this negociation. These he granted to the count de Chartres; and thus, at the issue of this difficult and dangerous affair, the king found himself in worse circumstances than ever [o]. He had all the resentment possible against the duke, but little or no power to make him feel that resentment. He carried his complaints to England and to Germany; and having prevailed upon his brother-in-law, Otho, to consent to an interview, he offered, in case he would enter into his views, to make a free cession of all his rights to the kingdom of Lorrain. That prince had other reasons, though that was the avowed motive, for accepting of the proposition; for duke Hugo, having given his daughter Emma to Richard duke of Normandy, was become thereby formidable even to Otho himself; and, indeed, it was owing to the great strength of this potent lord, and to the methods he took to augment it daily, that king Lewis found himself in a condition to form a new alliance [p]. A. D. 946.

The kings of Germany and Burgundy assist Lewis against duke Hugo.

Arnold, count of Flanders, and Conrad, king of Burgundy, entered immediately into this league, and their forces having joined those of the two kings, formed altogether a very numerous and potent army, with which they threatened absolute destruction to duke Hugo and the Normans [q]. The first part of the storm fell upon the city of Rheims, which archbishop Hugo, son to the deceased count of Vermandois, very gallantly defended, but at length was forced to submit, and to surrender at discretion, and archbishop Artaud was restored. The two kings, Otho and Lewis, attempted next to reduce Senlis; but the place being strong and gallantly defended, they

[n] Glab. Hist. sui Temp. Chroniques de Normandie. Dud. Hist. Norm. [o] Aimon, lib. v. Gulielm. Gemeticens. Chroniques de Normandie. [p] Flodoard. Chron. [q] Aimon, Hist. lib. v. Dud. Hist. Norm. lib. iii. P. Fauchet.

were

were obliged to raise the siege [q]. They next entertained thoughts of attacking Paris, after ravaging all the duchy of France; but the count of Flanders persuaded them that was impracticable, and, to gratify his private resentment, drew the confederate army into Normandy, under pretence of surprising Rouen. Finding this not to be done, they besieged it, and, what between the badness of the season, and the fatigue given them by a vigorous resistance, they were so reduced, that Otho called a council of his own generals, to propose delivering up the count of Flanders to the Normans, in order to obtain their permission to make a retreat [r]. The council rejected this proceeding, of which count Arnold had a hint. About midnight, therefore, his troops began to march. The rest of the army, not having the least suspicion of it, took them for a corps of Normans advancing to the relief of the place, and, decamping hastily, made such a retreat as differed little from a downright flight, the Normans falling into
A. D. 947. and cutting off the French in their rear. Next year duke Hugo besieged Rheims, as the king did Monstreuil, both without effect; upon which followed a truce. King Lewis had also another interview with his brother-in-law Otho, on the banks of the river Kar, then esteemed the boundary between France and Lorrain, as it anciently was between the kingdoms of Austrasia and Neustria [s].

A. D. 948. In the course of the ensuing year there was a council held at Verdun, in which Robert archbishop of Treves presided, in order to determine the perplexed cause between Hugo and Artaud, each of them claiming to be archbishop of Rheims; where Hugo was condemned for contumacy. The pope, however, sent a legate into France, with instructions to call a general council of the bishops in that kingdom, and in Germany, to determine not only this, but the more important dispute between the king and duke Hugo. This council was accordingly held at Ingelheim, and the two kings, Otho and Lewis, assisted thereat in person; and, in the end, not only the archbishop Hugo, but also the count of Chartres, and duke Hugo
A. D. 949. himself, were excommunicated: the king of Germany, having furnished a considerable body of troops in support of the decrees of the council, took several places [t]. Next year the king surprised Laon, but was not able to take the

Duke Hugo compels the king to make peace.

[q] Flodoardi Chron. Cordem, Le Gend. [r] Append. Reg. Chron. Dupl. P. Daniel. [s] Aimon. lib. v. P. Fauchet, Boulanvil. [t] Concil. Ingelh. apud Concil. Gall. tom. iii.

citadel,

Digitized by Google

citadel, which, at length, upon concluding a peace at an interview between the king and duke Hugo for that purpose, was surrendered into his hands. The king took the advantage of this short interval of peace to make a tour into Aquitaine, in order to receive the homage of the great lords in those quarters, and to dispose them, if possible, to a greater degree of obedience than they had hitherto shewn; but while he was thus employed, he met with two misfortunes; the first was an irruption of the Hungarians into Champagne, where they committed intolerable devastations [u]; and the other was the elopement of his mother, the queen-dowager Egiva, whom, not without reason, he had confined at Laon, and who, in his absence, making her escape, espoused, though she was forty-five years of age, Herbert count of Troyes, a younger son of Herbert count of Vermandois, who had confined her husband and the king's father so many years in prison, and was the principal author of these confusions and troubles [w]. A. D. 950. A. D. 951.

The death of Lewis, and the conduct of Hugo at that critical juncture.

The quarrels between the two archbishops, as well as those between the king and duke Hugo, were rather suspended than composed by the late hasty peace; so that they broke out again into fresh hostilities. The duke, however, who saw that nothing followed from these intestine wars but common destruction, consented to leave all his claims in the hands of his consort, who was the queen's sister; and Lewis readily following his example, the two princesses made a firm and settled peace [x]. This left the king at liberty to resume the affairs of Aquitaine, and to take other steps for the maintenance of his authority, as well as for repressing the Hungarians, who had pushed their ravages as far as the country now called Picardy. But while he was thus employed, as he was upon the road between Laon and Rheims, and had by chance started a wolf, as he was riding in full pursuit of the beast, his horse stumbled and threw him, by which fall he was bruised in so terrible a manner, that it proved the occasion of his death, which happened on the 15th of October, in the nineteenth year of his reign, and the thirty-third of his life [y]. He was interred at Rheims, in the church of St. Remy, and was much regretted by his subjects. Duke A. D. 954.

[u] Aimon. lib. v. J. de Serres, Chalons. Cordem. Mezer. [w] Flodo. Chron. [x] Aimon. Hist. lib. v. Dupl. Le Gend. [y] Epitaph. Ludovici Transmarini, Flodoardi Chron. Aimon. Hist. lib. v.

Hugo,

Digitized by Google

Hugo, whose power was greater than ever, might easily have made an advantage of this accident; but either his virtue or his politics dictated a nobler conduct, so that, as soon as he received the news, he offered his service to the queen-dowager, and promised to see the crown set upon the head of her eldest son, who was then in the fourteenth year of his age [2].

Lothaire is crowned king of France.

In discharge of the promises he had made to the queen, Hugo the Great, as he was now commonly styled, repaired to Laon, attended by several great lords and prelates; and, having conducted Lothaire from thence to Rheims, caused him to be there solemnly crowned by the archbishop Artaud. The king, in recompence of this service, created him duke of Aquitaine. Lothaire resided, as his father had done, at Laon, which was at least the most considerable domain that was left to the crown, and so much the more valuable, as it was a strong place, in which the sovereign might safely reside without fear of being surprised. The king had besides some other small estates, and many royal houses scattered through his dominions, the revenues of which served to defray the expences of his court. When he had occasion for troops they were furnished by his vassals, that is, by such as were in a humour to furnish them; for, though they were alike bound to this service, yet if they had any private or particular war of their own upon their hands, had entered into contrary engagements, or were not disposed to obedience, they made very light of the commands of a king, who was not in a condition to punish their contempt of them. This was the case more especially of the great lords; such as the counts of Paris, of Vermandois, of Flanders, and several others, who were each of them richer and more powerful than their master [3].

Death of duke Hugo.

Next spring Hugo, duke of France, came with a powerful army to Laon, in order to carry the young king into Aquitaine, to establish him in his new dignity, which hitherto had been possessed by the count of Poitiers, who opposed him, in conjunction with many of the nobility. Hugo thereupon laid close siege to the place, and made himself master of a fortress that was built to cover it; but finding the city made a stronger resistance than he expected, and being intimidated by a clap of thunder that broke over his tent, he thought fit, at the end of two months,

[2] Flodo. Chron. P. Fauchet, Du Tillet, Dupl. Le Gendre. [3] Le Gend. Dupl. Boulanvil.

to

to raiſe the ſiege [b]. The count of Poitiers intended, with his new raiſed forces, to attack him in his retreat; of which deſign Hugo having intelligence, ſhewed his military ſkill in diſpoſing his troops in order of battle, and advancing to meet him. The diſpute was ſhort and bloody, but in the end the count was defeated, and made his eſcape with great difficulty [c]. Next year this great man died, who, without wearing the crown, had for the beſt part of his life held the ſupreme power in France, being the ſon, and, as it afterwards proved, the father of a king, and brother-in-law to three kings (E). He left his eldeſt ſon, A. D. 955.

[b] Flodo. Chron. Du Tillet, Mezeray. P. Fauchet, P. Daniel.

[c] Aimon. lib. v.

(E) The courage and conduct of duke Hugo, joined to his hereditary eſtates and illuſtrious deſcent, naturally gave him, more eſpecially conſidering the times in which he lived, that extenſive influence, of which the reader has ſeen ſo many inſtances in the text. He was the ſon of king Robert, who, while he held the inferior title of duke, is allowed to have fixed the Normans in France; for which reaſon the princes of that line had always a great affection for his family. This duke was likewiſe the nephew of Eudes, or Otho, king or regent of France, in the minority of Charles the Simple. Both theſe kings, Eudes and Robert, were the ſons of Robert le Fort, count of Anjou and duke of France, under the reign of Charles the Bald; who, as ſome ſay, eſpouſed his ſiſter. Some will have this Robert to have been of a Saxon family, and others of an Italian. An attempt has been made to trace his genealogy from Clodian, and conſequently from Pharamond. It is very certain, that he was, by his mother, deſcended from Charlemagne, ſince ſhe was the daughter of Herbert, the firſt count of Vermandois, the ſon of Pepin, the ſon of Bernard king of Italy, who was the grandſon of that monarch. He was alſo great in point of alliances; king Rodolph was his brother-in-law; the potent and reſtleſs count of Vermandois married his aunt, and they were couſin-germans before by the mother's ſide; the counts of Chartres and Angoulême were likewiſe his couſins. The great influence ariſing from theſe connexions he maintained and augmented by his marriages; his firſt conſort was Judith, ſaid to be the grand-daughter, by the mother's ſide, of Charles the Bald. His ſecond was Ethelinda, the daughter of Edward the Elder, and ſiſter to Athelſtan, king of the Weſt Saxons. By neither of theſe had he any iſſue. He therefore eſpouſed Hadwiga, or Avoya, of Saxony, daughter to Henry the Fowler, king of Germany, ſiſter

Digitized by Google

son, Hugh Capet, especially recommended to the care of Richard duke of Normandy, as he was then but sixteen years of age, and his other three sons were in their infancy; and under the tutelage of their mother, who was a sister to the queen-dowager. This precaution did not hinder great disputes between them, which might have been attended with untoward consequences, if it had not been for the influence of Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, brother to both these princesses, and uncle as well to the children of the duke of France as to the king [d].

A. D. 959. This great prelate was entrusted by his brother, the emperor, with almost sovereign power in Lorrain; and that he might have a title suitable to his dignity, that of archduke was devised in his favour, which is the first time that we meet with any mention of this honour. It was by his influence over the children of duke Hugo, that the two eldest, as soon as they had attained to proper age, went to the court of Lothaire, and did homage for their lands, which step was so acceptable to the monarch, that he bestowed on Hugh, the eldest, afterwards surnamed Capet, the title of duke of the Franks, which his father had enjoyed, as also the county of Poitiers; that is, he gave him leave to get into possession of it as soon as he could; and intitled the younger, Henry, duke of Burgundy, in hopes of attaching them to his interest. In this particular, perhaps, he acted wisely; but his conduct towards the duke of Normandy does not deserve the like commendation. Arnold, count of Flanders, and his son Baldwin, Thibaut, surnamed the Trickster, count of Chartres, and Geoffrey count of Anjou, persuaded him to make a scandalous attempt on the person of duke Richard, by inviting him to

King Lothaire makes war on the duke of Normandy.

[d] Flodo. Chron. Dud. Hist. Norm. lib. iii. Boulanvil.

sister to the emperor Otho the Great, and to Gerberg queen of France. He had by her Hugh Capet, Otho, Eudes, and Henry, successively dukes of Burgundy; and two daughters, Beatrix, who espoused Frederick duke of the Upper Lorrain, and Emma, who became the wife of Richard the First, duke of Normandy. Nor was he less considerable in point of property; for, besides the duchy of Burgundy, part of which, as far as the Saonne, he claimed by descent, he held also the duchy of France, which, besides the two great cities of Paris and Orleans, comprehended the counties of Gastinois, Chartres, Perche, Blois, Tours, Anjou, and Maine, together with the lands of Sologne, at least as much of them as lay in the Orleannois.

a con-

Digitized by Google

a conference, where he was to have been seized, that the king might have an opportunity of re-annexing that noble province to the crown; into which snare the duke would have certainly fallen, if it had not been for two knights belonging to the count de Chartres. They, meeting him upon the road, informed him of what was intended against him, and gave him an opportunity of retiring in time; for which intelligence he was so grateful as to reward the one with his sword, and the other with the gold chain which he wore. The king, finding the plot had miscarried, disavowed it in very high terms, summoned the duke to do him homage, and laid a new scheme for surprising him. But Richard took such precautions, that this also failed; and Lothaire and his confederates perceiving that nothing could be done by fraud, had recourse to force, and invaded his dominions, but with no great success. In the course of the war, however, the duke of Normandy found himself so much pressed, that he was constrained to send for succours to Denmark; which brought a fleet and army of Pagans into France, who committed most grievous ravages. These so irritated the clergy against the count de Chartres, who was considered as the author of these disturbances, that they threatened him with excommunication, and endeavoured to negociate a peace with duke Richard, without asking the king's consent[e].

Peace concluded with the Normans.

The count, however, was before hand with them. He sent privately to duke Richard, offering to go to Rouen upon a safe-conduct from him; which promise, having once obtained, he readily performed. There proposing to restore Evreux, which the king had taken and bestowed upon him, a peace was speedily concluded, and not long after all points in dispute with the king were likewise adjusted; yet these treaties did not produce immediately that tranquility which might have been expected from them. The Normans lately arrived from Denmark formed a considerable body of troops, and had a great navy upon the coast, ready to attend their motions. They totally disapproved this conduct in duke Richard, affirming that they did not come into France purely for his service, but also for their own, and in order to carve out for themselves a settlement by force of arms. The duke made use of fair words to pacify them, and at length brought them to agree to leave behind such as were disposed to embrace

[e] Dud. Hist. Norm. lib. iii. Guliel. Gemeticens. Chroniques de Normandie.

the

Digitized by Google

the Christian religion, for whom he was in an ample manner to provide; and that the rest, before their return home, should each of them receive a considerable sum of money, in compensation of that plunder which they might otherwise have made. Thus both the kingdom and the duchy were stripped of a vast sum in order to get rid of these troublesome invaders [f].

This war was no sooner extinguished than there broke out another against the young count of Flanders, grandson to Arnold, from whom the king was desirous of taking a part of his lands. The duke of France, Hugh Capet, and his brethren, who were successively dukes of Burgundy, assisted the king powerfully in his expeditions. At length, by the interposition of the duke of Normandy, when much blood had been shed on both sides, peace was made, and the young count of Flanders received all the places of which he had been spoiled [g]. The king, to strengthen himself, as well as to secure the succession, espoused Emma, the daughter of Lothaire, king of Italy, and gave his sister Matilda to Conrade, king of Burgundy, and took other steps for reviving and sustaining the house of Charlemagne; though these endeavours, as we shall see hereafter, proved ineffectual, notwithstanding that at this time his power was far superior to that which either his father or his grandfather had enjoyed, the dukes of France and Burgundy adhering as steadily to him as their ancestors had been obstinate in distressing his predecessors [h].

A. D. 970.

Otho the Second gives the duchy of Lorrain to Charles the brother of Lothaire.

The kingdom remained in quiet. Lothaire, by a prudent management of the prerogatives still left in the crown, found means to augment his own authority, and to diminish the power of the nobility, by involving them in wars with each other; and when they were sufficiently weakened, acting as a mediator. In process of time an opportunity seemed to offer for extending this sort of policy beyond the bounds of France, and Lothaire was resolved not to let it slip. The country of Lorrain had been long in dispute between the kings of France and Germany; the lords, who were in actual possession of this great country, were more inclined to pay their homage to the descendents of Charlemagne than to the kings of Germany; and since the death of the archduke Bruno, and of his brother the emperor Otho, they thought themselves much

[f] Flod. Chron. Aimon, lib. v. Dud. Hist. Norm. lib. iii. [g] Guliehm. Gemet. lib. iv. Flodo. Chron. Dud. Hist. Norm. lib. iii. [h] Glab. Hist. sui Temp. Aimon. lib. v.

more

Digitized by Google

more at liberty to discover their affections than before. Lothaire was very willing to encourage this disposition, as he inherited from his mother very considerable estates in that country; and, that these might the better answer his purpose, he resigned them to his brother Charles, who, by espousing the cause of every turbulent lord in Lorrain, and setting up for the protector of those who had been deprived of their estates by the archduke Bruno, threw Lorrain into confusion, and paved the way for effecting what his brother desired [i]. Otho the Second, who had many troublesome affairs upon his hands, discerned very clearly the purposes of both the brothers; who, notwithstanding, would have been far less formidable enemies, if, in all their attempts, they had not been abetted by Hugh Capet; and to make himself easy, and to disappoint them, Otho offered the duchy of the Lower Lorrain to Charles, on no harder conditions than that of doing him homage; which he readily accepted, to the irretrievable injury of his brother's affairs; for, by this condescension, the point in dispute, that is, the homage for Lorrain, was given up to Otho, and the French looked upon the honour of the crown to be so much affected thereby, that their indignation to Charles grew to such a height as could never be appeased [k].

Lothaire, exceedingly provoked at this refined specimen of policy, by which the benefit conferred upon his brother reflected such discredit upon himself, resolved to vindicate his claim to Lorrain by arms. In pursuance of this project, which was equally acceptable to the nobility and the nation, he marched with a numerous army to Metz, the gates of which were opened on his first appearance. Having received the homage of many of the nobility, he prosecuted his design, and marched with all possible expedition to Aix la Chapelle, where Otho kept his court in all manner of security, and where he was so near being surprised, that he left his dinner just as it was placed upon the table. Lothaire plundered the palace of all his rich moveables, spoiled all the adjacent country, and returned home [l]. Otho, breathing nothing but revenge for for such an affront, entered France in the autumn with an army of sixty thousand men, and advanced as far as the gates of Paris, wasting all the country before him

A. D. 978.

The king makes war with success, but loses by a treaty.

[i] Flodo. Chron. Chron. Nangii, P. Daniel. Sigeberti Chronicon. Le Gendre. [k] Aimon. lib. v. [l] Glab. Hist. sui Temporis. Chron. Nangii, Cordemoy.

Digitized by Google

with fire and ſword. But when he came to retire, Hugh Capet, and Geoffrey count of Anjou, followed him with a conſiderable body of troops, harraſſed his forces exceedingly, and cut off ſuch numbers in their paſſing the river Aiſme, that the ſtream, being choaked with dead bodies, overflowed the adjacent country. Next year Otho came to Rheims, and concluded a peace with king Lothaire, by which he was left in poſſeſſion of Lorrain; but, as the French authors ſay, was content to hold it as a fief of the crown of France. However that might be, this is very certain, that the French lords were highly diſpleaſed with this treaty, which altered the opinion they had hitherto entertained of their king, who, inſtead of embracing this opportunity of retrieving the falſe ſtep he had made, ran into a ſtill greater, by attaching himſelf more cloſely than
A. D. 980. ever to the intereſts of Otho, and thereby heightening that diſtaſte which the French nobility had conceived againſt him [m].

The death of Lothaire, who, by ſome, is thought to have been poiſoned by his queen.

Otho dying about four years after, in Italy, Lothaire undertook the defence of his ſon, Otho the Third, againſt Henry duke of Bavaria, who laboured to deprive him of the kingdom of Germany. This pretence gave the French monarch an opportunity of making a freſh irruption into Lorrain, where he became maſter of Verdun; it appears alſo, that he made an attempt upon the city of Cambray, in which he miſcarried, through the oppoſition given him by his brother Charles, who was in arms on the ſide of the Germans [n]. The prudence and ſpirit he ſhewed in the latter part of his reign reſtored his credit in a great degree, and brought the great lords in his dominions to treat him with the reſpect due to their ſovereign, and to acquieſce in his aſſociating his ſon Lewis in the government. But at the time when his affairs were in the beſt poſture, and when he was moſt capable of turning things to his own advantage, and to that of his family, he was unfortunately removed by death; which happened at Rheims on the
A. D. 986. ſecond of March, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and in the thirty-ſecond of his reign [o] (F). Some ſuſpicions of

[m] Adem. Chron. Chron. Nang. Dupl. Temporis, Cordem. P. Daniel.
[n] Glab. Hiſt. ſui
[o] Aimon. Hiſt. lib. v.

(F) Mezeray ſays of this prince, that he was brave, active, and very attentive to his affairs; adding, that, as he was a prince of great virtues, he deſerved to live in better times. The count de Boulainvilliers owns, that he was active and war-

Digitized by Google

of his being poiſoned by the queen were countenanced by his brother Charles, duke of Lorrain, who loſt no opportunity of ſpreading reports to the prejudice of her reputation: but the tenderneſs and affection ſhe always expreſſed for the perſon of her huſband, is a ſtrong preſumption that the charge was without foundation.

Short reign and ſad end of Lewis V. the laſt monarch of the line of Charlemagne.

Lewis the Fifth, upon whom ſome writers beſtow the opprobrious name of Faineant, was, at the time of his father's deceaſe, in the nineteenth year of his age, and, as the writers of thoſe times ſay, committed by his father, in his laſt moments, to the care of Hugh Capet, who had ſerved him faithfully during his whole reign. With his aſſiſtance he ſucceeded to the throne, and the nobility renewed their oaths of fidelity. His ſhort reign was a continual ſcene of tumult and trouble. He quarrelled immediately with the queen-dowager; and, upon ſome difference with the archbiſhop of Rheims, who was a Lorrainer by birth, ſurpriſed that city, not without conſiderable effuſion of blood: he alſo chaſed the biſhop of Laon out of the kingdom, whom he reproached with being his mother's gallant [p]. That princeſs was ſupported by the German court, and Otho the Third was on the very point of declaring war againſt the monarch of France, when Beatrix, the ſiſter of Hugh Capet, and the conſort of Frederick of Alſace, duke of Upper Lorrain, interpoſed. Coming to pay that prince a viſit at Compeigne, they prevailed upon him to go to Montfaucon; where, in a conference, at which was preſent the queen-mother, Charles duke of Lorrain, the king's uncle, Henry duke of Lorrain, and the empreſs-dowager, all things were for the preſent adjuſted [q]. It is highly probably this pacification would have been of no long continuance, if the king had lived; but it is allowed, that the queen his wife did for him what the duke of Lorrain charged the queen-dowager with doing for his father; that is, ſhe poiſoned him, when he had reigned a year and two months (G). Some writers ſay, that

[p] Aimon, lib. v. Cordem. P. Daniel. P. Fauchet.

[q] Adem. Chron.

warlike, but, at the ſame time, perfidious, as all the princes of that age were. In reality, what ſeemed to be the greateſt errors in this monarch's adminiſtration, flowed from the vaſt diſproportion between his parts and his power. His ambition was great, and his means were little.

(G) It is agreed on all hands, that this Lewis V. was but a weak young prince. In his father's life-time he married a

Digitized by Google

that he died on the 22d of June[r]; but this fact is not certain, any more than that he bequeathed the crown to Hugh Capet, as a person to whom he had been more obliged than to any of his own family. Be that as it may, this prince was the last of the house of Charlemagne, which possessed the throne between two hundred and thirty and two hundred and forty years (H).

SECT. VI.

The Reigns of Hugh Capet, Robert, Henry I. Philip I. Lewis VI. surnamed the Fat, and Lewis VII. the Young.

Accession of Hugh Capet, and means by which he attained the kingdom.

THE character of Hugh Capet, and his manner of ascending the throne, appear in very different lights in the works of French historians. Some labour to justify his conduct with regard to the duke of Lorrain; and some, out of a zeal to what they esteem the right of succession, treat his accession to the crown as a flagrant usurpation. As we have no authority to decide, we think it imprudent to enter at all into this question, farther than to observe, that the third race of French kings supplanted

[r] Cordem. Mezer.

lady, whose name, some say, was Constance, and that she was the daughter of William, count of Arles; but the best part of the French historians call her Blanche, and affirm that she was the daughter of some great lord in Aquitaine, which is most likely to be true.

(H) We find in Mezeray an enumeration of the causes which brought about the gradual declension, and at length the total exclusion, of the line of Charlemagne. They are these: 1. The division of the empire into several kingdoms, which was necessarily followed by discord and civil war amongst the possessors. 2. The unreasonable affection of Lewis le Debonnaire, for his favourite son Charles the Bald. 3. The imbecility of the greatest part of these princes. 4. The ravages of the Normans, who, by desolating France for fourscore years together, afforded the great lords an opportunity of rendering themselves independent. 5. The many natural children of Charlemagne, whose descendants took occasion from thence to turn the estates, given for their subsistence, into so many principalities. But without doubt, the principal cause of the fall of this house, was the too great extent of that empire, which fell to pieces in consequence of its own weight.

the

Digitized by Google

the second, as the second did the first; and that there was a great resemblance in the temper and manners of Hugh Capet with those of Pepin the Short. It seems that Hugh Capet had taken his measures early and effectually, since in a few days he caused himself to be proclaimed king at Nojon, and was solemnly crowned at Rheims, by the archbishop of that see, on the 3d of July[a]. It is observed that this design was executed without any opposition, and that nobody stirred in behalf of the late king's uncle Charles, the last surviving prince of the race of Charlemagne. Those who were in the interest of the new king assisted at his coronation; but there were many great lords who did not approve of this measure, therefore absented themselves; and many more, because they had not time to learn the news of Lewis's death, much less to settle in their own minds what party they should take upon this occasion[b]. As for the king, he brought more strength to the crown than he received from it, since the duchy of France, the counties of Paris and Orleans, were in his own hands, the rich duchy of Burgundy in those of his brother Henry, and his brother-in-law, the duke of Normandy, was closely attached to his interest[c]. Besides, A. D. 987. the queen-dowager Emma, if not out of regard to him, yet in hatred to Charles, threw what weight she had into the scale; and the interest of his own queen Adelaide, who was a princess of high birth and admirable qualities, added not a little to his security[d]. Besides, as we observed, his competitor was very ill beloved.

The duke of Guienne refuses to acknowlege the new king, but is beaten and submits.

Charles of Lorrain might probably have succeeded better in his pretensions, if he had acted earlier, or if he had taken the precaution to arm all his partizans at once; but the character of this prince was a certain slowness in all his motions, and a want of timing things properly, rather than any defect in parts or in courage. While he deliberated, therefore, on the measures he was to take, the new king was at liberty to proceed as he pleased against such lords as had refused to do him homage[e]. Amongst these, one of the most considerable was William duke of Guienne, or, as some style him, of Aquitaine, against whom he marched with an army, and laid siege to Poitiers; but being informed that the duke of Lorrain had,

[a] Chron. Centulense. Aimon. lib. v. Le Gendre. Gerberti, Ep. 120. Ademari Chron. P. Daniel. Centulense. Glab. Hist. sui Temporis. Sigeberti Chron. Nicon Vetus. Mezeray. Chron. Malliac. Ademari Chron. P. Daniel.

[b] Cod.

[c] Chron.

[d] Chron.

Digitized by Google

by the assistance of Herbert count of Troyes, whose daughter he married, assembled a considerable army in Champagne, he raised the siege, and resolved to lose no time in repassing the Loire, in order to watch the motions of his competitor. The duke of Guienne, who lay with an army near Poitiers, endeavoured to cut off his retreat; when the king, following the example of his grandfather, disposed his troops in order of battle, and attacked those who thought to have fallen upon his rear. The dispute was short but bloody, and the victory so clearly on the king's side, that the duke submitted [f]. The king, who was a man of good temper and sagacity, as well as of great moderation, made the best use of this gleam of prosperity; and, in an assembly of the nobles, proposed the association of his son Robert; to which proposal when they had consented, he caused him to be crowned with great ceremony, upon new-year's-day, at Orleans, by the hands of the archbishop of Sens, whom the late victory had brought over to his party [g]. By this act, having secured the crown to his family, he never afterwards wore the royal ornaments himself, or affected any extraordinary state or magnificence, but administered public affairs with great application, and with such an appearance of modesty, justice, and piety, as recommended him highly to his subjects, more especially to the clergy; to whom he restored all the abbies he possessed, and the nobility followed his example.

A. D. 988.

Charles takes Laon by surprize, and afterwards becomes master of Rheims.

Charles in the mean time besieged, and made himself master of, the city of Laon, and, which perhaps was more welcome to him, of the person of the queen dowager Emma, and of the bishop whom he had represented as her gallant [h]. The king advanced with a numerous army, and in his turn besieged Charles in the city of Laon. The severity with which that prince treated the queen and the bishop, by committing them both to prison, had a bad effect on his affairs; for the court of Germany interposing on the behalf of the queen, and the prelates in favour of the bishop, without success, became his enemies. By a well-conducted sally, however, he cut off a great part of his competitor's army, and obliged him to raise the siege [i]. The king thought to balance this loss by detaching from the party of Charles his nephew Arnould, the

[f] Adem Chron. Du Tillet. Mezeray. Aimon, l. v. fui temporis. Cod. Gerb. Epist. 107. Chron. Cod. Gerb. Epist. 119, 120. Le Gendre. Du Tillet. P. Daniel.

[g] Glab. Hist.

[h] Sigeb.

[i] Du

natural

Digitized by Google

natural son of king Lothaire, to whom he offered the archbishoprick of Rheims, which was just become vacant. Arnould accepted it; repaired immediately to the king's camp, put in hostages, and not only swore, but subscribed an oath of fidelity. Yet he was no sooner in possession of the see and city of Rheims than he betrayed it to Charles; and though at first he took the precaution of being made prisoner, as if he had been actually surprised; yet, not long after, he threw aside all disguise, and appeared at the head of his uncle's troops [k]. The king, upon this defection, applied to the pope, who did not think fit to interfere till he saw the dispute as to the possession of the crown determined by the law of arms, that the decrees of the church might be on the side of the strongest [l].

The king, having a numerous army, disposed all things as if he intended to lay siege to Rheims; and Charles, on the other side, provided in the best manner he could for the defence of it: but Hugh being informed that the bishop of Loan, the most plausible and artful man of his time, had obtained his liberty, and some degree of credit with Charles, entered into an intrigue with that prelate. All things being properly concerted, he began his march as if he intended to invest Rheims, but turned hastily towards Laon, which, by the assistance of that perfidious prelate, he surprised, and made prisoner the duke of Lorrain, his consort, and the archbishop Arnould, whom he caused to be transferred to Orleans, where they were closely confined [m]. This transaction put an end to the dispute; for all, who had hitherto adhered to Charles, readily submitted, and did homage to the kings Hugh and Robert. As for the unfortunate duke of Lorrain, he remained a prisoner at Orleans as long as he lived, together with his duchess. His son enjoyed the duchy of Lorrain, but died without issue male, and in him, as is generally believed, the male line of Charlemagne was entirely extinct [n].

A. D. 989.

Laon betrayed to the king, who takes duke Charles, his duchess, and archbishop Arnould, prisoners.

A. D. 991.

The king, finding himself now firmly fixed on the throne, resolved to proceed against the archbishop Arnould; and with this view called a council, which assembled at an abbey not far from Rheims, in which the archbishop of Sens presided. The priest was produced who opened the gates of the city, and he deposed, that he did

Disturbances in France, occasioned by deposing Arnould, and advancing Gerbert to the see of Rome.

[k] Gerbert. Apol. pro Remiensi Synodo. [l] Epist. Hugo ad Johannem Papam. [m] Sigeberti Chron. Dupleix. Mezeray. [n] Aimon. lib. v. Du Tillet. Le Gendre.

it by the archbishop's order. Notwithstanding this evidence, the president and some of the prelates were not inclined to condemn him. The two kings, father and son, appeared in the council, for which appearance the archbishop of Sens reproved them openly, asserting, that it was unbecoming princes to influence judges, where themselves were parties. At length Arnould subscribed his own confession and degradation; and Gerbert, a very learned monk of Rheims, who had been tutor to the emperor Otho and the young king Herbert, was elected into the see. This sentence, however, did not put an end to the affair; for pope John XV. sent a legate into France, who held a council at Monson, where all was unravelled again, and in a second council, held at Rheims, Gerbert was deposed, and Arnould restored, merely to support the papal power; for the principal reason assigned was, that the deposition of Arnould was null, as being without the consent of the holy see; but, notwithstanding this decree, the king kept him prisoner as long as he lived [o], believing he might do him more mischief at liberty than he had to fear from the pope.

Hugh Capet, in order to strengthen his government, acts with mildness and caution.

The government of this monarch was exactly suited to the situation of his affairs; he had no title to expect any thing more than homage from the great lords of France, and it does not appear that he sought any thing more. He suffered them to make war upon each other, as some have suggested, through policy; but, in reality, because it was out of his power to restrain them, as appears from what happened upon his interfering when the count of Anjou, one of his own vassals, besieged Tours in a private quarrel. He sent to require him to raise the siege, which he refused to abandon: the person who carried the orders, asked him who made him a count? "Tell your master, said he, the same who made him a king [p]." Those who ascribe the institution of the twelve peers to him, or to his son, are mistaken. Paris became the seat of the government, and the capital of the monarchy, in virtue of its being the place of his residence, and the principal city of his hereditary estates. He fortified several places, under various pretences; and particularly, under colour of preventing the descents of the Normans, he established Abbeville, and made it a place of arms [q]. He conducted all things

o Aimon. Sigeb. Chron. P. Daniel. Du Tillet. Le Gendre.

p Glab. Hist. sui Temp.

q Aimon. Hist. lib. v. Sigeberti Chronicon. P. Daniel.

with

Digitized by Google

with order and circumſpection, and had the ſingular honour of eſtabliſhing a new family, and in ſome meaſure a new form of government, without any remarkable circumſtances of violence, and without ſhedding blood. He expired on the 24th of October, in the year 997, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and in the 8th of his reign [r], leaving his dominions in perfect quiet, and his ſon in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown, by the precaution he had taken of aſſociating him when he was very young, and ſhewing him to the people upon all occaſions, with thoſe enſigns of regal dignity, from the uſe of which he himſelf abſtained. He knew how to maintain his own dignity by his power, and was therefore deſirous, that the enſigns of it might recommend his ſon to the public veneration, till he ſhould be able to eſtabliſh it on the better baſis of his actions [s]. His corpſe was interred rather with decency than ſplendour, in the church of the abbey of St. Denis [t] (B).

Robert

[r] Chronicon. Beſuenſe. Glab. Hiſt. ſui Temp. [s] Le Gend. Concil. Gall. [t] Sigeberti Chron.

(B) This monarch was an able politician, who knew very well how to ſpread a ſpecious colouring over the effects of his ambition, and to ſet proper bounds to his own greatneſs, by the exerciſe of a ſpirit of moderation. He indulged the great lords in a degree of freedom that bordered upon independency; but, by taking little or no ſhare in their quarrels, he maintained the ſtrength of his own territories entire, while they were daily weakening each other. As he affected great modeſty in his behaviour, and great ſimplicity of manners, ſo an exact regularity was obſerved in his court, and his finances were managed with ſuch frugality, that his ſubjects were much more at eaſe than their neighbours. As to his ſurname of Capet, it is but very indifferently explained; but, undoubtedly, it was what we now ſtile a nickname, ſignifying literally *jolterhead*, metaphorically, *a weak*, or *an obſtinate man*. In the firſt of theſe ſenſes, it was applied to Charles, who is generally ſtyled the Simple, and, perhaps, in the latter, to this prince in his youth. He had only one conſort, Adelaide, who is generally ſaid to be the daughter of William Teſte d'Etouppe, count of Poitiers, and duke of Guienne, or Aquitaine: but of this there is ſome reaſon to doubt, ſince the brother of this princeſs, ſuppoſing her ſo deſcended, was the very duke who took arms in favour of Charles, and whom Hugh Capet, in the firſt year of his reign, ſubdued (1). The writer of his ſon's life, who lived in thoſe times, ſays expreſly ſhe was an Italian (2). By her he

(1) Aimon. Hiſt. lib. v. (2) Du Tillet.

had

Robert accedes to the throne, and meets with great trouble about his marriage.

Robert, when he came to govern the kingdom alone, was in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age, and poſſeſſed, in a very high degree of perfection, all the graces of body and mind, which rendered him univerſally beloved. He perſiſted ſteadily in the purſuit of his father's maxims, and acted, in all public or private concerns, with the greateſt mildneſs and moderation; and yet the very firſt year of his reign exhibited a ſcene of the higheſt trouble and confuſion. He had married, in his father's lifetime, Bertha, the ſiſter of Rodolph, king of Burgundy, and the widow of Eudes, count of Blois, a diſtant relation of his father's, and to one of his children Robert himſelf had been ſponſor [a]. The pope attacked this marriage, and Robert uſed every expedient to appeaſe him: the match was merely political, and the queen without either youth or beauty to recommend her; yet he ſhewed the utmoſt unwillingneſs to part with her, out of regard to his own intereſt. The pope was nephew to the emperor Otho III. and valued himſelf extremely on maintaining the dignity of his ſee. He had directed that Arnould ſhould be ſet at liberty, and reſtored to his archbiſhoprick. The queen-dowager, and the queen-conſort, believing that condeſcenſion in this point might render the pope more compliant in the buſineſs of his marriage, prevailed upon the king to do what his father would never have done, that is, to releaſe Arnould, and place him upon the archiepiſcopal throne of Rheims [b]. Gerbert, who ſaw himſelf not only deprived of his ſee, but alſo of the epiſcopal character, retired to the court of his other pupil the emperor Otho, by whom he was preſently made archbiſhop of Ravenna, and in that capacity aſſiſted at a council held the next year at Rome, in which the marriage of king Robert, with his queen Bertha, was declared null, the prelate excommunicated who married them, and the king commanded to

[a] Glab. Hiſt. ſui Temp. Concil. Roman. tom. ix. P. Damian, lib. ep. 15. [b] Aimon. Hiſt. lib. v.

had Robert his ſucceſſor, and three daughters; Hadwige, who eſpouſed Renier IV. count of Hainault, and afterwards Hugh, count of Daſbourgh; Alice, who married the count of Nevers; and Gillette, who became the conſort of Hugh, lord of Abbeville. He had alſo a natural ſon, Goſſelin, who was afterwards archbiſhop of Bourges, and a man of learning, piety, and virtue (3).

(3) Helgaldus, in Vita Roberti Regis.

leave

Digitized by Google

leave her, and to submit to seven years penance, under pain of excommunication. The king, however, persisted in keeping his wife; and, having thereby incurred excommunication, was abandoned, not only by the prelates and nobility, but also by his menial servants, except two, who threw the remains of what was eaten by the king and queen to the dogs, and the vessels out of which they eat into the fire; the prevailing notion of those times being, that they polluted those who used them: but, at length, the clamour of the people (an interdict being spread through the kingdom) compelled him to part with Bertha, who, notwithstanding, preserved the title and the state of a queen during her life, and was much regarded for her wisdom and magnanimity [c].

The king marries a second time Constantia, daughter to William count of Arles.

Pope Gregory V. dying, was succeeded on the papal throne by Gerbert, under the name of Sylvester II. who confirmed Arnould in the see of Rheims, and shewed no great kindness to king Robert. This monarch finding himself without heirs, thought fit to espouse Constance, the wife of William count of Arles, a princess of exquisite beauty, and of a lively understanding, but so haughty, avaricious, and insolent, that the king hardly enjoyed a quiet hour after his marriage. Eudes, the second count of Brie and Champagne, having accumulated, by descent and marriage, large estates, procured the town of Melun to be delivered to him by bribing the governor, and pretending to be in love with his wife [d]. The nobleman to whom it belonged applied immediately to the king for justice; for which reason the monarch went in person to the siege, and having obliged the place to surrender, hanged up the governor on the walls. He afterwards condescended to act as an umpire between this lord and his own ally the duke of Normandy, and settled a peace between them on very moderate terms, with which both parties were exceedingly well satisfied [e].

By the death of the duke of Burgundy, the king obtains that rich duchy.

Henry, duke of Burgundy, the king's uncle, dying without lawful issue, his territories fell, either by descent, or, by will, to the king; but, before he could enter into possession, there started up two claimants. The first of these was Eudes, natural son to the deceased duke, who bequeathed him the county of Beauvois; the other was Otho William, count of Burgundy, the son of the duchess-dowager of Burgundy, by her first husband, who pretend-

[c] Glab. Hist. sui Temp. Le Gendre. P. Daniel. Florian. [d] Chron. [e] Aimon. Hist. lib. v.

ed

ed to be adopted by duke Henry. The people, who were deſirous of having an independent prince, ſhewed a great inclination to ſupport his claim; and ſeveral great lords, eſpecially Eudes, count of Champagne, encouraged and aſſiſted him [f]. The war ſubſiſted for ſeveral years; and there is ſome reaſon to doubt, whether the king could have carried his point or not, without the aſſiſtance of the duke of Normandy, who led in perſon an army of twenty-two thouſand men into Burgundy. Eudes, his nephew, compromiſed matters with the king, who confirmed to him what his father had given him by will; and this agreement facilitated the reduction of the country, with which the king thought fit to inveſt his ſecond ſon Henry, that he might gratify the people in their deſire of having a prince of their own, and, at the ſame time, pleaſe the great lords, who were jealous of ſeeing ſo great a fief united to the crown [g]. The termination of this war gave the king great ſatisfaction, for he loved peace, and ſtudied to preſerve it by all methods poſſible. His houſhold and his court were kept in the moſt exact order: he aſſiſted regularly and frequently in his robes at chapel, and at churches on the great feaſts: he compoſed muſic for the choir, and ſome of his reſponſes and hymns ſtill find a place in the public offices of the Gallican church. In ſhort, he was, in every reſpect, a moſt incomparable prince, except that he was too ſubmiſſive as a huſband, to a woman who did not underſtand either her duty as a wife, or her intereſt as a queen [h].

The king aſſociates his eldeſt ſon Hugh in the throne.

She ſolicited her huſband to aſſociate his ſon in the government, though he was then but in the ſeventeenth year of his age; and Robert, who had a great tenderneſs for his children, aſſented without much difficulty, being, in a great meaſure, ſwayed by the example of his father [i]. Some of his miniſters laboured all they could to prevent it, by repreſenting to him, that he had not the ſame motives which his father had; and that the true reaſon which induced the queen to preſs it ſo earneſtly, was, that in caſe of his demiſe, ſhe might govern in the name of the young prince [k]. The king heſitated a little upon this remonſtrance; but the queen bore with impatience this delay, and the king was at laſt forced to comply, as not knowing how to deal with a woman, who taking offence

[f] Gulielm. Gemeticens. Hiſt. lib. v. P. Daniel.
[g] Glab. Hiſt. ſui Temp.
[h] Aimon.
[i] Dupleix. Le Gendre. Mezeray.
[k] Sigeberti Chronicon.

Digitized by Google

at one of his miniſters who oppoſed her deſigns; cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated in his maſter's preſence. The point being once ſettled, the king propoſed it in an aſſembly of the nobility and prelates, who, out of reſpect to him, conſented, and prince Hugh was ſolemnly crowned, though the miniſters, as far as they durſt, expreſſed a great apprehenſion of the event. A.D. 1017.

An inſurrection, headed by the young king Hugh, which is ſpeedily reduced.

Upon the report of ſome hereſies, reſembling that of the Manichees, the king, who was very zealous, called a council to examine into the matter, which was held at Orleans, where ſome prieſts were burnt alive; the king and queen, ſuch was the religion of thoſe times, being preſent. The ſame year the young king Hugh withdrew from court, with ſome noblemen of his own age, and was guilty of ſome diſorders. He complained that his mother behaved towards him with inſupportable arrogance, and kept him to ſo ſhort an allowance, that he was unable to ſupport his dignity [l]. The queen was for reducing her ſon by force; but the king was not at all of that mind: he knew there was ſome foundation for his ſon's complaints; and having aſſured him of his pardon, and a proper allowance, the young man very readily returned to his duty, and never departed from it afterwards [m].

The king refuſes the crown of the empire, and the kingdom of Italy.

Henry, king of Germany, had been involved in a long diſpute with the count of Flanders and ſome lords of Lorrain, which, at length, it was agreed ſhould be left to the arbitration of the king of France. For this purpoſe, theſe two great princes had an interview on the banks of the Meuſe. As all meetings of this kind are commonly perplexed with diſputes about ceremonies, the interview was very near being poſtponed on that account; but Henry, who was ſo good a prince, that he had obtained the ſurname of Saint, preferred buſineſs to forms, and paſſing the river early one morning, ſurpriſed king Robert in his apartment [n]. After this viſit, thoſe princes ſaw each other as friends, and, without any ſtate or ceremony at all, ſettled the affair on which they met, to the ſatisfaction of all parties concerned, and parted with great regret. They had agreed to go into Italy together, in order to oblige pope Boniface VIII. to conſent to certain terms, which they held it neceſſary to preſcribe. The death of the pope prevented that journey, and the very next year Henry died. He was ſucceeded in his hereditary dominions, and

[l] Le Gendre. Chalons. [m] Flodoard Chronicon. [n] Mezeray. P. Daniel.

the

the kingdom of Germany, by Conrade, duke of Worms, who expected likewise to be received as king of Italy, and to be honoured with the imperial diadem [o]. To this coronation, however, many of the princes and prelates of Italy were by no means inclined: they were become weary of German masters, and had a mind to try what market they could make in some other court. With this view they sent deputies to offer the imperial crown, and the kingdom of Italy, to the king of France, for himself, or for his son: but Robert, very wisely considering that such a step must of necessity involve him in a war with Conrade; that the Italians were naturally very inconstant; and that settled peace, and the most perfect esteem of all his neighbours, would be very ill exchanged for an uncertain dominion and a pompous title, dismissed the deputies, and declined their offer. His subjects in particular, and Europe in general, were quickly convinced that he had judged right; for William, duke of Guienne, who was both a wise and a powerful prince, having accepted this proposal, the greater part of those who made it deserted him on the first appearance of Conrade, who, partly by address, and partly by force of arms, obtained all that he sought, and secured to himself the kingdom of Italy; in consequence of which acquisition, pope John XIX. placed the imperial crown upon his head. Robert was, indeed, inclined to have taken the advantage of those disputes to recover the kingdom of Lorrain, or at least the homage of the princes who held it; but finding this could not be done without a war, and perceiving that by his late success Conrade was become very powerful, he very prudently declined it [p].

A.D. 1023.

The disorders in his family, and the death of king Robert.

The year following proved unfortunate to the king, in the loss of his eldest son Hugh, associated with him in the sovereignty, who died in the flower of his age, and when he was become both obedient and assisting to his father [q]. The king appeared very much chagrined, but the queen shewed but very little concern. Robert, as soon as he had recovered the free use of his thoughts, inclined to associate Henry, who was now become his eldest son, a measure which his mother opposed with equal heat and obstinacy; so that it excited two factions at court; many, to gain the queen's favour, and from a persuasion that the king would yield at last, declaring in behalf of the younger

[o] Marianus Scotus. [p] Aimon. Hist. lib v. [q] Glab. Hist. sui Temp. lib. v.

son

Digitized by Google

son Robert[r]: but the major part of the nobility adhering to Henry, and the king, contrary to expectation, remaining firm, the queen changed her battery, and persuaded him to adopt neither, in hopes, if she survived him, to place her own favourite upon the throne. The king penetrated her scheme, and therefore, without paying any deference to her counsels, associated, with the advice of his parliament, his eldest surviving son Henry[s]. Queen Constance, provoked in the highest degree, endeavoured to inflame her son Robert, and to embarrass him with his brother: but not finding him so ready as she expected, to concur with her desires, the affection she had hitherto shewn him turned into hatred, and she persecuted them both to such a degree, that they retired from court, and took up arms, not so much with an ambitious view to disturb the state, as that they might obtain some places in which they might live quiet. At length, however, the flame rose so high, that the king was obliged to raise an army, and march against his sons into Burgundy. An abbot interposed, and, having represented to him that the young princes did not mean to resist his authority, but merely to obtain a subsistence, he admitted them to his presence, and compromised things to their satisfaction, employing his forces to reduce some lords of Burgundy, who had taken the opportunity of these troubles to raise fortresses on their estates[t]. He left the elections of bishops, in general, free: but finding it absolutely necessary, for the safety of his government, to have a prelate he could depend on at Langres, he named a bishop, whom the monks thought fit to poison; upon which he appointed another, and sent his son Henry to see him installed. It was while the young prince was thus employed, that the king breathed his last at Melun, on the 20th of July, when he had reigned thirty-three, and lived about threescore years. There is not any monarch in the French history more generally or more highly commended, or on whose death the lamentations of all ranks of people were louder or more sincere. The monks spoke the sense of the whole nation, when they deplored him in these words: "We have lost a father who governed us in peace; we lived under him in security, for he did not oppress or suffer oppression; we loved him, and there was nobody whom we feared." A.D. 1016.

[r] Helgaldus in Vita Roberti Regis. Aimon. [s] Glab. Hist. sui Temp.
[t] Chron. Besuense.

Henry.

Henry finds himself in danger of losing his crown, through the malice of his mother.

Henry, at the time of his accession to the throne, was about twenty-seven years of age, and, with all the vigour of a young man, had the sagacity and prudence of one more advanced in years, which secured him from having the crown shaken from his head, almost as soon as it was placed there. His mother, who mortally hated him, and who resolved always to govern, had drawn a great many lords and bishops to her party, whom she would have persuaded to set her son Robert upon the throne [u]. At the head of this faction was the count of Flanders, and Eudes, count of Champagne, the author of all the troubles that France felt during his life. Their views, whatever they might pretend to the queen, was to get something for themselves; and Eudes would not so much as take up arms till he had stipulated for half the town of Sens. This being promised him, he marched with a numerous army; and having reduced Sens, Melun, and Soissons, all the rest of the places in the neighbourhood, either through fear, or the intrigues of the queen-dowager, opened their gates and declared for him [w]. The king was so distressed, that, with his friends and servants, he made but the twelfth person when he retired to Frescamp to demand succour from Robert, duke of Normandy. He was received by that prince with all the respect possible, who assured him, that the treasures and forces of his duchy were entirely at his disposal; and he kept his word; so that an army of Normans entered France on one side, while the king, when he had assembled a sufficient force, entered it on the other. Robert, though a mild and generous prince, burnt all the country before him, and gave no quarter to such as fell into his hands, from whence he obtained the surname of Robert le Diable; but, by this extreme severity, the duke soon made them sick of the war. The king, on his side, defeated the count of Champagne thrice, and was very near taking him prisoner [x]. At length Foulques, count of Anjou, interposed; and, by his mediation, things were compromised with the queen-dowager and prince Robert, to whom the king gave the duchy of Burgundy: as to the queen, she died next year of mere vexation. The king recovered all that he had lost; compelled the counts of Flanders and Champagne to submit; and as to the lesser nobility, he punished some, and humbled all. As gloriously as the war ended for the king, it cost the

[u] Fragment. Hist. Francorum.
[w] Annal. Francorum.
[x] Gulielm. Gemeticens, lib. vi.

crown

crown dear; for as the ſucceſs was due to Robert of Normandy, Henry added to his duchy Giſors, Chaumont, Pontoiſe, and that part of the Vexin which yet remained to the crown [y].

The war of Burgundy, its cauſes and conſequences in France.

The king, having now acquired the peaceable poſſeſſion of his dominions, and a high reputation, thought it time to provide for the ſucceſſion; and therefore contracted himſelf to Matilda, the daughter of the emperor Conrade, one of the worthieſt princes who had worn the imperial crown ſince the days of Charlemagne; but it is doubtful whether this marriage ever took effect [z]. The death of Rodolph, king of Burgundy, occaſioned a great war, of which it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething, though the king took no ſhare therein. Eudes, count of Champagne, looked upon himſelf as the undoubted heir of this kingdom, as being the nephew of the king by his ſiſter Bertha, who, after the deceaſe of this count's father, eſpouſed Robert, duke of France: and it is not impoſſible he would have ſucceeded, but for his own petulant temper; for inſiſting A.D. 1033. that the king ſhould acknowlege him for his preſumptive heir, that prince, who was deſpiſed by his ſubjects, and apprehended he might dethrone him, had recourſe to the emperor for protection; in gratitude for which, and in conſideration of his being his great nephew by another ſiſter, he ſent him, on his death-bed, the regalia of the two kingdoms of Burgundy and Arles [a]. Eudes, little regarding this bequeſt, immediately made an irruption into the county of Burgundy, and, having long held a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the nobility, got poſſeſſion of a great part of it, the emperor being embarraſſed with a rebellion in the moſt remote parts of his dominions: but he quickly returned, on the news of this event, and as quickly diſpoſſeſſed Eudes of his new government. It was upon this occaſion, that Humbert, count of Maurienne and Savoy, the counts in the country of Swiſſerland, of La Breſſe, Dauphiné, and the Lyonnois, on the other ſide the Rhone, did homage to the emperor for their eſtates. Eudes, as ſoon as he had recruited his forces, attacked the country of Lorrain, made himſelf maſter of Bar, and might very probably have given the emperor much more trouble, if he had not been killed at a ſiege, which releaſed that monarch from any farther diſturbance

y Gulielm. Gemeticenſ. lib. vi. Du Tillet. P. Daniel.
z Vippo in Vita Conradi Chron.
a Glab. Hiſt. ſui Temp.

Digitized by Google

A.D. 1036. on account of these pretensions, which might have prevailed in better hands [b].

New disturbances in France quelled by the king.

Eudes, at the time of his demise, left his estates to his two sons, Thibaud, count de Beausse, Touraine, and Beauvoise, and Stephen, count of Champagne, who were exactly of their father's temper, and set out with refusing homage to king Henry, asserting, that the obligations between the lords and the vassal were reciprocal; and that the king having given their father no assistance in his war with the emperor, they were not obliged to own him for their lord, or do him homage [c]. The king, besides Robert, duke of Burgundy, had another brother, whose name was Eudes, but whether elder or younger admits of some doubt; some say that he was elder than the king, and set aside for his incapacity; others, with much more probability, affirm that he was the youngest; that his discontent arose from his not having had an establishment assigned him [d]. However it was, he took arms, in conjunction with the two counts, and the war proved fatal to them all; for the king, having routed their forces, took Eudes prisoner, and sent him to Orleans, where he was confined for about three years. The count of Champagne lost a great part of his lands, and Thibaud was dispossessed of

A.D. 1037. Touraine. Galeran, count of Meulan, who had likewise embarked in this design, was attainted of felony, and his country united to the crown, which was the first instance of its kind, and shews that the constitution began now to be settled on a firmer basis [e].

Henry maintains William the Bastard in the possession of Normandy.

The troubles that arose in Normandy next occupied the king's thoughts. Duke Robert, according to the humour that prevailed in those times, thought fit to make a pilgrimage into the Holy Land, having first procured his son William, though born out of wedlock, to be acknowleged his heir, recommending him to the care of Henry king of France, and Alain duke of Bretagne [f]. These precautions did not hinder the whole country from falling into great confusion; not only the principal lords, but even those of the least consideration in the duchy, threw off almost all dependence, and committed great disorders. The duke of Bretagne came to appease their quarrels; and, after being very indifferently treated, returned home with a slow poison in his body, of which he died. King

[b] Sigebert. Le Gendre. [c] Fragment. Hist. Francorum. [d] Du Chesne. [e] Chronicon vetus et Virudense. [f] Gulielm. Gemeticens. Glab. Hist. sui Temp. Dupleix.

Henry,

Digitized by Google

Henry, forgetting the obligations he was under to the father of the young duke, inclining to avail himself of these troubles, invaded the frontiers, burnt the town of Argentan, and took the castle of Thilleres, which he pretended had been built without his consent, and which he had therefore a right to demolish [g]. Soon after this transaction disputes, arose in that country about the succession. The ministers about the person of the young duke, passing over what had happened, applied themselves to the king, representing the honour he would obtain in succouring an infant prince, in securing the affections of the Normans, and maintaining the same friendly intercourse with duke William as with his father. Henry, prevailed upon by these arguments, marched in person with a good army, and A.D. 1046. having joined the duke's forces, gave the malcontent lords battle at Val de Dunes; where, exposing himself more than was necessary, he was beaten from his horse, and almost killed. At length, after an obstinate dispute, the malcontents were totally routed, and duke William to this victory stood indebted for the possession of his dominions [h].

Grows jealous of him, assists his enemies, and creates an implacable quarrel with that prince.

The king afterwards had some disputes with Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, in which the duke of Normandy took part on his behalf: but Henry quickly compromised his share of the quarrel, and left the count and duke, who had great animosity against each other, to fight it out. This conduct was owing to the spirit of policy which prevailed in those times, and which induced Henry to grow jealous of the increasing power of the young duke. When, therefore, new troubles broke out, and William de Arques, count de Thoulouse, the son of Richard II. by a second wife, set up his title to the dukedom, in which he was powerfully supported by his brother Mauger, archbishop of Rouen; the king favoured the malcontents, at first privately, and at length invaded Normandy in their favour, and in order to raise the siege of the castle of Arques; in which enterprize his forces received a very severe check, and the duke triumphed over these, as he had done over his former enemies [i]. A peace followed, but no sincere reconciliation, for the king retained a deep sense of his disgrace; and, on the other hand, the duke never forgave the assistance which Henry had given to those who would have dispossessed him of his domi-

[g] Fragment. Hist. Francorum. [h] P. Daniel. [i] Fragment. de Gulielmo Conquest.

Digitized by Google

nions. In pursuance therefore of his old scheme, the king united himself with Geoffery Martel; and having formed two armies, one commanded by himself in person, and the other by his brother Eudes, whom he had released out of prison, he once more invaded Normandy, but with the same ill fortune that had attended his former
A.D. 1054. enterprize. His own army was harrassed and worsted in several encounters; and that of his brother totally defeated at Mortemer in the Paix de Caux; a disaster, which constrained him to make peace upon such terms as were agreeable to the duke: but the rancour between them never ceased, and was in reality the latent cause of perpetual quarrels between the kings of France and the Norman princes, when possessed of the realm of England [k].

A.D. 1059. The king, finding his health decay, though he was far from being old, judged it expedient to provide as well for the security of the kingdom, as for that of his family. He had married a second time a princess of Russia, by whom he had three sons: the eldest of these, Philip, then about seven years of age, was, with the consent of the whole assembly, crowned by the archbishop of Rheims, on the feast of Whitsunday, with much solemnity, for many great lords assisted there in person, and others by their deputies; but there is nothing clearer than that as yet the twelve peers of France did not exist [l]. There is still remaining a copy of the oath taken by the young monarch, which is but short, and of which three fourths regards the clergy, their privileges and immunities; at the close he promises the people, that he will employ the authority conferred upon him to the maintenance of the laws. At the same time the king declared Baldwin, earl of Flanders, tutor and guardian to the young king, in case he himself should die before he came of age; and this was a wise and well-timed precaution; for, on the 4th of April following he departed this life; some writers say, by taking a dose of physic, and drinking after it, contrary to the express direction of his physician; others seem to think that the physician was not altogether innocent, but that, under the name of a medicine, he administered poison [m]. He deceased in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the thirtieth of his reign. In his time pope Leo IX. came into France, and held a council at Rheims, in which several canons were made against incestuous marriages,

The king causes his son to be crowned, and soon after dies of poison.

[k] Gulielm. Malmsburiensis. [l] Concil. Franc. tom. ix. [m] Chron. Senonse.

simony,

simony, and other crimes, which, in spite of the seeming piety, or rather superstition of that age, were but too frequent. Some bishops were also deposed, not much to the king's good liking, who would have been better pleased if the pope had remained at home; and therefore, when pope Nicholas II. entertained thoughts of making a like visit, the king opposed it with such firmness, that he was obliged to desist from the design[n]. This monarch was of an active disposition, intrepid in time of danger, and very generous; but his attempts to the prejudice of the duke of Normandy were alike fatal to his quiet, his honour, and his interest (D).

Philip accedes to the throne, under the tuition of the count of Flanders.

King Philip, at the time of his accession, was about eight years of age; and it might have been supposed, that either his mother or his uncle would have been called to the regency, and entrusted with the care of his education; but, as we before observed, the king his father thought it prudent to make another choice. He knew the queen was very unfit for such an office: she had weak parts and strong passions, and, being a foreigner, had but few friends amongst the nobility. Her conduct after his demise sufficiently justified her exclusion, though she made some struggle to prevent it, but without effect. The very opposite reasons induced the king to decline placing any confidence in the duke of Burgundy: he was rich and powerful, too nearly allied to the young king, had great interest amongst the French lords, and, besides, had once set up a claim to the crown; but Baldwin V. surnamed the Pious, earl of Flanders, to whom he committed the care of his son, and who was his brother-in-law, had all the qualities that could recommend him to such a trust; he was brave in his person, but mild in his behaviour,

[n] Concil. Remense, Epist. Gervas. Arch. Remens.

(D) Henry distinguished himself chiefly by his moderation, which was so much the more commendable, as it was purely the effects of his good sense, and not at all the effect of a heavy and phlegmatic constitution. His spirit appeared particularly, when Thibaut, count of Champagne, did homage to the emperor Henry III. for when, upon his complaint, this monarch received a cold, and, as he thought, a disrespectful answer, he made no scruple of replying by a challenge; and, as the emperor was a gallant prince, it produced in him a high opinion of the king's merit, and, in consequence of it a right understanding.

Digitized by Google

and very cautious in his conduct; vigilant, but not ſuſpicious; tender of the prerogatives of the crown, but more ſo of the welfare of the people; ſincerely religious, and a man of ſtrict honour [o]. He gave his pupil an education ſuitable to his rank and birth. He kept the nobility in awe, without giving any of them juſt cauſe of offence. He maintained peace by remaining always armed: and having intelligence that the people of Aquitaine were diſpoſed to revolt, he, under pretence of repreſſing the Saracens, entered their country ſo ſuddenly with an army, that he prevented their deſign, by putting it out of their power to purſue it [p]. In a word, he governed with dignity and reputation, inſomuch that hiſtory ſcarces furniſhes us with an inſtance of a minority more quiet, and none more happy than this. An example the more memorable, as the conjuncture was extremely delicate.

Conqueſt of England, and its conſequences in regard to the crown of France.

The only colour that count Baldwin gave for cenſure was in his conduct towards duke William of Normandy, who, under the ſpecious pretence of being called to the ſucceſſion by Edward the Confeſſor, in prejudice to Edgar Atheling, who had a better title to the crown than his own, was preparing to invade England. The count gave him leave, upon this occaſion, to raiſe forces throughout France and Flanders, a permiſſion which, from the event, was judged impolitic. Yet the duke, being his ſon-in-law, he could not, with a good grace, deny him; but the French own that there was another more powerful motive. the Norman was ſo enterpriſing and ſo fortunate, that Baldwin was afraid of his reſentment, being juſtly apprehenſive, that, if he had croſſed him in his deſign, he might have entered France with that army which he had raiſed againſt England, where he ſucceeded more ſpeedily, and with greater facility, than could poſſibly have been expected. But to balance as far as poſſible this increaſe of his power, an offenſive and defenſive alliance was concluded between the crowns of France and Scotland; which, though it did not prove effectual, was, notwithſtanding, the only remedy that was left. Soon after this great event took place, count Baldwin died, and left the young king, his nephew and pupil, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his dominions, when he had attained the fifteenth year of his age, and had ſome able miniſters about him [q].

A.D. 1066.

[o] Fragment. Hiſt. Francorum. Sigebert. [p] Mezeray. [q] Gulielm. Malmſburienſis, Fragment. Hiſt. Francorum.

The

The king as, we observed, had been perfectly well educated, and was not at all deficient in point of capacity; but his mind had a wrong turn, which appeared in all his actions from first to last, though at the beginning of his reign he was as eager and active, as he was indolent and passive during the greatest part of it. Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, having no children of his own, left his estates to the sons of his sister; the elder, Geoffrey, surnamed Le Barbu, was an honest worthy man; but the younger, Foulques, was of quite a different character, and from thence received the surname of Le Rechin, which implies *morose* and *cruel*. Under pretence that he had not his full share of the succession, he made war upon his brother; and, having corrupted some of his principal officers, who betrayed him into his hands, put him into prison, where he was so ill treated, that many of the nobility, and even the king, took offence, and threatened Foulques, in case he did not set him at liberty. He thought it more expedient to sacrifice the Gastinois to the king; and Philip, having a share in the spoils, troubled himself no farther about the unfortunate Geoffrey [r]. This prince had a strong propensity to interfere in all quarrels and disputes amongst his neighbours, under colour of mediating between them, or of supporting the distressed; but in reality, he meditated only the aggrandizing his own power, and procuring either a recompence for his assistance, or a consideration for being quiet. He gave the strongest proof of this disposition in a case where, of all others, it ought least to have appeared. His tutor, Baldwin, earl of Flanders, left behind him two sons, Baldwin, who succeeded him in his dominions, and Robert, count of Frize: the elder made war upon the younger; but being killed in battle, Robert possessed himself of Flanders, and constrained the widow of the deceased to retire with her two sons, Arnold and Baldwin, to Paris, where they were received with all possible testimonies of respect, and had the strongest assurances given them of being restored to their dominions [s]. King Philip entered Flanders accordingly, with a numerous army; but having the misfortune to be totally defeated near St. Omer's, and the young count Arnold being unfortunately killed by his uncle, Philip soon after abandoned the widow and the orphan. In this distress they had recourse to the emperor Henry III. for his

Philip governs with no other view than to turn every occurrence to his own advantage.

[r] Mezeray. Le Gendre. P. Daniel.

[s] Histoire de Fland. Dupleix.

Digitized by Google

protection; and, in all probability, would have recovered their dominions, if the monarch of France had not entered into the interests of count Robert, who, to bind him faster, engaged him to espouse Bertha, the daughter
A.D 1073. of the countess of Frize, by her first husband; a circumstance which obliged count Baldwin to content himself with the county of Hainault, and to make a cession to his uncle Robert of his hereditary dominions [t].

Engages in a war with William the Conqueror.

It is no great wonder that a prince of such a disposition should not be very careful of commerce, or pay a deep respect to the law of nations: and it appears that this was the case, since some Italian merchants were plundered in his dominions, and, upon their report, the then pope Gregory VII. took great offence. He made it a pretence to enquire into the general character and conduct of the king; and finding these such as they really were, he took from thence occasion to write to the duke of Aquitaine, exhorting him and the other great lords of France to remonstrate to the king, whom he styles monster, wild beast, and tyrant, against his proceedings, promising to second their reproofs with the thunder of the church [u]. These threats did not immediately produce the effect that was intended; the great lords in France saw that the king was diminishing his own power, by harrassing and impoverishing his subjects: as to those vices and crimes imputed to him by the pope, they were not so innocent themselves as to desire to see such precedents introduced: and the pope having the deposition of an emperor upon his hands, had not leisure to blow the coals long enough to raise a rebellion in France [w]. Philip was no less fortunate in his first war against William, surnamed the Conqueror, who came over from England with an army, in order to reduce Hoel, duke of Bretagne, who refused to acknowlege him for his lord. The first fury of his arms was spent against Del, to which he laid siege, and from before which he was obliged to rise, with the loss of his baggage, by a numerous army commanded by king Philip in person. This quarrel being composed, a peace was concluded, which heightened the presumption of Philip, who thence concluded in favour of his forces and fortune [x].

This tranquility could not last long, considering the situation of things, and the opposite disposition of the two

[t] Mezeray. [u] Histoire des Papes. Mezeray. P. Daniel.
[w] Epist. Gregor. VII. lib. ii. Ep. 5, 32, 35. [x] Du Tillet.

monarchs;

Digitized by Google

monarchs; for William was open and violent, Phillip malicious and dissembling. He held a close correspondence with Robert, the eldest son of the Conqueror, a prince as ambitious of authority as he was incapable of exercising it with propriety. He had been the author of all the disturbances in Normandy; and at length, pretending to resent a childish action in his two younger brothers, retired from court, and broke into open rebellion. Philip not only encouraged as he had excited this behaviour, but also gave to Robert the town of Gerberoi, in Beauvoisins, a place of some strength, and very well situated for the purpose of disturbing Normandy. King William followed his son thither with an army, and besieged him; but the fortress, being well provided, made a good defence, and prince Robert, who, with all his faults, was one of the bravest men of his time, in a sally wounded and unhorsed his father, but without knowing him, till his voice discovered who he was. Robert then raised him up, threw himself at his feet, and set him upon his own horse; an incident which contributed somewhat to another peace, but never to a thorough reconciliation, the father being as little disposed to forgive as the son was to be quiet: and Philip, who affected upon all occasions being the mediator, was equally an enemy to both [y].

Enters into intrigues with Robert, eldest son to William.

A.D. 1081.

Some years elapsed before things broke out again into a flame; even then William, who never sought quarrels, would not have entered France, if the slippancy of the king's tongue had not provoked him to a reply, which made it necessary. The English monarch, who was a very unwieldy man, being indisposed, kept his bed for some time; upon which Philip said often to his courtiers, "Though William is so long lying-in, I doubt when he comes abroad, he will be as big as ever." Which sarcasm being reported to that prince, he said to those about him, "It will not be long before I go abroad, and let him know, that so many lights shall be carried at my churching (for the custom then was, upon such occasions, for women to carry a torch), as shall enlighten all France, and make him repent his jest [z]." In execution of this threat he besieged the city of Mantes, ravaged the country round about, and, having taken the place, burnt it; but was so excessively heated by approaching too near the fire, that, turning his horse to retire, and finding a ditch in his way, he,

A new war with Normandy, which is ended by the death of the conqueror.

[y] Fragment. Hist. Franc. Gulielm. Malmes. Rog. Hoved.
[z] Gulielm. Gemet.

in

Digitized by Google

A.D. 1087. in leaping it, received a contusion from the pomel of his saddle in his stomach, of which he died not long after at Rouen, leaving behind him three sons, who were upon the worst terms possible with each other, and consequently stood alike exposed to the efforts of their enemies[a].

The king's false conduct, divorces his queen, maltreats a princess he pretended to espouse.

Philip was by this event delivered from a potent adversary, and believed, as he had reason to believe, that he had nothing to fear from Robert, to whom his father left the duchy of Normandy. His ambition, as upon other occasions, outran his prudence; he published his claim to the realm of England, while his brother William was taking possession of it; a circumstance, which not only frustrated his own designs, but brought William over with an army into Normandy. Robert, suspecting his brother Henry to be secretly embarked in his design, despoiled him of the Cotentin, and then had recourse to Philip for his assistance. The king made great professions, and entered Normandy with an army which might have made these good; but William slackened his pace by the help of money, and, by the repetition of this argument, detached him from the cause that wanted it. Robert was forced to consent to a peace; by which William kept what he had conquered, Henry was restored to what he had lost, and the unfortunate prince first mentioned was at the expence of all[b]. The politics of Philip were right for the present, which is the rock that cunning splits on; true wisdom would have taught him to support Robert, and to have placed his security not in the division of the duchy of Normandy, but in preserving it for the lawful duke, and thereby making him his friend[c]. This was one false step; he quickly committed another. He was grown weary of his wife, though he had by her two sons and a daughter. He recollected that she was related to him, though at a great distance; or, perhaps, his flatterers forged a pedigree to make this probable. However it was, he found churchmen to divorce him, and sent her to Montreuil; where, in process of time, she died of ill-treatment and a broken heart. He then demanded in marriage Emma, the daughter of count Roger, brother to the duke of Calabria; who consenting to the proposal, sent over the lady richly adorned with jewels, and with a large portion in ready money. The Italian writers say this was done purely to deprive her of them; the French historians deny the intention; but, if the fact be certain, it signifies little

[a] Chroniques de Normandie. [b] Gulielm. Gem. Mezer. P. Daniel. [c] Chroniques de Normand.

what

Digitized by Google

what was the design [d]. As to the apparent reason, why the king did not espouse her, that arose from another slip in the king's conduct; which, as it was one of the foulest, so it was also the most fatal he ever made, and the effects of which pursued him to his grave. A.D. 1092.

Carries away the countess of Anjou from her husband, and pretends to marry her.

Foulques le Rechin, count of Anjou, whose character we mentioned before, though far in years, and though he had two wives already, having heard of Bertrade de Montfort, a young lady esteemed the handsomest in France, was bent on marrying her, and, not without some difficulty, brought it about, her family sacrificing her to their own interest. This woman, tired of an old, gouty, and surly husband, and hearing that the king had parted with his wife, privately invited him to come and see her. Upon this invitation he framed some pretence for going to Tours, where the count of Anjou received him with all possible duty and respect; in return for which he seduced his wife to elope, and follow him to Orleans [l]. He was not satisfied with the possession of this woman, but he resolved at all events to marry her, and to this end a divorce was procured between her and her husband; but when this bar was removed, none of the bishops of France could be prevailed on to celebrate this marriage, or even to be present at it. He contrived, however, to get it done, with some kind of solemnity, by Eudes, bishop of Bayeaux, brother by the mother's side to William the Conqueror, in the presence of the bishop of Senlis, and the archbishop of Rouen, all Normans [m]. Pope Urban the Second caused the whole matter to be closely examined in a council held at Autun, where the king was excommunicated in case he did not part with this woman, whom he styled his wife. The pope threatened to proceed farther; but the king, promising to submit, obtained a suspension of the censure. However, as he broke his word, the pope summoned another council at Clermont, in which he was excommunicated afresh [n], the clergy of France making no manner of opposition. A.D. 1094. A.D. 1095.

His mean behaviour under repeated excommunications, by which at last he obtains absolution.

It was in this council that the first croisade was published for the recovery of the Holy Land; it was about this time also, or rather a little before, that Henry of Burgundy went, with other French lords, to the assistance of the Spaniards against the infidels, an expedition which pro-

[d] Chron. de St. Denis. Malat. Hist. R. Guischardi. [l] Oderic Vital. Dupleix. Mezeray. [m] Gulielm. Malmsburiens. P. Daniel, Le Gendre. [n] Concil. Gall. tom. x. J. de Serres.

cured

cured that young prince a marriage suitable to his rank, and the county of Portugal in dowry with his wife; but these examples wrought nothing on the king. His brother Hugo, indeed, and his friend Robert duke of Normandy, took the cross; but as for Philip, though he humbled himself so far to the pope as to procure an absolution, yet wanting alike the fortitude of a prince and the true principle of a penitent, he relapsed into his former scandalous manner of living with the countess of Anjou, and was excommunicated a third time. His conduct, so unworthy of a prince, exposed him justly to the contempt of the people [o].

A.D. 1096. Too many of the nobility followed his example, and at the same time despised his authority; not only making war upon each other, but spoiling and robbing his subjects with equal cruelty and impunity. All this time Philip was soliciting and cajoling the court of Rome, till at length he prevailed with pope Paschal to cause the whole of his affair to be reviewed in a council held at Poitiers, which, notwithstanding all the efforts that could be made by the populace, excited by his partizans, terminated in a new

A.D. 1100. excommunication [p]. But notwithstanding this, the queen being dead, and the old count of Anjou offering, for a large sum of money, to give whatever assistance might be requisite to procure a papal dispensation for the king's marriage, he renewed his instances at Rome, offering at the same time to submit to whatever penance should be enjoined; and in the end, by the influence of presents and prayers, he obtained absolution [q].

Lewis, his son and heir apparent, associated with him in the government.

But though this quieted, in some measure, his domestic affairs, yet, in respect to his authority, it was so far from being re-established, that the nobility affected more and more a degree of independency, utterly incompatible with the respect due to him by the constitution, as it then stood. Some of them, indeed, such as William duke of Aquitaine, and even the count of Anjou, behaved in a very different manner; but their conduct arose from their own notions of things, and particular connections, and not from a principle of obedience, or any awe they stood in of his power: for the lesser nobility, and even his immediate vassals, insulted him every hour, plundered his subjects, and cut off the communication between Paris and Orleans. All this insolence did not rouse Philip from that idle and indolent course of life which he had led for many

[o] Oderic Vital. Dupl. P. Daniel. Mezeray. Boulan. [p] Con. Gall. tom. x. [q] Hugo Flavin.

years,

Digitized by Google

years, and, rather than it ſhould, he aſſociated his eldeſt ſon Lewis, or at leaſt declared him, with the conſent of his nobility, his ſucceſſor[r]. This young prince was the very reverſe of his father, active, vigilant, affable, free from the vices incident to youth, and in all reſpects one of the braveſt and worthieſt men this country ever produced. He ſaw that, in a corrupted ſtate, there was nothing to be done but by force; he kept therefore continually in the field; with a ſmall body of troops about him, and theſe he employed againſt ſuch as would not liſten to the dictates of juſtice and equity, and even treated the laws of their country with deriſion. He demoliſhed their caſtles, he compelled them to reſtitution, he forced them to abandon the eſtates of which they had deprived the biſhops and the clergy. He acted in ſo diſintereſted a manner, and with ſo indiſputable a zeal for the public welfare, that, after a few victories gained, and ſome unavoidable inſtances of ſeverity, he brought things into tolerable order, and at the ſame time gained the affection of the better part of the nobility, and the reverence of the people in general ſo abſolutely, that all hiſtorians agree he ſaved the ſtate from deſtruction, and the monarchy from being abſolutely ſubverted[s].

His mother-in-law firſt compels him to fly to England, and then poiſons him.

Bertrade, who now ſtyled herſelf queen of France, ſaw, with infinite chagrin, the good fortune of Lewis, and the univerſal reſpect that was paid to his good qualities. She had two ſons by the king, and had the ſucceſſion in view; to which ſhe thought Lewis the only obſtacle, his brother Henry being dead[t]. This conſideration induced her to practiſe all her arts, and none of her ſex had more, to ſtrengthen her own party, and to diſtreſs and diſturb the young king. He was not at all of a temper capable of returning ſuch uſage; and therefore, when he found the realm in ſome degree of quiet, he thought it better to retire out of the reach of the ſtorm than to run the riſk of ſupporting it. It was chiefly with this view that he made a voyage to England; though probably with ſome plauſible pretence, ſince it was with the conſent of king Philip, and he was received by Henry with the greateſt teſtimonies of kindneſs and eſteem[u]. He had not been long at court, before the Engliſh monarch received, by an expreſs, a letter from king Philip, ſignifying, that, for

[r] Suger. Vit. Ludovici Groſſi, Dupl. Mezeray. [s] Oder. Vital. Suger. Vit. Ludovici Groſſi. [t] Dupleix Mezeray. [u] Le Gend. P. Daniel.

certain

certain important reaſons, he ſhould be exceedingly obliged to him if he cloſely confined his ſon, or removed him altogether out of the way. Henry, inſtead of executing ſo infamous a requeſt, ſhewed the letter to Lewis, gave him his beſt advice, and, having loaded him with preſents, ſent him home with all the marks of honour and regard poſſible. At his return, Lewis demanded juſtice for this attempt; at the knowlege of which the king appeared much amazed, as having in reality no concern in it[u]. But Bertrade, whoſe fear was now as ſtrong as her ambition, thinking there was no time to be loſt, no means to be left untried, procured poiſon to be given him, which wrought ſo violently, that the ableſt phyſicians thought it impoſſible to ſave him. A ſtranger, however, undertook the cure, and ſucceeded in it, only a paleneſs remained in his countenance during life, notwithſtanding that he grew afterwards ſo corpulent as to be ſurnamed the Groſs[x].

Is conſtrained to ſubmit, and throw herſelf upon his mercy.

Upon this new and flagrant act of violence, Lewis was on the point of coming to extremities, and of having recourſe to the ſame methods for obtaining juſtice in his own cauſe, which he had ſo often employed to procure it for others. But the king, unable to part with Bertrade, and as unable to protect her, had recourſe to the pity of his ſon, to whom he obliged her to make the moſt humble ſubmiſſions; and it was upon this occaſion that ſhe ſhewed the utmoſt extent of her addreſs, inſomuch that it ſtill remains undecided, whether ſhe feigned or felt that penitence by which ſhe totally diſarmed Lewis of his reſentment[y]. We may the leſs wonder at this, ſince we are informed, that ſhe had ſuch an abſolute command over the moroſe Foulques of Rechin, that he paſſed whole days at her feet like her ſlave; and it is certain, that he entertained the king and her at Angiers with all the pomp and magnificence poſſible, and waited on them in perſon at table. After this reconciliation, ſhe ſhewed, upon all occaſions, the moſt profound reſpect for Lewis, acknowleged that he merited the crown he had ſaved, and placed all hopes in providing for the ſafety and ſubſiſtence of her children in recommending them to his favour[z].

The death of king Philip.

We meet with nothing after this period, that can be ſtyled memorable, in the reign of king Philip; neither does it clearly appear whether, with all his ſubmiſſions to

[u] Oder. Vital. Dupleix, Le Gend.
[x] Du Tillet, Mezeray.
[y] Chron. Andegav. Dupleix, Le Gend. Du Tillet.
[z] Chron. Malleac.

the

Digitized by Google

the see of Rome, by which he disgraced himself so much in the eyes of strangers and of his own subjects, he obtained a full confirmation of his marriage; that is, such a confirmation as the pontiffs assumed to themselves a power of giving. It is, however, generally speaking, held probable that he did; since, towards the close of his reign, the historians give her the title of queen, and speak of her children as rendered capable of the succession [a]. Yet Mezeray says with great freedom, that the bishops of France flattered the king's infamous adultery, by bestowing on it the honourable title of marriage [b]. However this might be, he remained as much attached to her as ever, to the last hour of his life. He died at Melun, on the 29th of July, in the fiftieth year of his reign, reckoning from his coronation in his father's life-time, and in the forty-seventh from the decease of that prince [c] (E). A.D. 1108.

[a] Guliel. Malmsf. Dupleix, P. Daniel. [b] Du Tillet, Mezeray. [c] Epitaph. Philippi, Le Gendre.

(E) Philip, though he had few virtues, had many good qualities; he was courteous, generous, and compassionate to persons in distress; which rendered him easy in private life, and in a great measure abated that hatred, which otherwise would have been excited by his vices. Under his reign began the religious orders of the Chartreux, Cisteaux, and Canons Regular, of St. Augustine. His ancestors had done much towards reforming the morals of the people; in his time they became very corrupt, chiefly from his own bad example, and the luxury of his court, the restraining priests from marriage by a decree of the council of Troyes, and by the effects of the croisade. By his queen Bertha, who died of a broken heart at Montreuil, he had his successor Lewis; Henry, who died young; and Constantia, who married first Hugues, count of Troyes, and, being divorced from him, on pretence of consanguinity, Beaumond prince of Antioch. His children by the famous Bertrade, who is said to have died a penitent, were Philip count of Mante, whose estates were confiscated for rebellion, and who died without issue; Florence, who left only a daughter; and Cecilia, who was twice married, first to Tancred prince of Antioch, and next to Pons de Toulouse, count of Tripoli (8). Philip, by his own desire, was buried at Fleury, which is the same monastery now known by the name of St. Bennet on the Loire. He reigned longer than any of his predecessors except Clotaire, and than any of his successors except Lewis the Fourteenth (9).

(8) Du Tillet, St. Marthe, J. de Serres, Dupleix, Chalons.
(9) Mezeray, P. Daniel, Le Gendre, Hanault, Boulanvilliers.

Lewis

Digitized by Google

Lewis VI. ſucceeds to his father's throne.

Lewis the Sixth, called by the old hiſtorians Lewis Thibaut, and, from his ſize in the latter part of his reign, ſurnamed Lewis the Groſs, aſſumed the ſole adminiſtration of affairs on the demiſe of his father, when he was entering the thirtieth year of his age. The firſt thing he thought neceſſary was his coronation, notwithſtanding, as moſt writers ſay, he had been actually crowned in the life-time of his father, and in this deſign he met with ſome difficulty [d]. There was at this time a ſchiſm in the church of Rheims; and therefore, by the advice of the biſhop of Chartres, who was one of the moſt reſpectable prelates in France, the king cauſed himſelf to be crowned at Orleans by the biſhop of that city. This ceremony might probably add ſome weight to his authority; but it was very far from procuring him that tranquility which he expected. His diſquiet did not ariſe from the great lords, who had an affection for his perſon, but from the inſolence of his immediate vaſſals, who, juſtly apprehending that he would put an end to thoſe exorbitancies which they had hitherto committed with impunity, confederated together to give him all the trouble in their power. The domain, that is, the territory actually in poſſeſſion of the king, conſiſted only of Paris, Orleans, Etamps, Compiegne, Melun, Bourges, and a few other places of leſs conſideration [e]. Amongſt the malecontents then in arms the principal were the lords of Corbeil and Mante du Puiſet in Beauce, de Couci, de Montfort, de Montlherre, and de Rochefort. Their fiefs lay ſo intermixed with the king's domain as put it out of his power to aſſemble, on any occaſion, the whole of the little force he had, and gave them the moſt favourable opportunities of making diverſions, when any of them were attacked. In ſhort they embroiled him in ſuch a manner, that, though he had the lofty title of king of France, he had ſcarce the ſtrength of a duke of Burgundy. Of this weakneſs a more flagrant inſtance cannot be given than his being obliged thrice to beſiege the little caſtle of Puiſet. The firſt time he was diſappointed for want of proviſions; at the ſecond he was defeated by the confederates, and forced to raiſe the ſiege; but at laſt he became maſter of, and demoliſhed it. He treated in the ſame manner other fortreſſes, as ſoon as he reduced them; but what he chiefly relied on was the laws, with the execution of which he charged himſelf by force of arms. Acting in this matter

[d] Suger. Vit. Ludovici Groſſi, Mezeray, Le Gendre, Senonſe, Du Tillet, P. Daniel. [e] Chron.

with

Digitized by Google

with an impartial spirit of justice, he gained the respect of the clergy, and the love of the common people, whom he protected upon all occasions, not only against the oppressions of their lords, but also against the officers of his crown and army, according to his own excellent maxim, that a king ought to have no favourites but his people[f].

Finds a very formidable enemy in Henry I. of England.

It was not till he had reduced most of these malecontents, that he began to take notice of his capital enemy, without whose encouragement those lords durst not have stirred, and but for whose assistance they must have been quickly subdued: this was Henry king of England, one of the ablest, and at the same time one of the most ambitious, princes of that age; who, while he professed the utmost kindness and friendship for the two kings Philip and Lewis, held nevertheless a close correspondence with the malecontents, and encouraged them to remain in arms to the very last, that he might have nothing to fear for his duchy of Normandy: and that, by wasting and harrassing each other, their strength might be so far reduced, as to afford him an opportunity of making certain acquisitions to these his favourite dominions[g]. The point upon which Lewis demanded satisfaction, was the demolition of Gisors on the Epte, which had been stipulated by treaty; but which, by various pretences, Henry had hitherto eluded. When their armies were on the point of coming to battle, Lewis proposed an accommodation; and, when this failed, offered to decide the dispute by single combat; at which proposal Henry smiled, and said that he could but keep the place if he was victorious, which was already in his hands without fighting; so that the king of France staked his life against a place of importance, whereas he was to stake his life and that too against nothing[h]. A battle ensued, in which the Normans were defeated. Not long after a peace was concluded, and William the only son of Henry, did homage to king Lewis for the duchy of Normandy; which the king his father constantly refused to do, as thinking it inconsistent with the dignity of a crowned head, or rather with the character of so potent a prince[i].

His vassals give him fresh trouble, and oblige him to remain almost always in the field.

This war was scarce ended, before the king found himself again involved in fresh broils with his vassals, against whom he was continually fighting battles, with various success, and very frequently at the great hazard of his life.

[f] Fragment. Hist. Francorum. Dupleix, J. de Serres. [g] Oder. Vital. Suger. Vit. Ludovici Grossi, Le Gend. [h] Suger. Vit. Ludovici Grossi, & al. [i] Guilelm. Malmsb.

Digitized by Google

It may seem strange that a king of France, able to lead numerous armies into the field, and maintain them against the English monarch in Normandy, should not be able to crush the little lords in his own dominions, whose own insolence was the sole ground of their quarrel, and the single object they had in view, plundering the poor people [z]. But this difficulty will be solved, by observing, that, in his wars with Henry, Lewis was assisted by the great vassals of the crown, particularly by Robert count of Flanders; who with their forces served at their own expence, not only because it was their duty, but because they were as jealous of the power of Henry as Lewis himself: but, in the wars against his own vassals, they took no share at all, or, if they did, it was by way of confederacy with the king, and then the opposing party had their confederates likewise.

The methods used by the kings Lewis and Henry to strengthen their respective interests.

The count de Blois, likewise stiled count of Champagne, who was nephew to the king of England, quickly revived the war between the two kings, though it was carried on in his name; and Lewis, to shew that he could negociate as well as fight, drew in Foulques count of Anjou, the son of Foulques le Rechin and Bertrade, to refuse homage to Henry for the county of Maine, which he had acquired by marriage; but this war did not turn at all to his advantage, since his army was totally defeated by that of the count of Blois, and the gallant earl of Flanders trampled to death [a]. Soon after this action, the king of England arrived in Normandy, and having got Robert de Belesme, one of the revolting lords into his hands, sent him to prison, from whence he was discharged only by death. The rest of the malecontents, intimidated by this example, speedily submitted. The two kings meeting at Gisors, a peace was concluded, entirely to the king of England's honour and interest, to whom not only the count of Anjou did homage for the county of Maine, but also Alain the Third for his duchy of Bretagne. What strengthened him still more, he married one of his daughters to Conan, the son of that duke, the other being already married to the emperor Henry the Fifth, and at the same time his son William espoused the daughter and heiress of the count of Anjou [b]. The king, after this peace, thinking it high time to secure the succession, espoused Alix or Adelaide, the daughter of Hum-

A.D. 1113.

[z] Chron. Senonse. [a] Suger. vita Ludovici Grossi, Mezeray.
[b] Gulielm. Malmsburiensis.

bert,

Digitized by Google

bert, count of Maurienne, or of Savoy, for whom he had a ſtrong and laſting affection during his whole life. This marriage did not, indeed, add any immediate ſtrength to the king; but the new queen rendered herſelf ſo acceptable to the nobility, and acted on all occaſions with ſo much wiſdom and diſcretion, as proved of great uſe to Lewis during the remaining part of his reign.

A new war, in which Henry is again victorious, and forces Lewis to make peace on his own terms.

The misfortunes of the laſt war chagrined this monarch exceedingly, and therefore he readily liſtened to the interceſſion of a young prince; who, after traverſing ſeveral other courts, though a perfect youth, came at laſt to take ſhelter in his. This was William, the ſon of Robert duke of Normandy, and grandſon of the Conqueror, who earneſtly preſſed him to intercede for his father's liberty, and for the reſtitution of the duchy of Normandy, which he claimed as his right. The king adviſed him to form as ſtrong a party as he could in Normandy; to engage the counts of Flanders and Anjou in his intereſt; and he promiſed that, whenever they were ready to act, he ſhould not find him backward. In this negotiation William ſucceeded to his wiſh; and, when all things were perfectly ripe, he ſignified to Henry his deſire that an end might be put to duke Robert's impriſonment[c]. This demand being peremptorily refuſed, the king and the earl of Flanders entered Normandy; upon which the nobility began every-where to riſe, and proclaimed William their duke. In his whole reign Henry was never ſo much embarraſſed; a conſpiracy broke out in his court, which alarmed him more than all the reſt. The earl of Flanders advanced to the very gates of Rouen, and burnt the ſuburbs; ſome places of ſtrength were taken, others revolted, and his affairs fell very low; yet he made no overtures of peace. On the contrary, he diſputed every inch of ground, brought over forces from England, and kept his fortified places well garriſoned and well ſupplied, till the duke of Bretagne and the earl of Champagne marched to his aſſiſtance[d]. Lewis, with his victorious army, marching to reduce Nojon, were ſurpriſed to find Henry in their way ready to give them battle; the action was very warm, though not very bloody; the kings were reſpectively very near being killed or taken; but at length, through the military ſkill of Henry, Lewis was totally defeated, and forced to fly on foot, and with much difficulty arrived at

[c] Du Cheſne, Dupleix. Le Gendre. [d] Hen. Huntingdon.

Digitized by Google

Andely. Soon after this event, pope Calixtus the Second, held a great council at Rheims, at which king Lewis assisted in person, where he made great complaints of Henry; upon which the pontiff undertook to mediate a peace between them. For this purpose, he went to Gisors, where he conferred with the king of England about his own affairs, as well as those of Lewis; but found him equally firm as to both. This pontif had, in the council, excommunicated the emperor Henry the Fifth, on the subject of investitures, and threatened the English king with the same treatment; but to no purpose. Besides, Henry had bought the count of Anjou; Baldwin, earl of Flanders, was dead of the wounds he received in the last battle; and most of the Norman lords were either ruined or reduced; so that Lewis was once more obliged
A.D. 1120. to make peace with him upon his own terms. The joy of Henry, however, was quickly qualified by the loss of his two sons, and a great number of his nobility, who were shipwrecked in their passage to England, through their own ill conduct, and the drunkenness of the seamen [e].

A war with the emperor, in which Lewis brings a prodigious army into the field.

The king of France, considering that Henry had now no issue male remaining, supplied duke William, the son of Robert, with large sums of money, to renew his intrigues with the nobility of Normandy; who, looking upon him as the last heir of their ancient dukes, notwithstanding all they had suffered, had a very strong affection for him. The count of Anjou, seeing his daughter a widow, and without children, by the death of prince William of England, gave his second daughter Sybilla to that young prince, with the county of Maine [f]. Charles of Denmark, who had succeeded his cousin Baldwin in the earldom of Flanders, embarked likewise in this design, and the confederacy grew so strong, that at length they made but little doubt of carrying their point; but the prudent and fortunate Henry disappointed them once more. He had espoused the cousin of the pope, and by that match gained him so much to his interest, that, upon exhibiting the pedigrees of duke William and the daughter of the count of Anjou, their marriage was declared null, and that unfortunate prince left once more without any other support than his merit and birth. Henry coming in person into Normandy, before things were settled, seized some of the malecontents, cajoled others, and defeated

[e] Roger Hoveden.

[f] Oder Vital. Dupleix, P. Daniel.

the

Digitized by Google

the reſt [g]. It remained to complete his revenge to humble the king of France, and with this view he excited the emperor Henry the Fifth, who quickly aſſembled all the power of Germany; giving out, that he would burn the city of Rheims to the ground, in reſentment of the excommunication pronounced againſt him in the council held there. Lewis took advantage of this declaration, and ſummoned all the vaſſals of the crown to ſend their forces to Amiens at a ſhort day, when it clearly appeared how different a thing it was to attack the kingdom and the king of France; for when Lewis put himſelf at the head of the army, it conſiſted of two hundred thouſand men. On their beginning to march, the emperor abandoned his deſign; and, diſmiſſing the army he had raiſed in Lorrain, retired into the heart of his own dominions [h]. The king, willing to make uſe of ſo irreſiſtable a force, would have led them immediately into Normandy, in order to eſtabliſh duke William, to whom he had given another wife, with a conſiderable territory, on the frontiers of that duchy. His great vaſſals, however, told him plainly, that they would do no ſuch thing; for that they aſſembled to defend the territories of France from the invaſion of a foreign prince, and not to extend his power by deſtroying the balance that aroſe from the king of England's poſſeſſing Normandy, which they looked upon as neceſſary to their ſafety [i]. On this occaſion we firſt hear of the oriflame, which was, properly ſpeaking, the banner of the abbey of St. Denis, being a crimſon flag fixed to a gilt lance, from whence it derived its name. From its being borne, on this occaſion, before the king, it came in after-times to be conſidered as the royal ſtandard of France [k]. A.D.1124.

The death of the emperor, which happened ſoon after, made it neceſſary for the king of England to conclude a peace, to which king Lewis was not at all averſe; ſo that it was quickly ſettled upon eaſy and equal terms, and much better obſerved than any treaty between theſe two princes had hitherto been; and yet, under pretence of aſſiſting their allies, theſe monarchs, from time to time, gave the world ſufficiently to underſtand they were far from being reconciled. Charles, earl of Flanders, being aſſaſſinated by ſome diſcontented ſubjects, Lewis entered that country with a ſmall army; and, having ſurpriſed the offenders, puniſhed them as they deſerved. The

William, the ſon of Robert duke of Normandy, declared count of Flanders, and killed there.

[g] Hen. Huntingdon.
[i] Suger, Mezeray, P. Daniel.
[h] Suger. Vita Ludovici Groſſi.
[k] Rigord, Du Cange, Galand.

Digitized by Google

queſtion was, how to diſpoſe of the dignity, to which there were many pretenders. Amongſt theſe were, Baldwin earl of Mons, whoſe grandfather had been deprived of the earldom by Robert count of Frize, and Thierry count of Alſace, who was ſiſter's ſon to that count of Frize. The king ſet them all aſide to make way for William, the ſon of Robert duke of Normandy, a choice which anſwered two purpoſes; it gave the king a right to reſume what he had beſtowed upon this prince, till he could obtain for him ſome eſtabliſhment; and it put it much more in his power to ſupport his claim to his father's duchy than hitherto it had ever been. Henry, on the other hand, reſolving at any rate to gain the count of Anjou, married his only daughter, the empreſs dowager, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, the ſon of that count, though a boy. Not long after the count himſelf, partly at the king's perſuaſion, and partly from ambition, went into the Holy Land, to receive the crown of Jeruſalem[1]. Having thus ſecured himſelf from all apprehenſions on that ſide, he directed his old ally, the earl of Champagne, to ſupport Thierry of Alſace againſt his nephew count William, in which conteſt, however, that young prince had the better; but, receiving a wound in the hand, a gangrene ſeized the arm, of which he died. This event gave his competitor an opportunity to make himſelf maſter of Flanders; upon which the king received his homage; a circumſtance which prevented Henry, who waited all this time in Normandy to ſee what turn the war would take, from breaking openly with France.

A.D. 1128.

The king cauſes his eldeſt ſon Philip, and, on his death, his youngeſt ſon Lewis to be crowned.

As peace was now reſtored, the king thought it expedient to place the crown upon the head of his eldeſt ſon Philip; and the ceremony was performed accordingly, with all the uſual ſolemnities, at Rheims. Pope Innocent the Second, finding himſelf conſtrained to leave Rome by his competitor, retired into France, where he was received with great reſpect. But the joy of the court was quickly turned into mourning, by the fall of the young king Philip from his horſe, of which he died on the 3d of October. Before the cloſe of the month a general council was held at Rheims, in which the king as well as the pope was preſent, and there the crown was ſet upon the head of Lewis, his eldeſt ſurviving ſon, at that time about twelve years of age. The ſuddenneſs of this coronation, after ſo unlucky an acci-

A.D. 1131.

[1] Gulielm. Malmeſburienſis.

dent,

Digitized by Google

dent, is accounted for by an old historian, who reports, that a party was forming amongst the great lords and prelates for transferring the crown to another family, if the king, with the assistance of pope Innocent, had not prevented it, in the manner that has been related [a]. With all his excellent qualities, Lewis had a failing, if it may be called so, which raised a secret dislike to him, and increased with his years. This failing consisted in a certain freedom of speech; honest and sincere, and well-meaning himself, he despised flattery, and he hated falshood; pious, without hypocrisy or superstition, he treated very roughly such of the prelates as acted inconsistent with their character; obedient to the laws himself, his zeal for justice led him to correct such of the nobility as acted tyrannically, with a degree of rigour that made them secret enemies to him and his family.

Admirable advice given to his son by king Lewis in his declining state.

By long experience, however, the greater vassals of the crown began to perceive, that the king's views were very honourable, and that, though he was very quick, he was no less steady in his resolutions; and therefore Thibaut, count of Champagne, and other great lords, reconciled themselves to him; so that all the arts of his rival could never detach them again from his interest. But, in the midst of his prosperity, he fell into a languishing state of health, being in a manner overwhelmed with fat. As his strength wore away he prepared for death, by setting his affairs in order. When he thought it so near as to receive the sacraments of the church, he drew his signet ring from his finger, and put it upon that of his son, with these words: "By this sign I invest you with sovereign authority; but remember, that it is no other than a public employment, to which you are called by Providence, and for the exercise of which you are to give a strict account in the world to come [b]." He recovered in some measure, but he would never use any of the ensigns of royal authority. Whenever he appeared abroad on horseback, he was surrounded by vast crouds of people, who, by loud acclamations, testified their zeal for his government, and their affection for his person [c].

Marriage of the young king Lewis.

William the Tenth, duke of Guienne and Aquitaine, resolving to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, bequeathed his extensive territories to his daughter Eleanor, upon condition that she mar-

[a] Chron. Maurianac. [b] Sug. Vita Ludovici Grossi.
[c] Chron. Maurianac.

Digitized by Google

Demise of Lewis the Grosi.

ried the young king Lewis. The duke dying in that pilgrimage, the king sent his son, most nobly attended, to Bourdeaux, where the marriage was celebrated with great pomp. The young princess was solemnly crowned queen of France, and the young king was inaugurated as duke of Aquitaine and Poictiers [d]. In the mean time Lewis le Gros, unable to support the heat of the dog-days, died at Paris, on the 1st of August, in the thirtieth year of his reign, and sixtieth of his age [e]. With the addition of certain qualities, the French historians say he might have made a better king; but, they allow, a better man never graced their throne.

A.D. 1137.

Lewis VII. perplexed by the remains of the faction formed against his father.

Lewis, though eighteen years of age, at the time of his father's demise, was surnamed le Jeune, or the Young. If this was only to distinguish him from his father, then we ought to stile him Lewis the Younger; but a certain writer tells us, that this surname was given him on his separating from his wife Eleanor, and giving her back the duchy of Guienne. In that case it has quite another signification, and implies that Lewis was always a young man [f]. The same troubles that perplexed the beginning of his father's, disturbed also the entrance of his reign. Several of the nobility indulged themselves in great excesses, which were no otherwise to be repressed than by force. The king therefore, having put good garrisons into the fortresses of his new dominions, returned to Orleans; where, upon his attempting to assemble troops, the commons, who owed all their privileges to his father's favour, revolted: but Lewis quickly reduced and chastised them, as well as the lords [g]. It is remarked that he did not follow his father's example, in being crowned a second time. Eustace, the son of Stephen, earl of Bologne, who had seated himself in the English throne, had done homage to Lewis the Gros for the duchy of Normandy; the king, to fix him more effectually to his interests, gave him his sister in marriage. This alliance, however, made no impression upon Thibaut, earl of Champagne, elder brother to the English monarch, and uncle to Eustace. This man began to renew his old practices, and to form intrigues against a prince whom he thought too tenderly educated to lead the life of his father, who was almost always in arms. Besides, he thought he had not experience sufficient to deal with one who had made the framing such kind of confederacies al-

[d] Sug. Vita Ludovici Grossi. [e] Mezeray. [f] Du-pleix. [g] Gesta Ludovici VII.

most

moſt the ſole buſineſs of his life. But in this opinion, he found himſelf exceedingly miſtaken [h].

Source of his difference with the ſee of Rome, and of the count of Champagne's defection.

Alberic, archbiſhop of Bourges, dying, the chapter of that ſee elected Pierre de la Châtre, without having the king's permiſſion; upon which Lewis ſwore he ſhould not be archbiſhop, commanding the chapter to proceed to a new election, leaving them at full liberty to elect whom they pleaſed, Pierre de la Châtre only excepted. They refuſed to obey; and the pope declaring in favour of the new archbiſhop, he retired into the eſtates of the count of Champagne, and excommunicated the king's domain within the bounds of his archbiſhoprick. Lewis, thus provoked, puſhed Thibaut ſo hard, that he was on the point of coming to terms, when a new accident excited ſtill greater diſturbances [i]. Rodolph, count of Vermandois, who was the king's chief miniſter, and his near relation, obtained a divorce from his wife, under pretence of their being related, and married Petronilla, the queen's ſiſter; but his firſt wife being nearly related to the count of Champagne, he ſolicited the pope to ſend a legate into France to review this divorce, who preſently declared it null, and excommunicated Rodolph, in caſe he did not leave his ſecond wife, and take back his firſt. This ſentence ſo provoked the king, that he made another expedition into Champagne; where, having taken Vitri, he cauſed the church to be ſet on fire, in which thirteen hundred people were either ſuffocated or burned. But when he came to reflect on this cruel action, he not only admitted the archbiſhop, and made peace with the count; but reſolved to expiate his offence by going to the Holy Land.

The characters of St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, and Suger, abbot of St. Denis.

It is neceſſary here to enter into the characters of two eccleſiaſtics, upon whom, at this juncture, the fate of the king and kingdom abſolutely turned. Theſe, though different in other reſpects, agreed in the ſingular qualities of unfeigned piety, and abſolute diſintereſtedneſs. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, was, for thoſe times, learned, naturally eloquent, auſtere in his life, irreproachable in his morals, zealous in the higheſt degree, and withal inflexible. He had long before gained the reputation of a ſaint, he was heard as an oracle, and revered as a prophet [k]. Suger, abbot of St. Denis, was a man of another kind, mean in his birth, and meaner in his aſpect: he was ſo

[h] Oderic Vital. [i] Geſta Ludovici VII. Rog. Hoveden. [k] Gaufridus lib. iv. Vitæ S. Bernard. Gulielm. Tyr.

diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed by his merit, that he had a great ſhare in the adminiſtration during the former reign; at the ſame time, he was equally reſpected and beloved in his convent for his humility and ſtrict manner of life, and admired in the counſel for his prudence and penetration. Lewis the Groſs loved him for his ſincerity; Lewis le Jeune reſpected him as his father. Thibaut, count of Champagne, the moſt artificial man of his time, ſet ſo high a value on the friendſhip of the abbot of St. Denis, that he ſeldom refuſed him any thing, and never attempted to deceive him [l]. Bernard earneſtly preſſed the king to make the expedition againſt the infidels in perſon; Suger perſuaded him to contribute men and money, but to remain at home, and govern his people wiſely. Bernard carried his point by his vehemence. Suger made no ſcruple of foretelling the inconveniencies that would attend this meaſure; while Bernard magnified the honour that would reſult from it, and made himſelf in a great meaſure anſwerable for its ſucceſs [m].

Lewis, at the inſtance of St. Bernard, aſſumes the croſs, and, in imitation of him, great part of the nobility.

A great council of the nobility and prelates was called at Vizila, in Burgundy, that a matter of this importance might not ſeem to be undertaken without the conſent of the nation. Hitherto ſuch aſſemblies had been ſtyled, by hiſtorians who wrote in Latin, Conventus, or Placita; but we find this denominated Magnum Parliamentum, which is the firſt time that we meet with this word; and from hence the reader will form a juſt notion of the parliaments of France, which, however altered or fallen from what they were, are all that is left of theſe ancient parliaments. As there was not in Vizila a church capable of holding ſo great a number of people, the aſſembly was held in the open air. The abbot Bernard read the letter of pope Eugene the Third, which he ſeconded by a vehement declamation. The king then roſe up, and received from his hand the croſs which had been ſent him from Rome, and then made a diſcourſe of the like kind. His queen followed his example; and then Alonſo de St. Gilles, count of Toulouſe, Thierri d'Alſace, count of Flanders, Henry, ſon of the count of Champagne, Guy, count of Nevers, Renaud his brother, count of Tonnere, Robert, count of Dreux, brother to the king, Yves, count of Soiſſons, William, count of Ponthieu, William, count of Varenne, couſin to the king, Archambaud de Bourbon, Enguerrand de Couci,

[l] Geſta Ludovici VII. P. Æmil. Annales Franc. Nang. Chron.
[m] Gulielm. Tyr. Gaufridus ubi ſupra.

Geoffrey

Digitized by Google

Geoffrey Rancon, Hugues de Luſignan, William de Courtenai, and many other lords, ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe; the multitude of perſons of inferior rank, who entered into the ſame engagements, almoſt exceeded computation[n]. The abbot Bernard, after having appointed another aſſembly to be held before Eaſter, went to preach the croiſade in Germany; where, by the force of his irreſiſtible elocution, he prevailed on the emperor Conrad the Third, Frederic duke of Suabia, who was afterwards emperor, and an infinite number of all ranks, to embrace the ſame deſign [o].

The emperor and the king of France march by land to Conſtantinople.

An expedition of this nature could not be undertaken with too much deliberation, and therefore there were two more aſſemblies held before the king left France, in which Rodolph, count of Vermandois, and Suger, abbot of St. Denis, were choſen and confirmed regents of France during the king's abſence [p]. The forces aſſembled upon this occaſion were ſuitable to the extent and grandeur of the French monarchy, though the writers of that age do not very exactly agree; the moſt authentic affirm, that it was compoſed of fourſcore thouſand horſe, the infantry was very numerous beſides, and the very ſuttlers and attendants might have made a conſiderable army. The emperor, with his troops, marched firſt through Hungary, into the territories of the Greek emperor, and, paſſing over the ſtreights of Conſtantinople, entered Aſia. Lewis followed him, and was received with great complaiſance, and the higheſt teſtimonies of reſpect, by the Greek emperor Manual Comnenes. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Nice, he found the emperor Conrad, with the miſerable remains of his army, the far greateſt part of which had periſhed by the ſwords of the Turks, and the treachery of the Greeks; and it was not long before the king had his full ſhare of the like misfortunes.

A.D. 1147.

The progreſs of the king's expedition, to his arrival at Jeruſalem.

Without entering into any diſcuſſion of what ſome writers have charged upon the Greeks, or of what they have advanced in defence of themſelves, we will proceed in our narrative, and inform the reader, that, after defeating the infidels on the banks of the river Meander, and being not long after worſted by them, and in great danger of loſing his life, Lewis at length arrived at Antioch, where Raymond de Poitiers, his wife's uncle, was then prince [q]. He was

A.D. 1148.

[n] Epiſt. Ludovic. ad Suger. Odo de Dioglo. Nang. Chron. [o] Otho Friſing. Vit. Suger. Chron. Maurinac. [p] Vit. Suger. Geſta Ludov. VII. Paul. Æmil. Annal. Franc. [q] Odo de Diogl. Epiſt. Ludovic. ad Suger. Geſta Ludovici VII.

received

Digitized by Google

received with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs and politeneſs, his troops were furniſhed with every thing neceſſary, and, by the arrival of ſuccours from Italy, by ſea, his army was once more become very reſpectable. This gleam of proſperity laſted not long. The king quickly found that the prince of Antioch had merely his own intereſt in view, and was deſirous of employing the French troops in extending the bounds of his principality, by reducing ſeveral conſiderable places ſeated on his frontiers. Lewis grew likewiſe uneaſy at the behaviour of his wife, whoſe gallantries began to make a great noiſe; and on the other hand the prince of Antioch induced the queen to pretend ſome ſcruples of conſcience, as to their nearneſs in blood. Theſe, and other ſubjects of chagrin, at length determined the king to quit Antioch, and to repair to Jeruſalem, where the emperor Conrad was already arrived. But the queen, who was very well pleaſed with the fine country in which they were, and ſtill better with the prince to whom it belonged, was not in ſuch haſte [r]. However, Lewis ſeizing one of the gates in the night, marched out with his forces; and having aſſembled thoſe that lay in the neighbourhood, ſent her before him to Jeruſalem, where Baldwin the Third, who then governed that kingdom, received her very reſpectfully. On the king's arrival ſeveral councils were held, in order to fix upon ſome expedition worthy of ſo puiſſant a force, and of monarchs of ſo diſtinguiſhed rank, and in ſuch high eſteem for their perſonal qualifications.

He is determined, by the diſgrace of raiſing the ſiege of Damaſcus, to return home.

The ſiege of Damaſcus was at length reſolved upon, as the reduction of that important place would be attended with great advantages to all the Chriſtian princes in the Eaſt, it having proved long an equal curb on the king of Jeruſalem, as well as to the princes of Antioch and Tripoly. The city was held to be very ſtrong, though without any fortifications, even according to the mode of thoſe times; but being ſurrounded on all ſides with gardens, and thoſe well walled, and having a numerous garriſon, it was expected, and the event juſtified their expectation, that it would make a very obſtinate defence; but the gardens being gradually forced it muſt have fallen, if the oriental Chriſtians had not moſt ſcandalouſly entered into intrigues with the infidels, from an apprehenſion that, when taken, it would have been given to the count of Flanders [s]. To prevent this alienation, they altered the

[r] Gulielm. Tyr. Paulus Æmilius.

[s] Gulielm. Tyr. Geſta Ludovici VII.

manner

manner of the attack, suffered convoys of provisions to be surprised, and in the end brought the army into such distress, that the emperor and the king of France, detecting their perfidy, and despairing of success, raised the siege, and made the best dispositions they could for returning into their own dominions. The king, embarking at one of the ports of Syria, returned safely to Calabria, and taking Rome in his way, that he might confer with the pope, arrived at length, after this disastrous expedition, in his own dominions [t]. His brother, the count de Dreux, who returned a little before him, had thrown out strong insinuations, that the losses sustained abroad, and the discredit reflected from thence on the armies of France, was chiefly owing to the king's incapacity; by which insinuations he meant to raise his own reputation, and not without some view upon the crown. But the abbot Suger, who had governed as wisely and happily at home, as the king had acted indiscreetly and unfortunately abroad, rendered these intrigues abortive; upon which the count de Dreux, on his brother's arrival, laboured all he could to render that great man suspected; but the king found his territories in so good a condition, and the general voice of the nation was so loud in behalf of the minister, that the king treated him with all the respect and kindness imaginable, and afforded him all the marks of esteem and confidence that his great merit deserved. For he had preserved peace and plenty in his absence, and presented him with a full treasury at his return.

It would have been happy for France if that excellent person had survived longer; for so long as he lived the king was prevailed upon to dissemble his discontents with regard to the queen, and had even consented to a reconciliation. But after that prelate's decease, growing more and more dissatisfied with her conduct, he pretended to scruples of conscience in regard to the lawfulness of their marriage; submitted the case to an assembly of his bishops, and, in consequence of their sentiments, repudiated that princess, who gave all the assistance she could to the divorce, and restored to her the dominions which he had acquired by their marriage [u]. It has been surmised, and not without great probability, that, before things came to this extremity, she had entered into a correspondence with Henry duke of Normandy, count of Anjon and Maine, son to Geoffrey Plantagenet, and the empress Maud, so that

A.D. 1149.

Takes a weak and fatal resolution to repudiate queen Eleanor and restore Guienne.

[t] Vita Suger. Epist. Adrian. IV. ad Ludovic. Ludovici VII. Gul. de Nangis. Chron. Norman.

[u] Gesta

he

he was presumptive heir to the crown of England; and her espousing him in six weeks after the divorce, rendered this suspicion so much the more probable. This marriage, which the wise abbot of St. Denis foresaw, mortified the king extremely, and procured him the surname of Le Jeune, as we before observed. By this great alliance, Henry, to the duchy of Normandy and the estates of the house of Anjou, added the county of Poitou and the duchy of Guienne; so that he was at least as powerful in France as the king himself. Lewis, to correct this false step, entered into a league with Stephen king of England, received the homage of his son Eustace count of Bologne, in quality of duke of Normandy, and drew over to his party Geoffrey the brother of Henry, who had once a project of running away with queen Eleanor himself [v]. In consequence of this league, count Eustace attacked Normandy, and made a considerable progress; which might have been fatal to duke Henry, if his abilities had not been superior to his fortune. At the age of twenty he was a great captain and a greater politician, and took so much pains to sooth and flatter Lewis, that, contrary to all the rules of policy, he concluded a truce with him. This afforded Henry leisure
A.D. 1153. to transport himself, and his mother the empress, into England, where they created Stephen a great deal of trouble. Count Eustace dying, a treaty was concluded between them, by which the crown was left to Stephen during his life; and having no children, he consented that Henry should be declared his successor; the more willingly no doubt, if, what some writers say be true, that the empress assured him, he was the fruit of their amours in the lifetime of her husband [x].

The king espouses Donna Constantia, and makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James.

As soon as the truce expired, Lewis invaded Normandy, where he made some progress; but the death of king Stephen, and the accession of Henry to the throne of England, quickly induced him to make peace. He certainly wanted not abilities to discern the danger he was in, not only from the great power, but from the great talents of Henry, who inherited all his grandfather's spirit, and was invested with much more authority; but, though he knew his danger, he had not sagacity enough to devise, and, it may be, wanted the firmness to apply the proper remedies [y]. But how much soever he fell short of being great, he certainly attained the character of a good prince.

[v] Hen. Hunt. Gesta Ludovici VII.

[x] Roger Hoveden. Chron. Norman.

[y] Nangii Chron.

His

Digitized by Google

His subjects adored, and his nobility loved him, insomuch that, at their persuasion, he married Donna Constantia, daughter to Don Alonso, king of Castile. Soon after this marriage, he made a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James, at Compostella, which gave him an opportunity of conferring with his father-in-law, and with Sancho, king of Navarre[z]. At his return he held a council at Soissons, where he engaged his nobility to swear a peace for ten years; that is, they precluded themselves, during this space, from deciding their quarrels by the sword, which was their common method[a]. A.D.1155

A war breaks out with Henry, in which Lewis hazards his person, without gaining much.

Amongst these great lords, the most considerable was the count of Flanders, who, going into the Holy Land, committed his son and his dominions to the care of Henry, king of England. This trust was a new mortification to Lewis, who found himself in a manner blocked up on every side by this too powerful neighbour; yet Henry omitted no arts to mitigate his jealousy and apprehensions. His queen had sufficiently instructed him in the temper of Lewis, and he managed him with such address, that he had scarce any pretence given him on which to found a quarrel; for Henry was continually writing to him, and sending him presents; treated him with the highest marks of deference and esteem, and proposed a marriage between his son Henry and the princess Margaret, the king's daughter by his second marriage, though they were but infants[b]. At length, however, a rupture happened; for Henry, unsatisfied with the dominions he already had, surmised that the county of Toulouse belonged of right to his wife, as being not given, but mortgaged only by a duke of Aquitaine to the ancestor of the then count: he offered therefore the sum that he supposed to be due, and that being refused, marched with a great army, composed of all nations, and blocked up Toulouse[c]. The place was not strong by situation, nor was it fortified: but the count, brave in his person, and having a numerons army, made a gallant defence. He had married Constance, the widow of Eustace, count of Bologne, and sister to king Lewis, who immediately armed, in support of his brother-in-law. Having left a competent force under the command of his brother the count de Dreux, on the frontiers of Normandy, he marched with the rest directly to Toulouse, where, having forced one of the posts of the besiegers, he threw

[z] Roderic Toletan. Mont. Mezeray. [a] Mezeray. [b] Robert. de [c] Du Tillet.

himself

himself into the place with the flower of his troops. Henry, perceiving it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, to carry the town, sent a compliment to the king, importing, that he would not commit hostilities against any whom he had undertaken to protect, and thereupon raised the siege. This retreat, however, did not put an end to the war, which continued two years longer, and then ended in a peace, on terms that were tolerably equal. Henry did homage to the king for his duchy of Normandy; his son Henry did the like for the counties of Anjou and Maine; and it was agreed, that his second son Richard, already A.D. 1160. contracted to the daughter of the count of Barcelona, should quit her, espouse one of the king's daughters, and have the duchy of Guienne [d]. In this peace the count of Toulouse was included, but without any discussion of the point upon which the war began; for peace was necessary to Lewis, and Henry was resolved to keep his old claim in reserve [e].

A new war, accompanied with much slaughter and devastation, which at last ends in a new peace.

In the course of the same year died the queen Donna Constantia; and the nobility being very urgent with the king to marry again, as he had only two daughters by her, he espoused Adelaide, the daughter of Thibaut, earl of Champagne, by which alliance he gained all the princes of her family. At this juncture, a schism in the church was very near plunging the most considerable powers in Europe into a war. The kings of France and England supported Alexander III. the emperor Frederick maintained the cause of Victor IV. went so far as to arm on his behalf, and threatened France with an invasion. Lewis, provoked by his behaviour, levied troops likewise, and the king of England marched a powerful corps to the frontiers of Normandy, that they might be in readiness to join the French, if it was necessary. Upon this occasion, Alexander III. had the satisfaction of seeing Lewis on one side, and Henry on the other, at his stirrups, on foot, while he rode slowly to a magnificent tent prepared for him in the French camp, and held afterwards a council at Tours with great splendour [f]. It was not long before new differences arose between the two monarchs, chiefly on account of Thomas à Becket, chancellor to king Henry, who having raised him to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, found him less pliant than he expected, and therefore disgraced him. Becket retired into France, where he was received and treated with great respect, notwithstanding all the representations made by his master. From this discordance in

[d] Duplex. [e] Gulielm. Neubrigiensis. [f] Du Tillet. Mezeray.

sentiments

Digitized by Google

sentiments, both kings foresaw that it would not be long before they came to an open rupture; and this at length happened, notwithstanding the empress Maud, so long as she lived, exerted her utmost endeavours to prevent it [g]. In the prosecution of this dispute, several places were taken on both sides; some vassals of the crown of France took up arms for king Henry; and, on the other hand, most of the lords of Poitou armed on behalf of Lewis [h]. At length, both parties, weary of seeing their countries destroyed to little purpose, and having other motives to wish for the return of quiet, amongst which was the birth of a son to Lewis, a treaty was set on foot, which, after a long negociation, produced the peace of Montmirail. Upon this occasion Henry did homage in person for Normandy; his son Henry for the counties of Anjou and Maine; Richard for the duchy of Guienne; and prince Henry a second time for the county of Bretagne, which his brother Geoffrey was to inherit, in consequence of his marriage with the heiress of that country [i]. A.D. 1168.

King Lewis draws over the sons and even the consort of Henry, who nevertheless prevails.

The situation of affairs between these two princes was such, that, though they often made peace, they were never reconciled; and the intermarriages between their families, instead of contributing to their own and their subjects repose, served only to furnish fresh pretences for disturbing both. King Henry having caused his eldest son to be crowned in England, while his consort was in France, Lewis, to revenge the affront done to his daughter, invaded Normandy; but Henry, too wise to quarrel about a mere matter of form, promised the coronation should be performed over again, as it accordingly was [k]. On the return of the young king to his father in Normandy, Lewis desired that his son and daughter might come and spend some time at his court, which request was granted, and there such notions were put into the young prince's head, as, after his return, produced great heart-burnings between him and his father. At length the young king, pretending that he thought his person in danger, fled privately out of England into France, and was received with open arms by Lewis, who was now grown as thorough a politician as Henry, and believed the time was come, in which he might revenge himself for all past affronts [l]. He knew the pope was angry with the

[g] Robertus de Monte. [h] Johan. Sarisbur. Epist. [i] P. Daniel. [k] Roger Hoveden, J. de Serres. Dupleix. [l] Gul. Neubrig.

Digitized by Google

king of England; and that he was also odious to a great part of his subjects, on account of the assassination of archbishop Becket: he farther knew that the king was much feared by his neighbours, and that the disputes ran high in his family; so that he flattered himself that he should gain equal advantages by fraud, and by force [m]. The young king Henry, who served him zealously, drew his two brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, into the confederacy against their father; and even embarked his mother queen Eleanor in the same scheme. At the same time, the king of Scots was in motion, and rebels and male-contents started up in almost all parts of the king of England's dominions [n]. Henry offered fair terms; but finding these rejected, raised an army, and quickly restored his affairs at home and abroad. All this time he amused the king of France with negotiations, and at length consented to a peace, but it was upon his own terms; and though these were, in appearance, honourable enough for king Lewis, and very advantageous for the princes who had put themselves under his protection, yet the king of Scots, the earl of Leicester, and the earl of Chester, who had been made prisoners, being left to his mercy, shewed plainly that he was victor over this formidable league [o].

Lewis and Henry are on better terms than in any part of their respective reigns.

Both kings were now thoroughly weary of war; Lewis was afraid of suffering by that good fortune which constantly attended his rival, and Henry had so much reason to fear his own family at home, that he had no inclination to quarrels abroad. Lewis, however, conceived in his own mind, that he had good grounds to be offended with the conduct of the monarch of England, on account of his daughter Alice, whom the king retained at his court without marrying her to his son Richard. In order to obtain satisfaction, he applied to the pope; and his legate having expostulated with Henry, that prince very roundly declared he would have caused the marriage to be celebrated, but that Lewis had promised to give the city of Bourges in dowry with his daughter, as he had likewise promised the French Vexin, when the princess Margaret espoused the young king Henry. As the facts were controverted by Lewis, the decision of their difference was left to the pope [p]. In the mean time all the ancient treaties were renewed; and the two kings, to shew their cor-

A.D. 1177.

[m] Le Gendre. [n] Robertus de Monte. [o] Petri Blesensis Epist. Mez. P. Dan. [p] Annal Francorum.

dial

dial affection for each other, undertook to make a croisade together, the preparations for which were likewise settled, notwithstanding which neither of them went; Lewis being strongly dissuaded by his consort, and by the principal nobility; and Henry finding his affairs still so embarrassed, that his presence was more necessary than ever in his own dominions [q]. Some have attributed the making and the breaking this treaty to policy; but it is more probable that Lewis was very sincere, and made the first proposition of it to Henry, who could not but give his consent, having entered into an engagement with the pope to take the cross, whenever he thought it expedient, in order to expiate the murder of Thomas à Becket [r].

Pilgrimage of Lewis to St. Thomas's shrine; coronation of his son, his marriage, and the demise of the old king of a palsy.

As the peace of the kingdom, as well as the continuance of the royal line, depended on the life of the young prince Philip, it is not at all strange that the king should be extremely alarmed at an accident which brought him to the very brink of the grave. He was but just able to ride, when his horse ran away with him in the wood of Compeigne, in which he continued all night, and returned in the morning so extremely frighted, that he fell into a grievous fit of sickness [s]. This induced the king his father, according to the mode of those times, to resolve on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas, that is, the tomb of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. He was received there with great pomp by king Henry; made his offering, and returned back in the space of a week; but whether the fatigue of the journey, or the agitation of his mind was the cause, so it fell out, that he was struck with an apoplexy at his return, and though he recovered from this, by the help of his physicians, yet he continued paralytic on the right side. The sense of his own condition, stimulated them to hasten the coronation of his son, A.D.1179. which was performed with great solemnity by the cardinal archbishop of Rheims, the queen's brother, on the first of November. On this occasion, the young king Henry of England assisted, as duke of Normandy, and Philip, count of Flanders, carried the sword of state. At this time also the right of the archbishop of Rheims to perform the ceremony of the coronation was confirmed [t]. Soon after this transaction, the marriage of the young king Philip, with the niece of the count of Flanders, who now go-

[q] Paul. Æmil. [r] Polydor. Virgil. [s] P. Æmil. Annales Francorum. [t] Gesta Philippi Augusti descripta a Magistro Rigorgo ipsius Regis Chronographo.

verned

verned all, was settled [u]. The king, having languished about a year under this grievous malady, breathed his last
A.D. 1180. on the 18th of September, in the sixtieth year of his age, and in the forty-fourth of his reign [w], being esteemed a pious and chaste prince; but less a politician than was requisite for the conjuncture in which he lived (F.)

[u] Du Chesne, tom. iv. [w] Gulielm. Neubrig.

(F) Lewis, by his first wife Eleanor, from whom he was divorced, had two daughters, Mary and Alice, the former married to Henry count of Champagne, and the latter to Thibaut count of Blois, his brother. The second consort of Lewis was Constantia, daughter of Alonso king of Castile, by whom he had two daughters; Margaret, who espoused Henry the younger king of England and duke of Normandy, by whom she had no children, and, after his demise, Bela the Third, king of Hungary (1). Her sister Alice died unmarried, in a short time after their mother (2). Lewis married a third time, Adela the fifth daughter of Thibaut, count of Champagne, a princess of great beauty, prudence, and spirit, by whom he had his successor Philip II. and two daughters: Alice who created so much dissension between the realms of France and England, and who, after having been for many years contracted to king Richard, married William, count of Ponthieu; she deceased in 1195: the second daughter, Agnes, at the close of her father's reign, was contracted to Alexis Comnenes, son to the Greek emperor Manuel, and was sent to Constantinople, when she was scarce ten years of age. Lewis was interred at Barbeau on the Seine, in a monastery of his own foundation, where his widow, queen Adela, erected a magnificent tomb to his memory. Charles IX. caused this tomb to be opened, and found his body entire; he had a gold cross hanging at his neck, and three or four rings upon his fingers. Charles made a present of the cross, and wore the rings himself, in honour of his predecessor (3).

(1) Du Tillet. (2) Recueil des Roys de France, leur Couronne et Maison. (3) Le Gendre.

END OF THE NINETEENTH VOLUME.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google